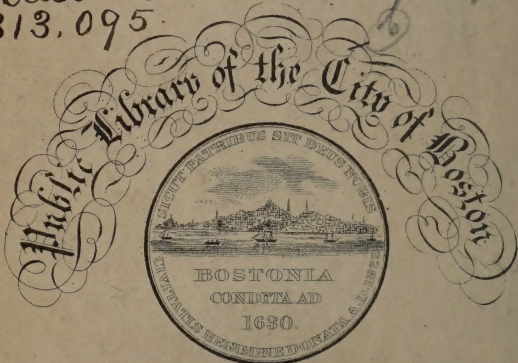


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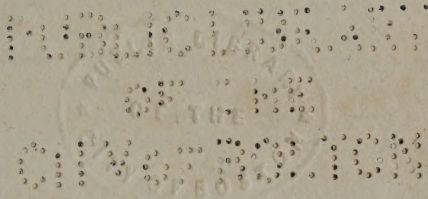
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 - 2 The Slave Colonies, a picture
drawn by the Colonists themselves
 3. England enslaved by
her own Slave Colonies.
By James Stephen Esq.
 4. The progress of Colonial
Reform.
 5. The Third Report of
the Society for the mitigation
and gradual abolition
of Slavery, throughout
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No. 2.]

JANUARY, 1825.

[Vol. I.

REMARKS ON THE DESCENT OF THE AFRICANS
FROM HAM:

In a Letter, addressed to the Rev. B. Bailey, A. M.

CURATE OF BURTON-UPON-TRENT.

REV. SIR,—As *my* sentiments upon subjects of importance (I wish to speak this with gratitude for such distinction) have long been honored with peculiar notice in this nation, one of whose distinguishing characteristics is a *sound understanding*, I request your candid perusal of the following thoughts. They were suggested by two passages in your late publication upon the subject of Slavery, intituled “The House of Bondage,” &c. The passages I allude to are these.—

“*The whole continent of Africa, which was peopled by the descendants of Ham, has been successively galled by the relentless oppression of the Romans and the Saracens, and is now chiefly under the dominion of the Turks.*—But by what nations have not the miserable Negroes been enslaved? The very cattle of our markets have not been bought and sold in more cold-blooded traffic, more publicly and universally, and with less sense of shame, than these wretched outcasts of society. What nation of Europe, what nation of the earth is there that hath not dealt in the blood of these denounced children of the wicked Ham? Had not God’s providence for the punishment of vice, been visible to the eye of religious faith; did we not look upon them as the victims of the crimes of others, and mysteriously fulfilling ancient prophecies for wise, though to us, inscrutable purposes; did we not behold them as*

* The Turks have only possession of PART of Egypt; the Barbary states are tributary to them;—they have no dominion in the vast tracts of Caffraria, the Guinea and Gold Coasts, nor in Abyssinia. Therefore Africa is NOT CHIEFLY in the power of the Turks.

living evidences of the earliest ages of the world; did we not contemplate this wretched people as an awful warning of the wrath of God, and believe, that, in another state, they will be placed in a condition of progressive, moral and intellectual advancement;* did we not, I say, regard the sufferings of this ignorant and servile race, with feelings chastened by religious *faith*, we could hardly endure the reflection of their sufferings without *indefinable sensations of horror*.”—pp. 22, 23.

Again—“ We have seen that, according to the course of Divine Providence, this wretched race hath been prostrated in subjection to their fellow-creatures from the earliest ages. We must not arraign God’s Providence, neither can we divert its course. To do the one, or attempt the other, were equally *presumptuous*”—p. 34.

Here we have an argument in favor of Slavery, *new, singular and striking*. Allow me, Sir, to try it by the test of *sound reasoning*; not the bewildering logic of the schools, but the logic upon which I always establish my plain rules of argumentation, viz. that whatever premises are laid down, the conclusions which *naturally* and clearly follow from them, must be admitted. This, you will readily grant, and now let us see what conclusions naturally follow the premises you have, in the foregoing passages, laid down. These premises are, that *the whole Continent of Africa, as being peopled by the descendants of Ham, is under a curse, and therefore it is presumptuous to attempt to rescue the Africans from Slavery*.

Alas! poor Africa!—it is not enough that thou shouldest have thy sons and daughters stolen by other nations, bought and sold and chained and flogged, and made drudges to the luxuries of their fellow-men, but thou must be blotted out of thy place on the terraqueous globe!—be no longer a part of the visible creation!—no longer have any claim upon the compassion of more favoured nations!—no longer any title to the common mercies of a superintending Providence!—no longer any share in the fatherly goodness of Him whose “*mercies are over all his works!*”—Thou who art

* Where proofs of any other probationary state for man, except the present world, are to be found, I know not.

so sacrificed and abandoned, and from a *Slave* art become a *Castaway*—it is *presumption* to pity and redress thy injuries!—That word being thus *engaged*, where shall we find another to express what it is, thus to denounce upon thee an *everlasting curse*?—No word can be found—“expressive silence must muse the rest.”

Let us examine the Scripture authority for this tremendous denunciation against the *descendants of Ham*. The first notice of a curse upon Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, (for Ham himself is not mentioned) stands thus. “And he (Noah) said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.*”

Noah here, agreeably to the custom of the Patriarchal fathers of families, denounces blessings and curses upon his children, according as their conduct was good or bad. The words may probably be rather prophetic than maledictory; and if so, they were awfully accomplished in the degradation and extermination of the Canaanites. But it is very remarkable that Ham is not mentioned either in the foregoing denunciation, or ever afterwards. Canaan, not Ham, stands as the head of this race. Let it be remembered, that this denunciation is not prefaced with the divine sanction of “Thus saith the Lord;”—and that in the positive command given by God to Moses and Joshua, utterly to extirpate the Canaanites, the reason expressly assigned for this punishment is *their own wickedness* alone, and no allusion whatever is made to the curse of Noah.—“Understand, therefore, this day, that the Lord thy God is he which goeth over before thee as a consuming fire: he shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before thy face: so shalt thou drive them out, and destroy them quickly, as the Lord hath said unto thee. Speak not thou in thine heart, after that the Lord thy God hath cast them out from before thee, saying, For my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess this land: *but for the wickedness of these nations* the Lord doth drive them out from before thee. Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of

* Genesis, ix.—25, 26, 27.

thine heart dost thou go to possess their land : but for *the wickedness of these nations*, the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee, and that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.”*

We find also, that when the Gibeonites were made bondmen by Joshua, it was for a punishment of their own deceitfulness. They came to the Israelitish conqueror, as strangers who had travelled from a far country, with old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles old and rent, and old garments, and mouldy bread ; and when he discovered that these were inhabitants of Canaan, he would not destroy them, because the princes of the congregation had made a league with them. “And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you ; when ye dwell among us ? Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God. And they answered Joshua and said, Because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the Lord thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, therefore we were sore afraid of our lives because of you, and have done this thing. And now, behold, we are in thine hand : as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do. And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the Children of Israel, that they slew them not. And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the Lord, even unto this day, in the place which he should choose.”†

Here it is plain that the Gibeonites were made bondsmen, only for a punishment of their own craftiness ; there is no hint of *an hereditary curse*—and that such a curse is contradictory to the justice of the Supreme Being, is demonstrable both from reason and Scripture.

“ What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the childrens’ teeth are set on edge ?—As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any

* Deuteronomy, ix c—3 to 5 v. † Joshua, xi c—22 v. &c.

more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die."—*

"The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him!"†

But supposing, for an instant, that you could prove your position, let us enquire, who are "*these denounced descendants of the wicked Ham?*"—You are not, perhaps, aware of the *extensiveness* of this imaginary curse.—The descendants of Ham, as you allow, include all the inhabitants of one whole quarter of the globe, a tract of country 4,300 miles long and 3,500 broad. It is twice the size of Europe, more than twice that of North America, and more than eighty-five times that of Great Britain and Ireland.‡

The giants of the poets performed wonderful feats, when they tore up the islands to throw them at the Gods; as did Milton's angels, who

"—pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods; and by the shaggy tops
Uplifting, bore them in their hands.—"

But you have far outdone them; for with a stroke of your pen, you have cut through the isthmus of Suez, and torn away the vast peninsula of Africa from all union with the rest of the earth!

But this is not all by a great deal—you have done *more*; let us look at the opinion of a man, whose authority in matters of ancient research, you will, doubtless, acknowledge to stand very high; and I fear, we shall find the posterity of Ham to have extended farther than Africa. What will you do now?—Will you next sever *India* from the earth?—let us hear Sir William Jones.—

"Three sons of the just and virtuous man, whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large di-

* Ezekiel, XVIII c—2, 3, 4. † Ibid, xx,

‡ See Campbell's Survey.

visions, variously subdivided. The children of YA'FET (Japheth) seem, from the traces of *Sklavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarean*; the colonies formed by the sons of HAM and SHEM appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestibly preserved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the same people, whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch, (Ham) the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of CUSH, MISR and RAMA,* (names remaining unchanged in *Sanscrit*, and highly revered by the Hindus) were, in all probability, the race which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name that may seem more proper and comprehensive."†

Again, in the same discourse, this profound Orientalist draws a strong argument from the etymology of names, to prove that Cush was an ancestor of the Indian race. After reprobating all etymological licences, transpositions and permutations of letters, he adds,—“When we find the same words, letter for letter, and in a sense precisely the same, in different languages, we can hardly hesitate in allowing them a common origin; and when we see CUSH or Cus (for the *Sanscrit* name also is variously pronounced) among the sons of BRAHMA, that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree, preserved in *Ramayan*; when we meet with his name again in the family of RAMA; when we know that the name is venerated in the highest degree, and given to a sacred grass, which is used with a thousand ceremonies in the oblations to fire; that it is ordained by MENU to form the sacrificial zone of the BRAHMENS, and solemnly declared in the Veda, to have sprung up soon after the *deluge*, whence the Puranicks consider it as *the bristly hair* of the boar which

* And the sons of Ham; CUSH, and MISRAIM, and Phut, and Canaan, and the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and RAAMAH," &c.—Genesis, x c—6 and 7 v.

† Sir W. Jones's Discourse on the Origin and Families of Nations; delivered to the Asiatic Society, Feb. 23, 1792.

supported the globe; when we add that one of the seven *dwipas*, or great peninsulas of this earth* has the same appellation, *we can hardly doubt that the CUSH of MOSES and VALMIC was the same personage, and an ancestor of the Indian race.*"

Once more—he says also, "the children of HAM founded in *Iran*, (Persia) the monarchy of the first *Chaldeans*, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of 432,000 years; that they were dispersed at various intervals, and in various colonies, over land and ocean; that the tribes of *MISR*, *CUSH* and *RAMA*, settled in *Africa* and *India*; and that lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination, and wandered in separate clans, till they settled in distant isles, or in deserts and mountainous regions."

Now, Sir, you are bound, by the simplest rules of logic, to reason fairly from your own premises.—*The descendants of Ham*, you believe, are under the doom of an inevitable decree. In this position *all* his descendants are included—that is a clear consequence, which no reasoning can evade.—Therefore not only the *Africans*, but the *Indians*, and not only the *Indians*, but the † *Cushean Arabians*, and all the *Hamians*, who have mingled with other nations, must likewise be *out-lawed* and *excommunicated*. Take them all, trace them throughout the world—but see that thou touch not one descendant of Shem or Japheth!

———"nor cut thou less, nor more,
But just a pound of flesh: if thou tak'st more
Or less than a just pound, be't but so much
As makes it light or heavy in the substance,
On the division of the twentieth part
Of a poor scruple——thou diest!"

There is another *inevitable* consequence attached to your position.—If there exists in this world of probationary sufferings, *any one* calamity which it is *not* our duty to relieve, it follows that it is not our duty to relieve *any*;

* Cush or Ethiopia.

† A tribe of the Arabians, living near to the Sabeans. See Lowth's Isaiah, vol. 2. p. 272.

because no human understanding can comprehend that the Great and Good Creator would command us to assist some of our afflicted fellow-creatures, and not *all*.—Therefore, if it is *presumption* to rescue the Africans, now labouring as they are, under a more accumulated burden of calamity than ever afflicted any other race of men, it must be as great presumption to relieve other evils.—The *Priest* and the *Levite* were, *consequently*, humble and pious men; and the *good Samaritan*, acted like a presumptuous Fana-tic, in pouring oil and wine into wounds which were never meant to be healed.—We may surely be spared the trouble and expence of erecting Hospitals.—The vast Lazar House of bodily tortures may remain unvisited, and “*Despair may tend the sick, busy from couch to couch!*”—Nay, does not it also follow that it is *presumptuous* to relieve our own sufferings?—Certainly it does.—Why, then, take medicine when we are sick?—Why eat when we feel hunger?—Why sleep when we are weary?—This conclusion cannot be avoided, but by resorting to the monstrous absurdity of maintaining that the vast aggregate of calamities endured by the slaves, is *remediless*, but that all other natural, physical and moral evils may and ought to be relieved.

Thus, my good Sir, you see whither you have conducted yourself, for want of my *clue*, which is at your service whenever you will condescend to use it.—The natural course of an argument is a strait line, a wide *avenue*—the reasons stand bold and prominent on each side, like the upright, unbending trunks of the trees.—Each keeps its place in exact and measured regularity, and as we advance, becomes clear and distinct. The moment we enter, we behold the termination, in a perspective that is true to immutable rules, consequently we know where we shall find ourselves at the end.—But you, upon the subject in question, have, at the onset, rushed into a *Forest*, and, I verily believe, an *enchanted* one; for you have been scared, by horrible phantoms, from lending the help of your valour to the CONFEDERATE ARMY, which now stands much in need of the vigorous arm of every CHRISTIAN HERO. But to be serious.—You see, Sir, that your argument in favour of African Slavery, upon the ground of a *supposed curse*, is *fallen down*, a thousand fathom deep!—*Interest* is the only leading champion on your side of the question, who, with his “helmet of brass, and his spear like a weaver’s

beam," boldly defies "the armies of the living God."—Long established custom, for centuries, has blinded the eyes of men to the enormities of Slavery. The Negroes have been as necessary appendages to the plantations, as horses to an English Farm. Even Locke, that enlightened Metaphysician and firm believer in Christianity, could observe, "The Negroes are very advantageous to the American Plantations."—We can all feel the mighty power of habits, which throw their imperceptible, yet fatal and entangling, chains around mortals in every path of human existence. Private and political advantages have, in this debate, assumed more room in the field than justly belongs to them—they do not allow a fair vantage ground to justice, humanity, and plain reason.—Nay, they do not even listen to the argument, that "*Free labour is the most productive*,"* which is proved by our most acute political economists. The Colonies are of importance to the Kingdom, and the Planters have laid out their money in the purchase of Slaves, therefore their rights must be secured. All this is alledged strongly, and let it have a full, free and liberal discussion. Let the subject be fairly investigated with that earnestness and justice which its most awful importance demands;—and when every argument is honestly and accurately weighed in the even balance of immutable justice, then, but not till then, let it be decided by the English nation, whether Slavery ought or ought not, to be abolished.

Now, Sir, as there is *one* point which the closest reasoner is bound to *assume*, though it be not mathematically demonstrable. I mean *the good intentions* of its adversaries. I take it for granted that you are a man of honour and sincerity. You observe, that without *Faith* (that is, without a most *irrational*, I had almost said an *impious* belief, that one whole race of men lie under an *interminable* curse, and it is *presumptuous* to relieve them) "*we could hardly endure the reflection of their sufferings, without indefinable sensations of horror*." And though to *my plain understanding*, the best evidence we can give of our *Faith* is to shew

* "It appears from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by free men comes much cheaper, in the end, than that done by Slaves. It is found to do so even at Boston, New-York and Philadelphia, where the wages of common labour are so very high."—Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1, p. 109.

it by our *Works*; and the best way of consoling ourselves for the miseries of others is to endeavour to relieve them, I yet think that you have a portion in your composition of the *milk of human kindness*.

There is something in you *impressible* by compassion. Call in, then, your better judgment, and listen to right reason.—Among the numerous arguments *against* Slavery, every one of them built upon pillars of adamant, upon the immutable basis of the moral attributes of the Supreme Father of all his creatures, there is one, which though only collateral, is of irresistible force. I mean the inconclusiveness, the futility, and the glaring absurdity of the arguments of our opponents. When they say, the Slave-trade is profitable to the Planters, and very convenient for the purpose of supplying us with the luxuries of Rum and Sugar, such an argument is, at least, *clear*, and the lowest understanding can comprehend it. But when they alledge, that the Negroes are an inferior race, a link of the chain between a monkey and a man, and with Mr. Lawrence, the Professor of Anatomy,* doubt whether they have capacities to learn that there is a Creator and a Redeemer of mankind;—when you, Sir, maintain that the whole race is *accursed*;—satisfying your feelings, by the strength of their *faith*; what shall we say of the *rationality* of such reasoners?—

We can only meet these firework bombardments of our fortresses, by a little playful fire in return, while the cool calculations of interest, expediency, &c. we shall answer, with like cool calculations, hereafter. Opposition, fairly conducted, is of the greatest use to any cause. Without it, reasons cannot be weighed, nor truth established.—When once this kingdom is divided, upon this cause, into *two* Parties, viz. *Friends* and *Enemies*, there will be good hope that it may be *decided*.—It is the numerous class of the *neutrals*, the *sleepers*, that are the most to be dreaded; because if *they* were once to be awakened, they would either

* “The retreating forehead,” says this Anatomist, “and the depressed vertex, of the dark-coloured varieties of man, make me strongly doubt whether they are susceptible of these high destinies; (i. e. mental culture and pure religion) whether they are capable of understanding and appreciating the doctrines and the mysteries of our religion.”—

join us, or be, in the end, defeated by our powers.—We speak *confidently*, you will say. We do;—with confidence in Almighty assistance.—“We go forth in the *strength* of the Lord God.” In the behalf of his suffering creatures—to *restore* them to the rank of *men*, to *elevate* them to the rank of *Christians*. And, in this confidence, we say, while there remains, in the English bosom, any particle of commiseration for the miseries of others, any sense of the invaluable blessings of our own free laws, any gratitude for the “unspeakable gift” of the Gospel, our firmness in the cause of the degraded negroes will be rooted, like our native oak; adverse winds will only make it shoot the deeper, and not a *Jamaica* hurricane will be able to bend it.

Condescend then, I conjure you, to weigh well the arguments of your opponents.—We wish not to oppose with violent and headstrong zeal, but to *convince*, to *persuade*. Remember that it is *fairly* proved there is no argument *for* Slavery, but INTEREST, *that* includes policy, and private and public advantage.—You cannot muster any other reasons whatsoever.—There are, *against* it, JUSTICE, TRUTH, CHRISTIAN FEELING, I will not add *Mercy*; mercy is only extended to *criminals*, and the African slaves, being not in the rank of *men*, not *responsible beings*, having no will of their own, no civil or political existence, cannot, in any sense, be objects of *Mercy*, but of *Justice*.

And now, Sir, with earnestness, which, I trust, will not, and with sincerity which cannot, offend you, I beseech you, before you proceed further in the defence of slavery, seriously to consider the question. We fear not the censure of impertinence, intrusion, or misguided zeal, because, while the justice of our cause, and the uprightness of our principles invest us with the dignity of fearless champions, those same principles bind us “*to give no offence in any thing.*”

I must briefly observe, that in the foregoing observations, I have consulted the opinions of my eldest sister, TRUTH. As to PHILANTHROPY, she was so indignant at your idea of this *Hamian curse*, that we were obliged to remind her, *anger never does good to any cause*, and she bit her lips in *unanswerable* silence.

With profound veneration for your sacred office, and a cordial wish that we may not long continue *strangers to each other*,

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, &c.

COMMON SENSE.

ON THE ART OF WRITING.

The term for *Writing*, in the original language of mankind, is *Dikduk*, which signifies *a subtle invention*; such indeed it is, and may be ranked first on the list of the earthly blessings bestowed upon man. Mr. Robert More, with equal *philological* and *moral* precision, defines WRITING to be "*such a representation of our words, but more permanent, as our words are (or ought to be) of our thoughts.*" He states that the various combinations of 24 letters (and none of them repeated) will amount to six hundred and twenty thousand, four hundred and forty-eight *trillions*, four hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three *billions*, two hundred and thirty-nine thousand, four hundred and thirty-nine *millions*, three hundred and sixty *thousand*.

The Hebrew, Samaritan and Syriac alphabets contain 22 letters, the Arabic, 28; the Persic, Egyptian and Coptic, 32; the Russian, 41; the Malabar, 51; the Japanese, (which has three alphabets) 48; the Chinese (characters) 80,000; the Greek, 24.

OF SUBSTANCES USED FOR WRITING UPON.

It is curious to trace the varieties of substances made use of for the purpose of perpetuating events and ideas, from the tables of stone delivered by God to Moses* to the paper of the present age. The most ancient monuments of Chinese knowledge were engraven on *hard* and *large* stones. The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are found on obelisks and stone pillars; and the decrees of Lycurgus were carved

* And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him on Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God.—Exod. xxxi c—18 v.

in stone. A very ancient Greek superscription (2360 years old) is still to be seen, used as a seat before the porch of a Greek church near the site of Troy. The *Jus Publicum* of the Athenians was engraven on triangular stones. In the gallery of the grand duke at Florence are numerous Etruscan inscriptions on burnt clay. These materials were soon exchanged for the more convenient ones of metals, and lead then became the most ancient writing substance.—

“O that my words were written in a book!
And engraven with an iron pen and lead;
That they were cut in the rock for ever!”*

Pausanias says Hesiod's *Opera et Dies* was written on *lead* tables; and Pliny affirms that lead was used for writing, *rolled up*. Montfaucon notices a very ancient book of eight *lead* leaves, the first and last formed the cover, and on the back were rings fastened by means of a small leaden rod, to keep them together. Such was the origin of book-binding!—This book contained numerous mystic figures of the Basilidians, in words of partly Greek and partly Etruscan letters. “In a stone chest (see *Gent. Mag.* July, 1757) at Granada, in Spain, was found the Acts of the Council of Illiberis, held A. D. 304, written on *plates of lead*, in Gothic characters, and they are now translating into Spanish.”

Bronze was afterwards more frequently used than lead. Trajan's *Tabula Alimentaria* was engraven on brass, and a helmet found at Cannæ, now in the grand duke's gallery at Florence is inscribed with Punic letters. The criminal, civil and ceremonial laws of the Greeks were engraven on brass tables; and the ancient code of the Romans, called the *Twelve Tables*, was first written on tables of oak, and hung up over the Rostrum; but after it was approved by the people, it was engraven in brass. The Romans generally *etched* their contracts and public records in brass, even under the reign of the emperors.† Not long since, at Mongheer, in Bengal, a copper plate was dug up, on which was etched in Sanscrit, a deed of gift of land from a rajah of Bengal to one of his subjects. The date showed it to

* JOB XIX c.—23 v.—MISS SMITH'S TRANSLATION.

† When the Lacedemonians and Romans renewed their league with Simon, the High Priest and Defender of the Jews, “They wrote unto him in TABLES OF BRASS”—(1st. of Maccabees, XIV c—18 v.) Again—“They wrote (his acts) in THE TABLES OF BRASS, which they set upon pillars in Mount Sion.”—(1st. of Maccabees, XIII c—27 v.)

have been made a hundred years before the Christian Era, and proves that the Indians were then in a high state of cultivation.

Many antiquaries think wood was the most ancient writing material; box wood, deal and ivory tables were certainly used, but their date is difficult to ascertain. Tables, or thin slices of wood were anciently used by the Jews.—Solomon says, (Proverbs, chap. iii. v. 3.) “Let not mercy and truth forsake thee: bind them about thy neck; write them upon the *table* of thine heart.” Isaiah writes, (chap. xxx. v. 8.) “Now go, write it before them in a *table*, and note it in a book, that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever.”—And Habakkuk, (chap. ii. v. 2.) “And the Lord answered me and said, write the vision and make it plain upon *tables*, that he may run that readeth it.” These passages prove that tables of wood were in use before Homer’s time.

The civil laws of Solon were written on boards, which were placed in a machine, so constructed as to turn them easily. Even in the fourth century the laws of the Roman emperors were published on wooden tables (whence the expression of Horace—“*Leges incidere ligno.*”)

The Swedes had the same custom, and they still call the laws *Balkar*, from *Balkan*, a piece of timber. The Greeks and Romans, at an early period, used either plain wooden boards, or boards covered with wax. They called the unwaxed ones *Schedulæ* (whence our word *schedule*) and on these, it is thought the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew was written. These tablets were also called *codices*, *gr.* from *caudes*, the trunk of a tree (whence our word *codex*.) They were finely cut into thin slices, planed and polished, and consisted of several leaves; these were sometimes overlaid with wax and written upon with an instrument like a graver, called a *style* or *stile*. It may well be thought that implements so rude were unfavourable to the operations of *secret correspondence*; but though destitute of paper and invisible ink, the ingenuity of necessity still found means adequate to its purpose. Secret intelligence was conveyed in those days, by engraving the words upon the tablets, and then covering them completely with a coating of wax; and these and all other letters were sealed up in linen cloths.

When wills were written, these boards or tablets were bored and joined together by tape, as sheets of paper and parchment are now by our attorneys. The rich Romans used tables of ivory, instead of board, and the existence of ivory books has been fully ascertained by Martial, Salmasius and Schwartz. Modern critics and collators, who, by a dash of the pen or pencil, correct errors and notify passages instantaneously, must pity those, who, in the time of Cicero, were necessitated to notice obscure and faulty phrases by the clumsy process of affixing to them a piece of red wax. The Chinese, also, from very ancient times, have written with iron tools on boards, bamboo and metal.

(To be continued.)

PHYSICAL AND PENAL SUFFERINGS OF THE NEGRO SLAVES.

(For the *Humming Bird*.)

—“At pleasure mark him with inglorious stripes,
And crush out life by secret barbarous ways!” THOMSON.

In order to obtain correct ideas of the many evils of slavery, we not having been eye-witnesses of them ourselves, humanity demands that we should make ourselves acquainted with the representations given of them, by those who describe faithfully what they have seen. If our compassion and sympathy be interested by recitals of instances of *brutality* inflicted on the slaves, they will meet with an appeal equally forcible, in a brief description of the severe attacks of the *diseases* to which the poor slave is peculiarly or remarkably obnoxious, & which are often woefully aggravated by a multitude of contingencies which he can neither avert nor remedy. We will endeavour to give an outline sketch of a few of them, in the monthly budgets with which we send forth our little *Humming Bird*.

The colonial slaves are subject to a very deplorable and afflictive disease of the *skin*, which being indigenous in Africa, is too frequently conveyed to the West-Indies and America. Happily it has never yet been seen, as far as the writer is aware, in England. It is of so common occurrence in the West-India Islands, that it comes within

every one's observation. It is termed *Yaws*. There is a sort of actual horror on the countenance of the medical officer at the sight of a patient covered with this eruption. He views him afar off, and gives his opinion of it in the most hurried manner. The dreadful stories of white people having been infected, the shame attached to it, and, more than all, the fear of his prospects in life being blasted, are sufficient to counteract every desire of advancing his knowledge of the disease. The consequence of this is that the yaw patients are banished to some remote corner of the estate, where they are put under the care of some old woman, who keeps the sores clean and cures them. The eruption frequently breaks out suddenly in persons in high health, or is occasionally preceded by slight feverishness, debility and pains of the joints, like those of rheumatism. Small pimples first arise, smaller than the head of a pin, but gradually enlarge often to the size of a sixpence, or even larger, on the face, joints, and other parts of the body, in successive crops, some of the earlier ones drying off. The skin breaking occasionally, a foul scab is formed, from under which portions of red fleshy excrescences often spring up, and acquire the size of a raspberry, or a large mulberry, which fruit they somewhat resemble, from their exterior granulated aspect, and hence the popular appellation of *Yaw*, which in some African dialect signifies a raspberry. Their duration is very various. It is a milder and less formidable disease in children than in adults, as they often get rid of it in six or nine months; while in adults it is seldom cured in less than a year, and sometimes continues two or three. These excrescences, however, are very insensible, being devoid of pain, except when they appear on the soles of the feet, but then, they either prevent walking altogether, or render it extremely painful. They leave, commonly, no pits. The disease, in its progress, does not usually affect the general health, seldom proving dangerous, unless it be improperly treated. It is, however, a most filthy one. It is propagated solely by the contagion of the matter applied to the broken skin or wound of another person, who has not previously undergone the disease. For, like the measles and small-pox, yaws affect the same person only once during life; but though the susceptibility is destroyed, frequently very unpleasant effects arise in those who have had it. A mother, for instance, who gives

suck to a child with yaws, has the breast so excoriated from the acrid matter around the child's mouth, that a foul ulcer consumes the breast and destroys the mother; the child also perishing, unless supported by the greatest care, for it is usually abandoned by every person. In Africa it is commonly undergone in childhood. It is not propagated by effluvia, but by contagion or inoculation. It is sometimes inoculated by flies, in those hot countries where the skin, both of the diseased and healthy, remains uncovered. It is said that none ever receives it whose skin is whole, for which reason the whites are rarely affected; but the backs of the negroes, says Dr. Bancroft, who speaks from his own knowledge of the facts, being often raw by whipping, and suffered to remain naked, they scarcely ever escape it. "At Jamaica," says Dr. Thompson, "the disease is left to nature, allowing good diet and light work. Where the disease remains lurking in the habit, or gives rise to any hereditary malady, the European practitioners employ mercurial alteratives. If ever the symptoms cease, it is only soon to reappear—a second course must be submitted to, the first being not sufficient. I am ashamed to mention the number of such courses which I have seen a poor creature go through, and I hardly should get credit were I to relate what has been told me by old practitioners. Such symptoms are in general, incurable. Any proprietor of negroes is well aware of the loss he sustains from the yaws, not so much from the actual disease, as from the fatal symptoms that too often follow. The finest looking slave will, in consequence of such effects, in a few months, become a burden to himself and his master. If the patient has been ill fed, or caught cold, and the eruption repelled, he generally dies dropsical. When the disease attacks the throat, the suffering is extreme. Very afflictive appearances of a constitutional taint frequently occur in many negro children about the age of twelve or fourteen, who were previously remarkably fine and lively creatures. Worms are suspected, they pine away, a sore at last breaks out; the symptoms may here remain stationary, but more generally the disease goes on, and the patient becomes disgusting to every one. He lingers a few years in some lonely spot and *disappears!*"

If the moral evils of slavery are, alas! so numerous and deplorable, and they are confessedly *incalculable*, con-

ducted as it has hitherto been; it is in no degree less embittered by the corporeal sufferings which it entails on its unhappy victims both from the cruelty of man and from the various providential visitations which complete the full measure of the wretch's woes. The former are inflicted by the planter or the driver, sometimes from mere caprice, sometimes from passion, occasionally from remorseless revenge or other shameful motives, which apply particularly to the females, and that too frequently by a system of severity, and not rarely with a savage brutality, which cannot be told without exciting our utmost distress and indignation. Some most atrocious instances of cruelty were witnessed by Dr. Pinckard,* on some of the plantations, which cannot be too often presented to the eyes and ears of the public, while they call aloud for redress.—While he was at Jamaica, one of the most shocking instances of barbarity occurred, which was ever perpetrated in a land of slavery. Two unhappy negroes, a man and a woman, having been driven by cruel treatment to abscond from the plantation Lancaster, were taken and brought back to the estate; when the manager, whose inhuman severity had caused them to fly from his government, dealt out to them his avenging despotism with more than savage brutality. Taking with him two of his strongest drivers, armed with heavy whips, he led out these trembling and wretched Africans early in the morning, to a remote part of the estate, too distant for the officers to hear their cries, and there tying down first the man, he stood by and made the drivers flog him with many hundred lashes, until, on releasing him from the ground, it was discovered that he was nearly exhausted. In this state the monster struck him on the head with the but-end of a large whip, and felled

* "Dr. Pinckard," says Mr. Stephen, "is a gentleman with whom I have not the honor of being personally acquainted, and I do not know what his general sentiments are, on the subject of colonial slavery, any further than they may be collected from his work, which is not of a controversial character, nor apparently intended to serve either party in the question of the abolition, or that of colonial reform. His work, published in 1806, is one of miscellaneous information, and breathes throughout the true spirit of a candid, intelligent and judicious tourist, writing to serve no party, and to support no theory, but only to communicate, in a useful and entertaining manner, the facts he had witnessed, and the observations he had made.—I feel myself entitled to cite him as a NEUTRAL, as well as a highly respectable witness."

him again to the earth. When the poor negro escaping at once from his slavery and his sufferings, expired at the murderer's feet. But not satiated with blood, this savage tyrant next tied down the naked woman, on the spot, by the dead body of her husband, and with the whips already purpled with gore, compelled the drivers to inflict a punishment of several hundred lashes, which had nearly released her also from a life of toil and torture. Hearing of these acts of cruelty, Dr. Pinckard went immediately to the sick-house, to satisfy himself by ocular testimony. "When, alas! I found," says he, "the almost-murdered woman lying stark naked on her belly on the dirty boards, without any covering to the horrid wounds, which had been cut by the whips, and with the still warm and bloody corpse of the man extended at her side, upon the neck of which was an iron collar, and a long heavy chain, which the newly-murdered negro had been made to wear from the time of his return to the estate. The flesh of the woman was so torn, as to exhibit one extensive sore, from the loins almost down to the hams: nor had humanity administered even a drop of oil to soften her wounds: the only relief she knew, was that of extending her feeble arm, in order to beat off the tormenting flies, with a small green bough, which had been put into her hand for that purpose, by the sympathizing kindness of a fellow-slave. A more horrid and distressful spectacle can scarcely be conceived. The dead man and the almost-expiring woman, had been brought home from the place of punishment, and thrown into the negro hospital, amidst the crowd of sick, with cruel unconcern. Lying on the opposite side of the corpse was a fellow-sufferer in a similar condition to the poor woman. His buttocks, thighs and part of his back had been flogged into one large sore, which was still raw, although he had been punished a fortnight before." Dr. Pinckard witnessed the funeral; it was conducted in the usual manner, with all the mirthful ceremonies of African burial, forming a scene of gaiety, which consisted of music, dancing, singing and loud noise. All seemed more to rejoice in his escape from pain and misery, than to sorrow for his loss. The corpse was placed very carefully on the heads of two robust negroes, who carried it as far as the house, and then halting under the window of the manager's room, they set the coffin on the ground, and the whole gang of

slaves danced and sung and played their music around it for nearly two hours, beating, at intervals, with great violence against the door and window-shutters, and threatening vengeance on the murderer of their companion. The manager expecting that they would break into the house to massacre him, and feeling that he merited death from their hands, was seized with sad alarm; and bursting from his hiding-place, he ran abruptly to the mess-room, to implore protection from the officers, looking a ghastly figure of terror. The general feeling seemed to say—a wretch so cruel could deserve no compassion. A short suspense, which must have been more severe than the bitterest words, was broken, by referring him to his feelings, and demanding whether he conceived himself to merit either pity or protection. His fears had magnified the danger; for although the slaves were clamorous, no symptoms among them were noticed which evinced a disposition forcibly to break open the house. They then proceeded peaceably towards the place of interment. As they moved on, two women tapped gently at the sides of the coffin, as if to appease the corpse, or soften its wrath, while passing the murderer's abode. But they quickly faced about, and came running back to the house, the two negroes who were bearing the corpse, turning round and round with it upon their heads a number of times in the yard, while many of the gang beat and kicked against the door and window shutters of the manager's room, shouting and crying aloud for vengeance; upon which one of the book-keepers, an old man, who had been long on the estate, went out to join the crowd; and exerting his influence to, appease them, led them away; when they proceeded, dancing, singing and playing their music, to the place of burial. After a short time, the gang returned again to the court-yard, having left the remains of their companion in the peaceful grave. The busy dance was now resumed, and they hooted and hissed at the manager, and beat loudly at his door and window, continuing their shoutings and clamor until dark, when they all retired quietly to their huts. A few days after the funeral, the attorney of the estate called at Lancaster to visit the officers; the conversation turned on the late cruelty of the manager, and the consequent injury derived to the proprietor; they asked what punishment the laws of the colony had provided for such horrid and bar-

barous crimes; expressing their hope that the manager would suffer the disgrace he so justly merited; when to their great surprise, the attorney smiled and treated their remarks as the dreams of men unpractised in the ways of savery. He spoke of the murder with as little feeling as the manager had perpetrated it, and seemed to be amused at their visionary ideas of punishing a white man for his conduct towards slaves! To the question whether the manager would not be dismissed from the estate, the attorney replied, *Certainly not; adding, that if the negro had been treated as he deserved, he would have been flogged to death long before!* The laws of the colony, he said, were intended to prevent any person from chastising a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes, for the same offence: but by incurring only a small fine, he could at any time punish a negro with as many hundred lashes as he might wish, although the governor or the fiscal were standing at his elbow. Dr. Pinckard was careful to observe the progress of the hideous wounds inflicted on the poor woman, and to watch her recovery: her sufferings were severely increased by the inhuman neglect which succeeded to her punishment. One morning, on hearing the loud cries of a female, he was led to look out at his window, when he saw some negroes carrying this unfortunate woman from the sick-house into the yard, where they laid her down in the dirt, upon the bare ground, amidst a heavy shower of rain; then kneeling at her sides, they proceeded to examine minutely into her wounds, and employed themselves a full hour in *picking maggots out of her sores*. These had greatly irritated her wounds and increased her sufferings. The sight was most appalling! This beastly process ought to have been prevented, if the common dictates of humanity had been observed. The poor afflicted wretch groaned heavily under her tortures; and the operation, which in itself was severely painful, was rendered so in a still greater degree by the roughness of her untutored surgeons. During the whole of the time, she was exposed naked to the rain; also to the eyes of slaves, officers, soldiers, and all who chanced to pass that way. It was a spectacle equally offensive to humanity and delicacy!

Dr. Pinckard adds, that he is sorry to remark that the Lancaster plantation has been distinguished, for some time

past, for the inhuman treatment of the slaves; it seemed as if cruelty had become contagious upon this estate; for he learned, from respectable authority, that a former proprietor was so hardened in his savage conduct, that frequently when an unfortunate negro was bound down to the earth, and groaning under severe pain from heavy lashes, he would strike him a blow upon the head, with the butt end of his whip, between each of the strokes given by the drivers; and that carrying his barbarity still farther, he would sometimes order the teeth of the slave to be torn out by a pair of iron pincers, and would himself stand by to see the torture inflicted.

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

[NOTE.—We feel highly obliged by the foregoing communication of our friendly correspondent. If the facts he states should give a shuddering horror to the minds of any of our readers, we have only to remark that it is our duty to give a faithful picture of slavery, and if that picture be *hideous*, we cannot soften it. We must not *temporize* with our own principles. With the delicate sensibility of modern refinement, we have nothing to do; and if the susceptible be disgusted by the revolting object of a *flayed negro woman devoured by maggots*, let them remember that the delicious sweets, which, at every repast, pass their lips, are the *cause*, the *single* cause of these agonising tortures. Our business is not with mere feeling. We have no picturesque miseries to display; no woes that admit of the elegancies of poetry or romance. Our address is to that genuine sensibility, which is inseparably united with fortitude; which silently receives the wounding of her own heart, and thinks only of healing the agonies of the sufferer. In short, it is not *impulses* that we seek to excite, but *PRINCIPLES*. If our adversaries deem our statements incredible, let them come forth, and with manly freedom, *disprove* them, by evidence as strong as that on which they are advanced. Justice, especially in this her own peculiar cause, holds her balance with an unerring hand, and that scale in which truth shall be found, *must* preponderate.

In all just and upright minds, the bodily sufferings of the Africans must raise the ardent zeal of commiseration; may such be excited throughout the land! And Oh! may every honest man say to his neighbour, in the *words*, in the *spirit*, and in the *temper* of the martyr Latimer, when burning at the stake;—"Brother, we have lighted a flame in England, this day, which shall never be put out"—(till slavery be destroyed.)

In saying this, let him, laying his hand on his heart, remember that this flame, like that which produced the splendor of the Reformation, is *kindled* by "*a coal from the ALTAR.*"']

TO THE HUMMING BIRD.

SWEET BIRD,

We are rejoiced to find that you are at length disposed (instead of confining your visits in this Island to the Museums of the curious, where, for various reasons, you cannot be seen to advantage,) to court the acquaintance of the public generally, for the benevolent purpose of whispering into their ear, facts relative to the distress of so large a portion of their fellow-mortals, which *you* have had such ample opportunities of observing; and which it is surely only necessary we should be made acquainted with, to have our utmost efforts excited for their relief.

We trust that under the watchful superintendence of your *three invaluable friends* your activity will be encouraged, till the oppressed people whose cause you advocate shall no longer need your assistance. They will supply you with all the variety of food you can require, and a space sufficiently large for the exercise of all your native powers, and where the varied beauties of your plumage may be seen to the best advantage.

Under their joint care, the patient disregard of insults you evince when confined in your own country will be cherished, and at the same time they will lead you to consider the afflicted negroes as your *adopted brood*; for whose defence you will be still persuaded to exert all your energies, in resisting the attacks of every assailant. For the cautious perseverance, with which you have been accustomed to search for your food, through all the intricate mazes of the spider's web, you will have ample occasion in your present undertaking; and as when resting on the *Avocata** for refreshment after your labours, the brilliancy of your plumage surpassed in lustre the diadems of monarchs—so now, when resting from the still more important labours which you have begun with so benevolent a purpose, on the Oak, the boast and ornament of

* A species of pear-tree, called the vegetable marrow.

“England’s groves,” you will indeed possess a glory which would add lustre to the crown of the proudest monarch, in the consciousness of having done all in *your* power, for the relief of the bodily and spiritual sufferings of our miserable and oppressed black brethren,

We would heartily pray, sweet bird, that that Almighty Being, who “hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty;” and without whose assistance every effort will be fruitless, may prosper you in your pious work and labour of love. B.

[The Humming Bird, thus encouraged, feels her native bravery stimulated to double exertion, and she will now, in defence of her brood, not only defy birds *ten times larger than herself*, but fearlessly encounter even the talons of the vulture.—EDIT.]

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HUMMING BIRD.

Mr. Bullock, who, in his Mexican Museum, has a splendid collection of Humming Birds, among which there are many species before unknown, gives the following amusing account of this beautiful little animal.*

“The first I ever saw alive of these minute creatures, was in the yard of the house of Mr. Miller, in Kingston, Jamaica. He had taken his station on the twig of a large tamarind tree, which was close to the house, and overspread the yard; there, perfectly indifferent to the number of persons constantly passing within a few yards, he spent most of the day. There were few blossoms on the tree, and it was not the breeding season, yet he most pertinaciously kept absolute possession of his dominions; for the moment any other bird, though ten times as large as himself, approached near his tree, he attacked it most furiously, and drove it off, always returning to the same twig he had before occupied, which he had worn quite bare of leaves for three or four inches, by constantly perching on it. I often approached within a few feet, with pleasure observing his

* Six months residence and travels in Mexico, p. 264.

tiny operation of dressing and pluming, and listening to his weak, simple, and often-repeated note.”—In what had been the Botanical Garden of Jamaica, Mr. Bullock procured the smallest known, which, he says, “is considerably less than some of the bees, but which has the finest voice of any.” He poured forth his slight, querulous note among a most curious assemblage of the valuable indigenous and exotic plants and trees of the island, on a spot, once the pride of Jamaica, but now a deserted wilderness.” “Near Kingston,” Mr. Bullock proceeds, “I found only four kinds, all known to naturalists. But in Mexico the species are numerous, and mostly new or undescribed.—Near the Capital, on my arrival, scarcely one was to be seen, but in the months of May and June numbers were to be found in the Botanic Garden, in the centre of the city, and by offering a reward to the Indians, many were brought to me alive. I had nearly seventy in cages, which, with attention and care, I kept living for some weeks; and could I have devoted my whole attention to them, I have no doubt of the possibility of bringing them alive to Europe. The accounts of their being so fierce and untameable as to beat themselves to death when confined, are not true; no bird is more easily reconciled to its new situation. It is true, they are seldom off the wing, but never beat themselves against the cage, nor the glass of a window; they remain, as it were, suspended in the air, in a space barely sufficient for them to move their wings, and the humming noise proceeds entirely from the surprising velocity with which they perform that motion, by which they will keep their bodies in the air, apparently motionless for hours together. In each cage was placed a small earthenware cup, about half filled with sugar and water, of the consistence of a thin syrup; in this various flowers had been inserted, principally the yellow bell-shaped corolla of the great aloe, (*Agava Americana*), the end of which next the stem being cut off, permitted the liquid to flow into the flower, into which the little prisoners were constantly inserting their long bifid tongues, and drawing up its luscious contents. This operation was generally like most of the actions of the bird, performed on the wing, but they sometimes alighted on the flower, perching against its sides in an upright position, and pumping up the mucilaginous liquid. It is probable the whole of them feed on insects; numbers, I am certain, do so, having

watched them attentively in the Botanic Garden at Mexico, in pursuit of their minute prey, and in the yard of the house in which I resided at Themascaltepec, when one of them took entire possession of a pomegranate tree in blossom, on which he sat the whole day, catching the small flies that came to the flowers. I have very frequently seen them take flies and other insects on the wing, and have on dissection, found them in their stomachs.

There is little doubt that, with a supply of this food, as well as syrup, honey, &c. they might be kept alive in large cages; those in which I made my experiment, were much too small for the purpose.

Although in a state of nature, they are extremely tenacious of any intrusion of their own species on their dominions; yet in captivity, when several kinds have been confined together, I never observed the least inclination to quarrel, but have seen the smaller take what appeared to be unwarrantable liberties with those of five times their size and strength: thus, when the perch has been occupied by the great Blue-throated one, the diminutive Mexican Star has settled on the long beak of the former, and remained perched on it some minutes, without its offering to resent the insult.

The house I resided in at Xalappa, for several weeks, on my return to Vera Cruz, was only one story high, enclosing, like most of the Spanish houses, a small garden in the centre, the roof projecting six or seven feet from the walls, covering a walk all round, and leaving only a small space between the tiles and the trees which grew in the centre. From the edges of these tiles to the branches of the trees in the garden, the spiders had spread their innumerable webs so closely and compactly, that they resembled a net. I have frequently watched, with much amusement, the cautious peregrination of the Humming Bird, who, advancing, beneath the web, entered the various labyrinths and cells, in search of entangled flies, but as the larger spiders did not tamely surrender their booty, the invader was often compelled to retreat. The active little bird generally passed once or twice round the court, as if to reconnoitre his ground, and commenced his attack by going carefully under the nets of the wily insect, and seizing, by surprise, the smallest entangled flies, or those that were most feeble. In ascending the angular traps of the spider great

care and skill was required; sometimes he had scarcely room for his little wings to perform their office, and the least deviation would have entangled him in the complex machinery of the web, and involved him in ruin. It was only the works of smaller spiders that he durst attack, as the largest rose to the defence of their citadels, when the besieger would shoot off like a sun-beam, and could only be traced by the luminous glow of his refulgent colours.—The bird generally spent about ten minutes in this predatory excursion, and then alighted on a branch of an *Avocata* to rest and refresh himself, placing his crimson star-like breast to the sun, which then presented all the glowing fire of the ruby, and surpassed, in lustre, the diadems of Monarchs.—Europeans, who have seen only the stuffed remains of these little feathered gems in Museums,* have been charmed with their beautiful appearance; but those who have examined them whilst living, displaying their moving crests, throats, and tails, like the peacock, in the sun, can never look with pleasure on their mutilated forms. * * *

The sides of the laminae, or fibres of each feather, being of a different colour from the surface, will change when seen in a front or oblique direction; and as each lamina or fibre turns upon the axis of the quill, the least motion, when living, causes the feathers to change suddenly to the most opposite hues. Thus the one from Nootka Sound changes its expanded throat from the most vivid fire-colour to light green; the Topaz-throated does the same; and the Mexican Star changes from bright crimson to blue.

The sexes vary greatly in the plumage in many of the species; so much so that it is with difficulty we recognise them.—They breed in Mexico in June and July; and the nest is a beautiful specimen of the architectural talents of these birds: it is neatly constructed with cotton, or the down of thistles, to which is fastened, on the outside, by some glutinous substance, a white flat lichen, resembling ours.

The female lays two eggs, perfectly white, and large for the size of the bird; and the Indians informed me they

* In the Museum at Oxford is a beautiful small picture, (about the size of the Napoleon medals) of Christ bearing the cross. It contains nearly a hundred figures, and, with the closest inspection, is scarcely discoverable from painting, though executed only with the feathers of Humming Birds. This exquisite piece of art is the work of the first settlers in Mexico.

were hatched in three weeks, by the male and female sitting alternately. When attending their young, they attack any bird indiscriminately that approaches the nest. Their motions, when under the influence of anger or fear, are very violent, and their flight rapid as an arrow; the eye cannot follow them, but the shrill piercing shriek which they utter on the wing, may be heard when the bird is invisible.—They attack the eyes of the larger birds, and their sharp needle-like bill is a truly formidable weapon in this kind of warfare. Nothing can exceed their fierceness when one of their own species invades their territory during the breeding season. Under the influence of jealousy they become perfect furies; their throats swell, their crests, tails, and wings expand; and they fight in the air, (uttering a shrill noise,) till one falls exhausted to the ground. I witnessed a combat of this kind near Otumba, during a heavy fall of rain, every separate drop of which I supposed sufficient to have beaten the puny warriors to the earth.

In sleeping, they frequently suspend themselves by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the manner of some parrots.

These birds were great favorites of the ancient Mexicans. They used the feathers as ornaments for their superb mantles in the time of Montezuma, and in embroidering the pictures so much extolled by Cortez. Their name signifies, in the Indian language, beams or locks of the sun; they are still worn by the Indian ladies as ornaments for the ears.

A CHRISTMAS OFFERING

TO TRUTH, COMMON-SENSE AND PHILANTHROPY.

Having a hearty good will for the object of your infant publication, and the most affectionate respect for the *venerable characters* by which it is conducted, I am anxious to send some little Christmas offering, however trifling its intrinsic value may be, as a testimony of the warm interest I feel in the sacred cause which you have undertaken.

But that cause is, unhappily, attended with so many painful considerations, that I shall perhaps expose myself to the charge of an ill-timed intrusion, by connecting it with the holy festivities of this interesting period of the year. I feel, indeed, that there is something repulsive in the as-

sociation, and am reluctant to disturb the harmonious utterance of that hymn of grateful adoration which should ascend up to God our Saviour in acknowledgment of the mercies which we now commemorate. If, however, there be a discordant string, calculated to cause a disturbance which all must deprecate, it ought not, assuredly, to be slurred negligently over, but should be struck with an unsparing finger, again and again, until every well-attuned ear becomes impatient to correct its offensive grating.

When celebrating the blessings conferred upon ourselves, we should be reminded of the wrongs which we may have inflicted upon others. It appears to me, therefore, that I cannot render you a more seasonable service, than by bringing the spirit of slavery, and our conduct towards the unhappy children of Africa, into contrast with the "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" towards us, that the comparison may awaken us to a sense of our duty. On the one hand, we see condescension and suffering submitted to in order to raise those who were fallen; on the other hand, we observe the most heartless selfishness depressing those, whose condition was already low, to the last possible stage of moral, intellectual, and physical degradation. Consider by what manifestation of Divine love the Son of God has procured for himself the endearing title of the Sinner's Friend. He saw the low estate into which His creatures had fallen; that they were the slaves of Satan; their glory was departed; their eye no longer turned towards heaven, but their affections were set upon the earth. Nor was this the worst of their case, for their body, soul and spirit were so thoroughly brought down to the level of their abject condition, that many among them were satisfied with the fatal wages they received, they even gloried in their chains, and rejected every offer that was tendered them of emancipation.

Did the ignorant satisfaction which this deluded race experienced, at all mitigate their calamity in His estimation who had undertaken their deliverance? Did it allay the compassion of Eternal Love? Was it not rather considered an aggravation of their wretchedness, a proof that they had been beaten down even to the earth, and was it not therefore the strongest possible motive for immediate and effectual interference? The Saviour, accordingly, having taken the exact measure of human degradation, emptied himself of

his glory, put off the form and semblance of Divinity, and made himself of no reputation. Because they whom he wished to save were men, He became a man; because they were "holden of pride," He was among them in the form of a servant; because they had merited death, He endured death, and that in its most painful and ignominious shape; thus adapting himself in all respects, to the wants and character of those whom it was His object to deliver from the dominion of all evil.

Has He laboured in vain, and "poured forth His soul unto death" without reaping the fruits of his undertaking? Or, if he has been successful, whither shall we turn to find the practical consequences of this deed of mercy? Where shall we look for a transcript of the "mind that was in Christ Jesus?"

Doubtless there are those whose daily conversation illustrates and adorns the doctrine of God their Saviour, notwithstanding the baneful influence of contaminating example, and the inducement to oppression, which is held out by institutions that present no adequate barrier to the indulgence of every evil passion. We have had illustrious instances, even in the land of slavery, of Planters, whose unwearied efforts have been devoted to provide for the present comfort and eternal welfare of their slaves, and who have anxiously endeavoured to procure some substitute for the destructive system under which it was their calamity to live. There have also been Christian Missionaries, (as recent events will forcibly remind us,) who, constrained by the moral and religious necessities of 800,000 human beings, though of a different complexion, and a despised race, have resigned into other hands their peaceful ministrations at home, and undertaken more difficult and perilous duties in an unfriendly climate. These faithful soldiers of Christ have obeyed the call that was made on their charity, and have gone forth to feed the sheep of their Lord and Saviour, under every possible discouragement.—The precarious security afforded by an arbitrary government did not deter them; the threats of ungodly men did not make them afraid; the obstacles which they had to encounter did not damp their zeal; but they willingly submitted to much of the affliction, and to no small share of the contempt, which the slaves are called to bear, in order to supply them with motives for obedience and contentment,

and to raise their minds to hopes of future rest when the troubles of this life are over.

But is this the natural and ordinary produce of that soil? and are not such charitable exertions generally discouraged as unnecessary, and reprobated as having a tendency to make the slaves dissatisfied with their lot?—Undoubtedly they are; and after many a specious subterfuge, to avoid making so unpopular a declaration, we have at length been favoured with an explicit acknowledgment which may fairly be supposed to represent the sentiments of the prevalent party at our principal Colony—that *Christian education ought long since to have been prohibited as incompatible with the existing state of things*. “It is absurd to expect,” says the editor of the Jamaica Royal Gazette, “that we can have educated and Church-going slaves; and this opinion ought to have been boldly maintained and acted upon from the first.”* We are much indebted to this sagacious and far-sighted Journalist for his ingenuous avowal, though I doubt whether it be strictly accurate, at least in the sense in which it was made: for a man who has indeed submitted himself to the yoke of Christ, (whatever exertions he may think it right to make for the preservation of his legal rights,) will never attempt to deliver himself *by force* from the constituted authorities under which he lives, even should his situation be that of a *West-Indian slave*. At the same time it cannot be denied, that where the knowledge and consequent elevation of mind, which a Christian education will of necessity introduce, are not accompanied by the self-denying efficacy of Christian faith, (and this must, in many instances, be the case,) the result will, in all probability, be such as has been stated.—

Let the question, then, be fairly placed on this footing; and the dilemma in which we find ourselves is this, to give up all our Utopian and compromising schemes of amelioration, or to abolish the entire system of slavery throughout our dependencies.

Now conceive a man, after having taken any view, however cursory, of the affecting story of *our emancipation* from the bondage of Satan, sitting down to the sober consideration of this alternative! Would it be enough to tell him that there were instances of slaves receiving every kind attention of which their circumstances admitted? Would he

* I quote from memory, but believe that my report of the passage I allude to is substantially correct.

read with satisfaction equal to that manifested by the editor of John Bull "that on some occasions the negroes were permitted to enjoy an interval of Saturnalian license, like their fellow-bondsmen of antiquity; and that so much delicacy was shewn to their feelings, that while their Christian masters were testifying their joy and gratitude at the nativity of their Saviour, the slaves also were permitted to drown their cares in the flowing bowl, so that the sensations of the morrow bore witness to the liberality with which they had been entertained? Would such accounts as these satisfy the Christian legislator? Or would his mind be set at rest by the additional information that the slaves had no wish to change their condition, but would cheerfully persevere in their productive labours, if their repose was not disturbed by visionary projects of emancipation?

The immediate answer to such representations (even admitting their accuracy) would be, that they strengthened the call, not only for authoritative interference, but also for the total subversion of a system which, all admit, is liable to enormous abuse; which is manifestly productive of general profligacy; is incompatible with any progress in religious and intellectual cultivation; and which has, in fact, so completely degraded those under its influence, that, though *men*, they are satisfied to exist and work as *brutes*, with no wish for liberty, which we consider our greatest temporal blessing, and no longings after that state of future enjoyment, the prospect of which can support the Christian under the loss even of freedom itself.

Let us then either abjure the sacred name by which we are called, and renounce our interest in the festivities of this season, or put forth every energy with which God has entrusted us, to procure the utter extinction of a system, which is a *solecism* in our free constitution, a *blot* upon our national character, and a *disgrace* to our Christian profession. Wishing you every blessing which Christmas recollections can suggest, I have the honor to be, most respected Editors,

Your near Relative and very faithful servant,

ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.—The Editors rejoice in the SEASONABLE Alliance of their highly esteemed NEAR RELATIVE, and fervently trust that he will CONTINUE to unite with them in the defence of the injured slaves.

We are favored with the note of a "Free Man;"—and shall be happy to receive his hints at all times. In the present instance, we think the Poem he mentions may be made use of in another way.



SUGAR

CANE

THE Humming Bird.

No. 3.]

FEBRUARY, 1825.

[Vol. I.]

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SUGAR-CANE,

(With an Engraving.)

SWEET Plant!—so lovely to the sight,
With graceful crest of feathery white,
And waving leaves depending light,
By Hand Divine bedeck'd!
That Hand, which gave us grain for food,
With gratifying sweets endued
Thy golden stem erect.—

Thou wert, by nature, sure, design'd
An emblem of the upright mind,
Bearing internal worth inshrin'd,
And hid from idle eyes;
No pilf'ring Bee thy store can spoil;
It only yields to patient toil
Its rich, inherent prize.—

Shall bleeding hands that prize pro-
phane?

Forbid it, BRITAIN!—burst the chain!
From Slav'ry's grasp redeem the CANE;
Thou then its juice may'st sip,
At thine own board, free, blest, secure,
'Mid home delights, with conscience
pure,
And PRAISES on thy lip.—

And, as thou think'st, with joy sincere,
Joy, mingled with a grateful tear,
That AFRICA'S Sons are Brethren *here*,
With *Christian blessings* grac'd,
From torture, vice and bondage freed;
'Twill be a nectar'd drop indeed,
That Angels' lips might taste!—

A field of sugar canes, in the month of November, when they are in full arrow (or blossom) is one of the most beautiful of all natural sights.* The cane, when ripe, is of a golden yellow colour, and, where much exposed to the sun, beautifully streaked with red. From the centre of the long narrow leaves at the top, shoots an arrow like a silver wand, from two to six feet in height; from the summit of which grows a plume of white feathers, delicately fringed with lilac, not unlike the tufts of that elegant shrub.

The sugar cane belongs to the family of grasses, and was named *Saccharum* by Pliny, either from the Arabic *sacchar* or *zuchar*, or the Indian *shukur*. The root is jointed like that of other sorts of cane or reed. From this arise four, five or more shoots, proportionable to the age or strength of the root, eight or ten feet high, according to the goodness

* Beckford's account of Jamaica.

of the ground. In some moist rich soils, canes have measured near twenty feet long; but these are not so good as those of middling growth; for though they abound in juice, they have little of the essential salt. The canes are jointed, and these joints are more or less distant, in proportion to the quality of the soil. A leaf is placed at each joint, and the base of it embraces the stalk to the next joint before it expands; from hence to the point it is three or four feet in length according to the vigor of the plant: there is a deep whitish furrow or hollowed mid-rib, which is broad and prominent on the under side: the edges are thin and armed with small sharp teeth, which are scarcely to be discerned by the naked eye, but which will cut the skin of a tender hand, if it be drawn along them. The flowers are produced in panicles at the top of the stalks, which are from two to three feet long, and are composed of many spikes, nine or ten inches in length; these are again subdivided into smaller spikes; which have long down inclosing the flowers, so as to conceal them from sight. The seed is oblong, pointed, and ripens in the valves of the flower. The French have introduced into their West-India islands, plants from the East Indies, and thence they have been *brought* into some of the English islands. Sir John Laforey planted them in Antigua, and proved their superiority over the old canes of the West Indies. He gives an account of one species brought from the island of Bourbon, reported by the French to be the growth of the coast of Malabar; another from Batavia, and a third from the island of Otaheite. The two first are much alike, both in appearance and growth; but the last is much larger than the common sugar-cane of the West Indies, the joints of some plants measuring eight or nine inches in length, and six in circumference. The colour of the canes and of the leaves is also different. They are sufficiently ripe for grinding at the age of ten months, and are said to make the finest sugar. They appear to stand dry weather better than the others, and are not liable to be attacked by that destructive insect called the *borer*.

Of what country the sugar-cane is a native, it may be difficult to ascertain, it having been transported and transplanted into various places, by the avarice and luxury of man.

On the discovery of the Western hemisphere, it was

found growing near the mouth of the Mississippi, and in many other parts of the new world. But, except in Mexico and Peru, America had not discovered the value of this treasure, for it remained in an uncultivated state.

The sugar-cane was brought from the East Indies, by the Saracens, to Sicily, Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus; and abundance of sugar was made in those islands before the discovery of the West Indies in 1492 by Columbus, or the East in 1497 by the Portuguese. Hence it was transplanted by the Moors into Spain, in the Southern provinces of which, sugar was produced in abundance. In 1420, the Portuguese carried the cane and the manufacture from Sicily to Madeira. Hence the culture of the sugar-cane and the art of making sugar, were extended to the West-India islands and the Brazils. In 1506 the cane was carried into Hispaniola or St. Domingo, from the Canaries; and there Velloso and Atiença were the first manufacturers who extracted sugar from it. It yielded so well, that, in a short time, there were on the island forty water and horse mills. Prior to this, however, sugar was made in the island of St. Thomas under the line, on the coast of Africa, by the Portuguese, who discovered that island in 1405. The Dutch first established a sugar manufactory, in the Brazils in 1580, and six or seven hundred of that nation being dispossessed, carried the art of planting the cane and making sugar in a proper manner to the West Indies in 1655. Sugar had indeed been made by the English at Barbadoes in 1643, but it was only the Muscovado, moist and full of molasses, and scarcely worth sending to England. When the English forces, under Cromwell, took Jamaica in 1656, they found only three sugar plantations on it, and they did not make sugar there till 1664.

Sugar is exported from China to every part of India, even where abundance of it is made; and Du Halde says, that it constitutes a great trade to Japan. Father Soureiro informs us that sugar is made to a much greater extent in Cochin China than in China; and that crystallized sugar is exported from that country in great quantities. He thus describes the method of making it. The raw sugar being purified by putting it into conical earthen vessels, with a thin stratum of moist clay on the top, and discharging the impurities through a small hole in the bottom; this whiten-

ed, or as we call it, clayed sugar, is dissolved in water over a fire, and boiled to the consistence of a thick syrup: it is then exposed in a cool place during the night, with some slender rods cut from the Indian reed, spread over it; the syrup, as it is condensed by the nocturnal cold, adheres to these rods, and is formed into beautiful crystals.

The Eastern nations esteem this above any other sugar; and this may account for the art of making loaf sugar having been little practised in the East.

It is curious to observe, that nearly in the middle of the first century, when epicurism had risen to such a height among the Romans, as that Vitellius is said to have spent, in one year, in feasting, a sum equivalent to seven millions, two hundred thousand pounds; these refiners of the art of eating considered sugar only as a medicine, which they used in syrups and electuaries, substituting it for honey, (See Pliny;) and Galen and the Arabian Physicians recommend it to be used for the sick in fevers.—Two centuries have scarcely elapsed since sugar has become an ingredient in the popular diet of Europe, though the year in which it was introduced into England is difficult to be ascertained.—It was certainly in use here in 1466, yet it was chiefly confined to feasts and to medicine, till it was brought from the Brazils to Portugal about 1580, and imported from thence hither.

Sugar, or the saccharine matter, may be extracted from most vegetables, particularly the maple, birch, beet, grasses, &c.; but the sugar-cane affords it in larger quantities, and more readily than any other. The common method now practised in planting the canes is, to make a trench with a hoe, which is performed by hand; into this, one negro drops the number of cuttings intended for planting, at the distance the hills are designed; these are by other negroes placed in their proper position, then the earth is drawn about the hills with a hoe. All this is performed by hand; but if the right use of ploughs was well known in those countries; the work might be *much better* performed, and for *less than half the expence*; if instead of making a trench with a hoe, a deep furrow were made with a plough, and the cuttings properly laid therein, the ground would be deeper stirred, and there would be more

depth for placing the canes. The canes are, in those warm countries, propagated by cuttings or joints, of proper lengths; these are from fifteen to twenty inches long, in proportion to the nearness of their joints or eyes.

The average importation of Sugar into England and Scotland, in four years, viz. 1787, 1788, 1789 and 1790, amounted annually to 1,952,262 hundred weight.—The annual exportation, during this period, was 296,996 hundred weight, which leaves the annual consumption in England and Scotland, 1,655,266 hundred weight, or 118,233 hogsheads, of fourteen hundred weight each.—Thus we find that 185,389,792 pounds of Sugar are annually consumed in England and Scotland. But the latter does not consume more 12,000 hogsheads: the consumption of England therefore, is 166,573,344 pounds. Now taking the population of England at eight millions, each individual at an average has about twenty pounds of Sugar in a year.* That the cultivation of Sugar produces a far greater profit than that of any other object of Agriculture, we state on the authority of Adam Smith. He observes,—“The Sugar Colonies possessed by the European nations, in the West-Indies, may be compared to those precious vineyards which produce the choicest wines. Their whole produce falls short of the effectual demand of Europe, and can be disposed of to those who are willing to give *more than what is sufficient to pay the whole rent, profit and wages necessary for preparing and bringing it to market, according to the rate at which they are commonly paid by any other produce.* In Cochin China the finest white Sugar sells for three piastres the quintal, which, according to the English standard of money and weight, would be *eight shillings the hundred weight*: this is not a *fourth-part* of what is paid for the brown or muscovado sugar, and not a *sixth-part* of what is paid for the finest white Sugar.—The greater part of the cultivated lands in Cochin China are employed in producing corn and rice, the food of the great body of the people, The respective prices of corn, rice and sugar, are there probably in the natural proportion, and which recompenses the Landlord and Farmer, as nearly as can be computed, according to what is usually

* See Miller's Gardener's and Botanist's Dict. Arts *Saccharum*.

the *original* expence of improvement, and the *annual* expence of cultivation. But in our Sugar Colonies, the price of Sugar bears no such proportion to that of the produce of a rice or corn field, either in Europe or America. It is commonly said that a Sugar Planter expects that the rum and the molasses should defray the whole expence of his cultivation, and that *his sugar should be all clear profit.*"*

"I have been assured," says Miller, "by two of the most sensible and judicious Planters of sugar in America, that they have made some experiments of the horse-hoeing culture for their canes, which answered much beyond their expectations; one of those gentlemen told me, he planted one acre in the middle of a large piece of canes, in rows at five feet asunder, the hills being two feet and a half distant, and but one cutting to each hill. The ground between the rows was from time to time stirred with the horse plough, to destroy the weeds and earth the plants; with this culture the canes were *double* the size of those in the same piece, which were cultivated in the usual way: and when the canes were cut, those which had been thus planted and managed, were ground and boiled separately; the produce of sugar was full as great as that of the best acre in the same piece; the expence of boiling was little more than a sixth-part of that of the other method; and he sold the Sugar for six shillings per hundred weight more than he could get for the other."

It is near half a century since Mr. Miller recommended the use of the plough in the culture of the sugar-cane. Mr. Long afterwards, in 1774, earnestly exhorted his countrymen to profit by experiments that had been made with the plough in Jamaica. Some pieces were ploughed at an estate in the parish of Clarendon, and left to lie for some time before they were holed by the negroes, who *found them uncommonly easy to work*. Before ploughing they were spread over with manure; and the canes planted upon them turned out near *three hogsheads* of fine sugar on an acre, which was one hogshead more than they had been used to yield from the common method of culture. It was found that one plough turned up as much ground in a day as a hundred negroes

could with their hoes, and in a much better manner.—The plough is of signal use in stiff or heavy clay land; the turning up of which, with hoes, is a most laborious, tedious task, and has injured multitudes of negroes, who can scarcely get through it except in very favorable, open weather, which does not always happen at the hoeing season. The canes for planting, may be cut short, three or four eyes in each junk, and one row laid in each furrow; thus, with the greatest expedition, a furrow will no sooner be cut than planted, and the whole covered in, at the next return of the plough: after the planting is finished, the able negroes may cover the ridges well, raising them highest towards the middle, rake the loose earth out of the trenches, and cut cross drains where necessary; all which will be an easy task, after the surface has been well broken and opened. It is not easy to calculate the work of a plough in sugar-grounds, on account of the great variety of soil; but in moderate land, neither very stiff nor very light, it will work twenty-four acres a week; and it is certain, that at six hours a day, it will perform what would require the labour of six hundred negroes, employed during the same space, eight hours in a day. The plough therefore both saves the labour of many negroes, and enables the planter to cultivate many acres more than he could otherwise do; besides that the canes so planted, yield more sugar, and of a superior quality.

Stronger inducements there cannot be for planters to break through the force of prejudice and custom, and bring this method of culture into use, wherever their land is not so steep as to render it impracticable, and even where the plough cannot be used, terraces might be formed, after the manner of the Chinese.

Dr. Stokes, who communicated the above, to be reprinted in Mr. Young's Annals, adds:—"In imitating Britain, they (the Planters) will, I trust, at length discover that their own interests and those of humanity are the same."

ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIAL SLAVES.

Ist.—DRIVING SYSTEM.—In a highly civilized country, whose institutions and manners are regulated by the soften-

ing influence of Christianity, it seems as if it required a new sense of apprehension to form a complete idea of the condition of a *Slave*. Here, servitude takes its just place in the ranks of subordination. The servant is a Briton and a Man; his rights and privileges are the same as those of his master. He renders his service in freedom; if dutiful and obedient, he obtains the attachment of his master; he finds in him a benefactor, ready to protect and cherish, and reward him. The master is served, attended, his household comforts arranged, his orders obeyed, his interests watched over, his property defended, his instructions honoured, and himself beloved, by the honest and faithful servant.—We trust, that there is many an old Adam, who thus follows his master,

“ To the last gasp, with truth and loyalty—”

and many a kind master, who regards such a servant as his friend.—

This relative duty is, perhaps, one of the most rational and delightful of all the charities of life;—as it so intimately promotes domestic comfort, and the welfare of the lower classes. And whence arises this beautiful order of things? Whence, but from that Divine authority which arranges all the branches of human duty, each in its place, with such admirable order, that they mutually exalt and adorn each other.

That these duties of master and servant are, in this manner, generally practised, would be far too much to affirm; but this statement is verified, in a higher or lesser degree, in all well-principled and well-ordered families; and whether it were practised or not, it is enjoined by that *established* code of religious laws which this country *professes* to obey; and therefore we may safely reason from its authority.

Let us now compare this state of servitude, with the slavery of the black population in our West-Indian colonies—and first let us take an *authentic* account of the *driving system*, as it is called, viz. the working of the negroes by the terror of the cart-whip.*

* See Stephen's "Slavery of the West-India Colonies delineated"—Vol. 1. p. 46—et seq.

The slave is *liable* to be punished by the whip, and to be tormented by every species of personal ill treatment, not only by his owner, (for he is often absent, living amid all the elegancies of Europe, or the indolent luxuries of a West India mansion) but by his delegates and sub-delegates. These are, the overseer and his subordinate agents. The latter are, for the most part, either Creoles of the lowest class of whites, taught from their childhood a proud contempt of the African race, or else raw lads from Europe, few of whom are spared by the climate long enough to learn the true character and proper treatment of the helpless beings they are called to govern.

In the feudal times, the English lord had an arbitrary power of beating his villein, but this power could only be exercised *in person* and with *his own hands*; but the power of the slave-owner to inflict corporeal chastisement is, strictly speaking, *unlimited* and *absolute*, and is delegated even to the *drivers*. These are generally negro slaves, chosen from among the most intelligent and athletic. Their business is to superintend the labours of the slaves in the field, to whom their plump and robust appearance makes a striking contrast. As the ensign of their office they bear a long, thick and strongly plaited whip, with a short handle. This whip is coiled and slung like a sash over their shoulders, except when extended in the hand for use. Being long trained to the expert use of this instrument, they well know how to direct, and to aggravate or mitigate its inflictions, at the will of their employers, or at their own. They can, when they please, produce a report from the smack of this whip, sufficient to make the stoutest heart tremble; and this report, frequently repeated, from a cane field, often serves, instead of a bell or a conch, to summon the negroes from their huts at peep of dawn, to their daily labours. In Jamaica, the whip is called the *cattle-whip*, being the same used for driving the cattle. Mr. Beckford (who, let it be remembered, is an avowed Apologist for colonial slavery,) confesses that “the *mules* dread the *thunders* of the whip; for this instrument of correction in Jamaica, whether it be in the hands of the *Cart-man*, the *Mule-boy*, or the *Negro-driver*, is heard, in either case, to resound among the hills, and upon the plains, and to awaken the echoes wherever the reverberation of the lash shall pass.”

The drivers, however, can, when they please, produce a loud report, without inflicting severe stripes. On the other hand, when told to *cut*, as the phrase is, they can easily give a gash at every stroke, so as to make even a few lashes a tremendous punishment. "A planter, who valued himself on his humanity," continues Mr. Stephen, "once pointed out to me a driver of his then passing by, as a man whose strength of arm and adroitness in the use of his whip were more than commonly great, and who had also a cruel disposition." "I once actually saw the fellow," said he, "lay open the flank of a mule he was driving, cutting fairly through its tough hide at a single stroke." He added "That he had punished him for it, and ordered him and the other drivers not to *cut* the negroes, upon pain of being flogged themselves." *Cutting* does not mean merely drawing blood and peeling off the scarf skin, for those are effects of almost every stripe on the naked body with this instrument, however leniently applied, but it means cutting through the *cutis* or true skin, into the muscles or flesh below; and this is so usual in cart-whippings, when regularly inflicted for a serious fault, that confinement to the hospital during the cure, is an ordinary consequence, and large scars or weals remain during the life of the patient." Dr. Collins, an experienced planter, and a public and able apologist for colonial slavery, observes—"The delinquent thus punished, is confined to the sick-house for five or six weeks, in an uncomfortable position, his flesh lacerated, his body disfigured;" and he deprecates the practice as inhuman and impolitic.

The Russian punishment of the knout has excited the horror of civilized states, but there is no difference between the knout and the cart-whip, except in their application to different parts of the body. The back of the Russian culprit being laid bare, the knout, with deep, though few incisions, cuts from the nape of the neck to the loins, often producing death. The negro is lacerated by a like instrument on a part of the frame, where the gashes are not expected to prove fatal, though there have been instances where death has ensued.*

If it be alledged that humane planters will have hu-

* See the fact stated from Dr. Pinckard, in No. 2 of this work, p. 52.

mane drivers, it may justly be answered that the system of working the slaves is *mechanically barbarous*. It is a vast engine, in which one wheel drives on another, and in which, no rational motive being the main spring, if any regulation of humanity interferes, all will go wrong.

The following description of field-labour, given by Mr. Stephen, and which is proved to be fact, will afford a clear view of this barbarous system.—

“When employed in the labour of the field, as, for example, in *holeing a cane-piece*, that is, turning up the ground with hoes into parallel trenches, for the reception of the cane plants, the slaves of both sexes, from twenty, perhaps, to fourscore in number, are drawn out in a line like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in his hand; and close to them, in the rear, is stationed a driver, or several drivers, in number duly proportioned to that of the gang.—Each of these drivers, who are always the most active and vigorous negroes on the estate, has in his hand, or round his neck, from which, by extending the handle, it can be disengaged in a moment, a long, thick, and strongly plaited whip, called a *cart-whip*, the report of which is as loud, and the lash as severe, as those of the whips in common use with our waggoners, and which he has the authority to apply at the instant when he perceives an occasion, without any previous warning. Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues without interruption, for a certain number of hours, during which, at the peril of the driver, an adequate portion of the land must be holed.

“As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advance together, it is necessary that every hole or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and if any one or more negroes were allowed to throw in the hoe with less rapidity or energy than their companions in other parts of the line, it is obvious that such part of the trench as is passed over by the former will be more imperfectly formed than the rest: it is therefore the business of the drivers not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work as nearly as possible in equal time and with equal effect; the tardy stroke must be quickened, and the

languid invigorated; and the whole line made to dress, in the military phrase, as it advances; no breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor to be repaid by brisker action or return to work, can be allowed to individuals: all must work or repose together."

Here, it is evident, the driver must see that a certain portion of work is performed in a certain time. The only method to use for this purpose is force.

Every action must spring from an adequate motive.—Motive is the only power that can act upon the volition of man, and the slave is deprived of every motive except compulsion. He has no interest to stimulate him. He gains nothing by his labour; he cannot acquire property; he cannot labour for his children; he cannot provide comforts for his old age. He must therefore be worked by terror of punishment alone; and the driver has no other power by which to enforce obedience. Injustice, oppression and cruelty form, therefore, the axis upon which slavery turns; and to talk of ameliorating the condition of the field slaves, viz. those who cultivate the cane-pieces, is absurd; for unless their labour was superseded by the use of the plough, *it is not possible*, that it can be conducted in any way, except the driving method. The slaves are as much mere senseless instruments under the power of the driver, as the whip is under his hand, and absolute force alone can wield them. The driver may be more or less severe, according to his natural disposition, but manage them he must, or be punished himself; and terror is his only power of management. He must observe when any of the gang, working in a line together, do not cast their hoes with equal force and effect, he must interpose at the moment, or the whole line would fall into confusion, or the work would be spoiled. By what way could he correct the faults of beings, whose reasoning faculties are quite out of the question, but by his whip?

Thus labour the sugar-cane slaves; toiling from day to day, on a burning glebe, beneath a vertical sun, and under the lash of one of their own countrymen; for the drivers are generally negroes, the whites being unable to bear exposure to the heat. It is far too much for the stoutest advocate of the colonial system to say that one hu-

man being may be trusted to the absolute power of another, without any serious injury. But when we consider that the drivers are and must be, by their office, generally hardened and depraved, subject to the controul of their own passions, and being exempt from hard labour, healthy and strong, and puffed up by superiority over their wretched brethren, what a horrible train of cruelties and injuries must inevitably spring from their despotism? Could all the facts of barbarity be fairly refuted, (but alas! they are too well established,) the certain reasoning from analogy would prove that such atrocities *naturally* arise out of the system.

Not only has the field-slave to bear personal chastisements from the driver, but he is also frequently forced to work for him too. Though he can scarcely find time and strength to cultivate his own little allotment of ground for his subsistence, the feeblest and the weariest dare not refuse to give up a portion of his *Sabbath-day* in hoeing and weeding the grounds of the drivers, or in carrying their produce to market. Nay, it is no rare case that the drivers even obtain from these wretched drudges their own grounds!—This has been confessed and lamented by some planters themselves, who declare they are unable to check the evil, as the slaves *dare not give information*. That this fact is beyond dispute, is proved by the confession of an able apologist of slavery, who speaks of “The great attention necessary from managers to ensure that the negroes work their provision-grounds *for themselves* ;” and mentions that “inferior slaves are very frequently procured by terror or other motives to work them *for others*.”*—

A proof, likewise drawn from the veracity of a candid opponent, and therefore *irrefragable*, of the correctness of the present statement, is found in the work (before alluded to) of the late Dr. Collins, of St. Vincent, entitled, “Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro-Slaves in the Sugar Colonies.”—This gentleman observes—“Sorry I am to say that by much too frequent use has been made of this instrument, (the cart-whip,) and that it is often employed to a degree, which, by inducing a callosity of the parts, destroys their sensibility and renders

* Considerations on the Emancipation of Slaves, by a West-Indian Planter.

its further application of little avail. It is not unusual to arm the drivers with it, and to leave the use to their discretion. Of course it is administered neither with impartiality nor judgment; for it is generally bestowed with rigour on the weakest negroes of the gang, and those who are so unfortunate as not to be in favour with the sub-despot, and that too, frequently on any part of the naked body or the head, while the more able negroes, who sometimes deserve it, escape with impunity." (p. 201, 202.) He adds—"The exertions, however, that are to be required of them, should be proportioned to their faculties, which vary greatly in different subjects. This seems not to have been sufficiently attended to in the distribution of labour; as it is usual to divide the negroes of an estate more according to their age than their abilities; power being inferred from age, &c. The consequence is, either that the weaker negroes must retard the progress of the stronger ones, or your drivers, insensible of the cause of their backwardness, or not weighing it properly, will incessantly urge them, either with stripes or threats, to keep up with the others, by which means they are *overwrought and compelled to resort to the sick-house*.—(p. 176.)

Again. "Nothing tends so much to render negroes insensible to shame and to pain, as the abuse of the cart-whip for every trifling fault. As to that tremendous application of it which confines the delinquents *to the sick-house* for five or six weeks*, the offence ought to be very weighty indeed that can call for and justify it; for it is a severity not more repugnant to humanity than to good policy, there being a certain loss of the service of the negro for so long a time, besides the injury that his constitution may sustain by a long confinement in an uncomfortable position, with his body naked," &c.—(Practical Rules, &c.—p. 209.)

* Their hot-houses or hospitals are, generally speaking, filthy receptacles. They are happily styled hot-houses, for they are hot enough; as the hospital is, on most estates, a confined room, with very often an earthen floor: on this is a platform of boards raised two or three feet high, like the soldiers' guard-bed, on which the sick lie down in their own clothes, covered sometimes with a blanket, and sometimes not." Bickell's West Indies as they are, p. 52. It must also be remembered that the *flogged patients*, having their backs torn and bare from the cutting of the lash, cannot lie on their backs, or sit down; so that the torment of an uneasy posture is added to their other sufferings.

These are testimonies not to be controverted; and when the real situation of the slaves is fairly understood, the cause will make its way into *every heart*. Many an honest man has quieted his own feelings upon the subject, and lulled his conscience into passiveness, by being told that the negroes *live comfortably* and possess fowls, pigs, &c.—This is true only in some instances, of the superior slaves, viz. drivers, distillers, masons, &c.*—these being employed *singly*, cannot have each a driver at his back, and they must therefore be worked by other motives than mere compulsion.

When the field-slaves are employed in labours that necessarily require them to work separately, such as plucking the grass for the cattle, blade by blade, in the hedge-rows or on the mountains, each is tasked to produce a bundle of grass of a given size, in a given time, under pain of immediate punishment by the cart-whip; and this time is a part of his leisure from more regular work, allotted for the preparation of his dinner; so that if he wastes time in grass-hunting, he loses his meal. Yet such is the force of the habit of *being driven*, that he will not work without the whip, and it has been observed, that in the English Islands, negligence in task-work occasions more floggings among the slaves than all the rest of their trespasses put together. This fact has also been perverted to an argument against abolition of slavery, and many an one has confidently affirmed and believed that as the negroes will not work without the whip, it is very lawful to use it.

We add a few more facts relative to the driving method in various ways, from Dr. Pinckard.

He observes that in walking through Kingston, he saw an example of slavery unlike any thing that had met his eye to windward—16 or 18 negroes linked in a sort of harness, and forming a regular team, were drawing an immense trunk of mahogany, conducted by a driver with a cart-whip, who went whistling at their side, and flogging them on, precisely as an English carter does his horses. Negroes are also seen here working upon the streets chained together in pairs. This is the established mode of punishment for

* The field-negroes in Jamaica are nine-tenths of the population. See Bickell's "West-Indies as they are"—a work just published, by Hatchard, and containing a view of slavery, drawn with an upright hand, by an eye-witness.

slight misdemeanors. Near Bridge-Town Dr. Pinckard's attention was arrested by a party of slaves, or according to the language of the Island, a gang of slaves, who were employed in working a road to the Governor's house. It was the first large body of slaves he had met with, toiling at their regular employment, immediately under the lash of the whip; and he could not but remark that the manner of executing the task afforded a striking example of the effect of climate and of slavery. Nothing of diligence, or industry appeared among them; and but little of bodily labour was expended. They seemed almost too idle to raise the hammer, which they let fall by its own weight, repeating the blow several times upon the same stone, until it was broken to pieces. A mulatto overseer attended them, holding a whip at their backs; but he had every appearance of being as much a stranger to industry, as the negroes; who proceeded very indolently, without seeming to beat all apprehensive of the driver or his whip, except when he made it fall across them in stripes. In proportion to the work done by English labourers, and the price usually paid for it, the labour of these slaves could not be calculated at so much as twopence per day; for almost any two men in England would do as much work in a given time, as was performed by a dozen of these wretched, meagre-looking *blacks*. On the coast below Mahaica, Dr. Pinckard observed among the slaves, what to him was a novelty; although he was told by a gentleman of the colony, that it was by no means uncommon. In one of the fields he passed a gang of negroes employed at their labour, with a *female* driver carrying the whip at their backs. On his remarking that it was not a becoming duty for the *beau sexe*—that the nature of the *lady* might be too tender to admit of her correcting the strong, and her arm too feeble to enable her to chastise the idle; his companion replied, that he was much mistaken, on the contrary, the woman-drivers were sometimes peculiarly severe, and often corrected the stoutest slaves with no feeble arm.

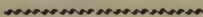
In an excursion in the environs of Demerara, Dr. Pinckard met *two Dutch ladies* upon the road, travelling with great state, in a chaise drawn by *six naked slaves*, instead of horses! This was a scene of novelty in one of the toils of slavery which he had not witnessed before.

To complete the foregoing statement of the driving system, we must add an account of the jobbing gangs.—These are slaves belonging to proprietors who have only land enough to raise provisions for themselves and their slaves, excepting perhaps a small coffee mountain. These gangs, consisting of twenty or forty stout negroes, men and women, are let out for hire to do the heaviest labour on sugar estates, and to repair roads, &c. so that they are often employed eight or ten miles from their homes, which they leave on the Monday morning, returning on Saturday night. They carry with them their provisions, and construct temporary huts. Three or four years ago, before sugars were depressed in price, their masters were paid £10. per acre for digging cane-holes by these gangs, who earned for them a dollar each per day, but lately the jobbers have only gained £8. per acre, and they do not now readily find employment for their gangs. They were used to make fortunes in a short time; as a slave, by his labour, would in three or four years, gain for his owner more than his prime-cost. These jobbing gangs have justly been compared to over-worked horses,—such as the London hacks. A double price is paid for them, and they are so worked that they do not last long.—Bickell, p. 51.—

We trust our readers are now in possession of a clear and true idea of the driving system, and of that lavish expenditure of human life and comfort which it occasions. The slavery of ancient times, when men, by the fate of war and other accidents, became slaves to their fellow-men, who seized their bondmen here and there from various countries, was mild compared to this. Here is nothing less than a whole race of men, in numbers (taking in the whole period of time during which West-Indian slavery has been practised) which mock all calculation, enslaved to drudge and die for the interest of other nations. Converted into mere tools, they are used, it appears, often with improvident violence, which breaks and destroys them. Conquerors, profuse of blood, have wasted the lives of their fellow-men with unsparing cruelty: Buonaparte, in his mad career of ambition, considered man as his *raw material*; a worthless thing, till wrought into armies, to be successively destroyed, and replaced by more organizations of this *passive matter*. Yet this frenzy of despotism was but for a season; its bloody current has passed away. But slavery is an en-

during ruin; so many men have heedlessly involved their interests in it, and so long did England charter it, that it is become guarded by the rights of property—rights, so tenaciously defended by all men. But while these are justly allowed, let the superior rights of the oppressed have their due weight, and let it be asked whether it becomes a country like England, to tolerate a more monstrous system than ever disgraced the most degraded and barbarous nation either in ancient or modern times? Let this question be asked, with the temperate earnestness of truth, and no one who deserves the name of a man can answer it.

It pleased the Supreme Author of Creation, in addition to his liberal gifts of necessary comforts, to consult also the pleasure of man. He has adorned the human mind with imagination and taste to enliven his mental pleasures; He has decked the vast majestic globe in the garment of beauty to delight the eye; He has treasured in the plants and flowers a thousand delicious sweets and odours to gratify the palate. Man, in return, has seized the richest of all his vegetable gifts, in the cultivation of which, he practically “eats and blasphemes the feeder,” by violating his laws, and torturing his human creatures. In using the bounty of Heaven, he employs agents of Evil, ROBBERY, OPPRESSION, CRUELTY and even MURDER.



TO THE EDITORS OF THE HUMMING BIRD.

MY WORTHY AND APPROVED FRIENDS,—Though I live apart from the world, yet peeping through “the loopholes of my retreat,” I know every thing that passes in it; and with sincere pleasure I see you gathering under the tiny wings of your little bird, all the race of oppressed negroes. Be of good cheer; the mouse rescued the ensnared lion by only nibbling the net.

I am, as you know, a very old man, and have been much buffeted by the world; yet my age is that of a healthful winter. I fear nobody but God; and as to man, it is not in his power to harm me. As my grey locks and antediluvian figure render me a singular spectacle among modern parties, I seldom quit my cottage; and having spent my mornings in setting to rights those of my neighbours who are willing to receive my counsels, I retire to my study,

which, being hollowed in the *rock*, I call *the cave of contemplation*, after that so beautifully described by my friend, John Bunyan. I have a *sky-light* too, by which my cave is illuminated with many glorious rays. Here I sit, with a mind as quiet and undisturbed as the purring cat at my elbow. When I contemplate my fellow-creatures, (though, alas! I see much of error) I always pick out the good for the subject of my musings, and thus, by turning every body's coat the best side outwards, I keep myself in constant good humour with all men. It is astonishing how very happy this makes me.

But with the garrulity of old age, I have wandered from the purpose of my letter. The cause of the slaves is "in my heart's core, aye, in my heart of hearts" as Hamlet says. There I wear it; and though I am so very far advanced in years, I really believe, if the emancipation of the Africans should take place, it will be to me the elixir vitæ, and I *shall live for ever*.

Now, my good friends, as I have no doubt that you will admit me as a member of your club of *honest men of all parties*, I wish to communicate to you a resolution which I intend to propose at our next meeting.

I am, at this moment, sitting in my cave of contemplation, which at present is entirely peopled with negroes, whom my *skylight* exhibits in strong colours: and this being the last day of the present year, which is so rapidly dying, I fell into the following reflections.—

At the end of every one of these short portions of time, that are flowing, like ceaseless waves, one rolling over the other, into the vast ocean of eternity, how does it become every mortal, seriously to review the events of the last year, and to awaken his sense of gratitude for past blessings? "We have much to be thankful for," is a phrase in every body's mouth.—Let us write it on the table of the heart. I then passed on to think how much we, the defenders of the slaves, have to be thankful for—viz. for a blessing upon our cause thus far;—for a spirit of interest in it now so strongly excited;—for such able champions, &c.—and then the association of my thoughts naturally led me to the reflection, that we ought to be as thankful for *calamities* as for blessings, for *injuries* as for favors; for without calamities to temper and refine us, blessings would render us

proud, worthless and odious; and without injuries, we should never feel the pleasure of forgiving. Nay, from our enemies we “receive,” as Catherine Talbot says, “the greatest benefit of all, a noble opportunity to exercise those duties on which God’s forgiveness of ourselves depends.”

Now, from the enemies of our cause, we also receive another great benefit, as well as the opportunity of correcting our own tempers—viz. that of being kept alive and zealous in the cause. Our enemies thus excite and maintain in us two qualities indispensably necessary to our success, PATIENCE and PERSEVERANCE. Therefore, I propose a vote of thanks to our enemies, particularly to the editor of the John Bull. I remain, honored friends, your trusty and I may add) well-beloved cousin—

OLD HONESTY.

From my cave of contemplation, Dec. 31, 1824.

FRIENDLY HINTS TO THE LADIES.

Occasioned by reading Mr. Bowdler’s Thoughts on the proposed improvement of Female Education. See his “Select Pieces” vol. 1. p. 242.

“I am resolved, by the grace of God, so to marshal my thoughts, that they may not one jostle out another, nor any of them prejudice the business I am about.” Bishop Beveridge’s Private Thoughts.

The Spectator observes he affixed to all his papers a motto from some excellent author, that the reader might be sure of finding one good sentence at least, in each. Our readers, if they proceed no farther in this our lucubration, than the foregoing resolution of this truly pious* Leicestershire Worthy, will have fed their minds with a solid morsel of practical wisdom, equally valuable to both sexes, though it is here offered only to the Ladies.

In the important task of cultivating the female mind, the first faculty to be wrought upon and brought into action is that which is,

“Though no science, fairly worth the seven.”

viz. *good sense*. All moral agents must be trained to the

* The village of Barrow-upon-Soar has the renown of having furnished, by its noted blue limestone, the mortar used in the construction of the pier at Ramsgate, and of being the birth-place of Bishop Beveridge.

exercise of those moral operations for which the Creator designed them. Female education is nothing more than this training; and to this simple proposition may all the volumes that have been written upon the subject be reduced. What idle controversies had been spared, what intricacies and perplexities had been cleared away, if the art of simplifying had been better understood! We have only to ask, is the earth to be tilled? To the labour and skill of the husbandman is committed a variety of soils; by sowing in each that particular grain or plant which its properties are calculated to bring to perfection, he is to make the best use of all, so that the greatest general good may be produced.

For this purpose it is very evident that solid judgment must be *primarily* instilled and wrought into the female mind; a habit of sound thinking must be formed, ideas must be *marshalled*, and not left to *jostle* out one another, as the good bishop phrases it. How dangerous it is to countenance women in trusting to their feelings for the regulation of their actions, unnumbered fatal examples have testified. If *feeling* is to be their guide, they might as well, on setting out for a journey, follow the direction of a bird in the air. The bird might, by chance, now and then fly in the course they meant to pursue, but if they would go, in *an undeviating* tract, to a fixed point, they must take the guidance of an *unerring* compass.

The first point, then, in educating a woman, is to invigorate and direct the thinking faculty, or that just arrangement of her ideas, which will enable her always to *know what she is about*.

With regard to the idle controversy on the question of mental equality between the sexes, let it rest for ever; it is of no importance to either parties. Those female champions who come forth in the contest, are completely out of their place. We feel a degree of respect for the Amazons of the poets, the Clorindas, the Camillas, the Bradamants; but they fought for *others*, not for *themselves*.

The value of the female understanding, like the price of labour in the political economy of nations, after having been sometimes depreciated to the lowest degree of oppression, and sometimes elevated by extravagant defenders, to an undue height, will find its own level. It will rest im-

mutably, as by the unalterable laws of nature, in its right place, as soon as wise and sound education, joined to the steady efforts which every good and sensible woman will make to enlarge her knowledge, improve her thinking powers and fix her principles, shall have made the female sex what they ought to be, and what they were designed to be by their supreme Creator. It is a fact, clearly demonstrated, that our Carters, Talbots, Mores, Barbaulds, &c. are estimated by all men, whether they be favorable or not favorable to the plan of highly cultivating the female mind, exactly according to their real merit. These characters, by the weight of their talents, united to the preponderating power of their exalted moral excellence, stand immoveably on that precise ground which impartial justice has allotted to them. Every other female, whatever may be her station or abilities, if her character be rightly formed and supported with sound integrity, will also find herself exactly at that point of *respectability* or of *honor* to which she has a clear and just title.

It is very possible, in an enlightened nation like ours, in spite of all the common-place complaints of the evil effects of malice and ill-nature—it is very possible for women to pass through life with exactly that measure of respect which they deserve.—It is very possible for them so to act, as to maintain an honorable character.—I say it is possible;—I do not say, *it is not difficult*;—because it requires the constant exertion of solid, exalted piety, and steady, undeviating propriety of manners:—yet what is this, but saying that every woman should simply do her duty. She must first study, seriously study this great moral science, and then indefatigably practise it. When this is done, who shall dare to say, the world, or rather the judicious part of it, (and the opinion of none else is, for a moment, to be regarded) will not do her justice?—She will, and must be estimated according to her deserts, as surely as effects must follow adequate causes; as surely as virtue is amiable and must be loved. If not, there is no reason in logic, no immutability in morals, and *truth*, as Horne Tooke imagines is derived only from the third person of the verb to *throw*, (*he throweth*;)—being nothing more than just any thing which a man thinks.

“Women,” says Mr. Bowdler, are, at present, cele-

brated for the activity and glow of their imaginations. We shall be told that this faculty will rather be regulated than injured by a rigid system of institution. It may be doubted, however, whether so artificial a regulation would be desirable; and it is far more doubtful, whether thus to regulate will not be to destroy. Whoever considers the nature of this enchanting faculty, will perceive that the ideas which it presents to the mind, however grand or beautiful, are generally very inaccurate; as objects seen through a mist will lose in *distinctness*, what they gain in *magnitude*. Indistinctness is one source of the sublime, and a principal reason why women possess a greater command than men over those images which raise the thoughts and touch the feelings, doubtless is, that they are less accustomed to *define their ideas accurately*; that first impressions are received and retained in all their vividness, without being squared and nicely measured by the rule and compass of reason."

Now I join hand and heart in the cause of the imagination. Why is that beautiful quality to be put out of the intellectual world? As rational would it be to destroy at once all the flowers in the natural creation, because roses, jasmins, tulips, and violets are mere ornaments, and afford no real usefulness. Besides, once begin to discard imagination and where are we to stop? As Mr. Bowdler observes, in another place "Art after art goes out and all is night." The immortal bard of Greece, after having been the delight of all ranks and all nations for three thousand years, may be thrown into the flames with Mother Goose, for Polypheme and the Ogres are twin brothers. Shakspeare is irretrievably condemned, and Sin and Death will be the ruin of Milton.—Akenside, as doubly a criminal, may light the pyre.

Indistinctness is, doubtless, one source of the sublime; but that "The ideas which the imagination presents to the mind are generally very inaccurate," is, surely, not true. Indistinctness and inaccuracy are here used as synonymous terms, yet Johnson defines inaccuracy *want of exactness*, and indistinctness, *confusion, uncertainty, obscurity*.—A striking example of indistinctness is seen in Milton's description of Death—

——— “ the other shape,
 If shape it might be called that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint or limb,
 Or substance might be called that shadow seem'd,
 For each seem'd either; black it stood as night,
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
 And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.”

Here the poet, in the greatness of his imagination, instead of exhibiting the vulgar picture of death as the skeleton of a human body, gives the most picturesque and sublime idea possible, in his personification, whose grand charm is its *indistinctness*; but we cannot call it *inaccurate*; it is strictly exact and proper:—But to proceed—

“ Indistinctness is one source of the sublime”——
 (granted—) “ and a principal reason why women possess a greater command than men over those images which raise the thoughts and touch the feelings, doubtless is, that they are less accustomed to define their ideas *accurately*; that first impressions are received and retained in all their vividness, without being squared and nicely measured by the rule and compass of reason.”

Now that women are accustomed to define their ideas less accurately than men, is most true—but I cannot allow that this inaccuracy *assists* their imaginations—and their habit of “ retaining *first impressions* in all their vividness, without these first impressions being squared and nicely measured by the rule and compass of reason,” may easily be shewn to be one of the greatest evils belonging to the sex.

Indeed Mr. Bowdler has granted rather too much to the votaries of imagination.—They may fairly lay hold on the privilege he gives them, and exult in the *inaccuracy* of their ideas, as a reason for the wildness of their unregulated fancy. Without wishing to take a pair of compasses to measure the rainbow, let not *undefined* and *inaccurate* ideas have the benefit of this intoleration. They are too mischievous to deserve toleration; like outlaws and banditti, they would make use of it only for destruction.

Now the very point, upon which a rational friend of the sex would hinge all the proposed reformation in their education is, the giving them the habit of *thinking*, viz. teaching them to *define their ideas accurately*.—It is from fol-

lowing *undefined, inaccurate* ideas, from following, if you will, their imaginations, that women run into ten thousand extravagancies; or at least into numberless paths and situations in life, in which they are not so useful and so good as they ought to be. In smaller affairs, what incalculable good would arise, if every woman was careful in defining her ideas. What false reports at the tea-table, what inaccurate representations of trivial facts, what tale-bearing, &c. would be avoided, if every woman accustomed herself to speak with logical precision, with simple, correct truth;—in short, if she was accustomed to *define her ideas* accurately. For instance—an incident is related—a trait of character is exhibited—a woman (such as she should be, according to Mr. Bowdler's idea, viz.—one who does not accurately define her ideas) is present.—Her imagination seizes upon *a word, a slight hint*;—it embodies it into a direct affirmation, colours it with false dyes;—twists, distorts the truth, (perhaps very undesignedly)—and then sends it abroad;—a character is misrepresented—unjust opinions are formed, and false reports are circulated.—Trifles, they may seem at first, like gnats buzzing in the sun-beams;—but they can *sting*.—From this origin principally, and not from predisposed, intentional malice, spring all the black mischiefs of calumny.—A woman, therefore, of lively imagination, who does not *define her ideas*, may be (unconsciously) *a tale-bearer, a slanderer, a secret assassin*.—This representation is not too strong—simple facts, if examined, will bear it out.—If we come to the great events in woman's life, viz.—her *education, her marriage, her management of her family*—in short her LIFE and her DEATH, what can we do *here*, with *ideas not accurately defined*?—Upon these momentous subjects, had Mr. Bowdler directed the female sex, he would have given, with all the powers of his acute understanding, all the force of his amiable sensibility, and all the steady zeal of his admirable piety, such advice, as could not be followed but by women *accustomed to define their ideas*, and to define them *most accurately* too.—The argument is now drawn to a point.—Upon great subjects women *must think accurately*—they *must define* their ideas and *regulate* their imaginations, their *impressions must be squared and nicely measured by the rule and compass of reason*," or they are lost, irretrievably lost!—And Mr. Bowdler was too correct a logician, too sound a metaphysician, not to know and feel that if the female mind, or indeed any mind, acquires

a *habit of thinking inaccurately upon trifles*, and letting the imagination run wild on *every-day occurrences*, it is not in nature that that mind should go right in *great things*.—Enough has been said.—Mr. Bowdler himself has corrected his own mistake.

It is then clear that the question *how far* the female mind may be cultivated, is a very idle one. With whatever talents Providence may have endowed that mind, they ought to be improved, for *every purpose of usefulness*, to the utmost extent of which they are capable; to assert the contrary, would be to maintain that no quality ought to be brought to its due perfection. Where abilities of a high intellectual order are conferred, if cultivated upon solid principles, they cannot induce pride, for the immeasurable height of the mountain of knowledge rises into the heavens, and she who advances a great way on the ascent, sees above her “Alps on Alps arise” and must know and feel that, comparatively, she knows nothing. She must also feel that the value of what she does know, consists in the enlargement of her sphere of *active usefulness*. If she have a taste for classical learning, she will take, as her exemplar, the humble-minded Elizabeth Carter, and she will remember, that if Greek is to be studied for her own pleasure, circumstances of duty may also direct her hand to the needle; to the “sewing a seam a mile long.*” In short, she will treasure all her talents as sources of *private enjoyment*, unless they can, at any time, be brought into use for the real service of others. Literature, the study of the languages, the arts, are pleasures of the highest order, when tasted in solitude or shared with friends in domestic peace; but if exhibited for the purpose of *shining*, their value is degraded to the level of diamonds and rubies.

To train the mind of woman is, in the words of the prayer, “to *strengthen* her for all her duties, to save her from her several temptations and dangers,”—to combat and destroy her ancient and inveterate enemies, pride and vanity, to teach her to *arrange her thoughts and define accurately her ideas*, and to put upon her, as recommended by her old friend, St. Peter, “the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit.” This is a talisman of sovereign power; without whose securing influence, her knowledge will be pernicious,

* See Mrs. Carter's Letters.

her imagination a brilliant meteor leading her astray; and her accomplishments will claim no higher merit than that of coloured lamps, which, for a few hours, attract admiration from the spectators of nightly illuminations. Would she really enjoy the luxuries of knowledge, learning and taste, she must partake their banquet with a temperate, humble, grateful and subdued spirit: then will she find them to be luxuries indeed; then will she so *finish her education* here, that she will be prepared for the *highest society* hereafter.

I * * *

DELICACY.

INSCRIBED TO THE LADIES.

There is a Grace, the most refin'd
Of all that deck the human mind;—
It is a special gift of heav'n,
To some superior spirits giv'n;—
Yet lest we heav'n should partial call,
And ask, why give it not to all,
It rightly keeps its proper place,
Not as a *virtue*, but a *grace*;
Yet all the virtues look more fair,
When under this sweet handmaid's care.
She gives a charm, celestial, fine,
Which *all* can feel, but none define;
A something, which, devoid of art,
Wins, touches, fascinates the heart.

When PITY, touch'd by others' woes,
Her gen'rous gifts of love bestows,
Then DELICACY watchful stands,
And gently guides her lib'ral hands;
Nor lets the *left* discover aught
Of that good deed the *right* hath wrought;
So that the precious favor giv'n,
Drops, like the silent dew of heav'n,
Unheard, unseen, tho' bounteous, full,
Like "rain upon the fleece of wool."
And here the maid, you'll well devise,
Hath learn'd her lesson *in the skies*.

When GRATITUDE, with warm sensation,
Would pay her debts of obligation,
Our handmaid whispers, deeds of love
Can only be repaid *above*;
And bids her all idea spurn

Of answer'ing favors *by return*;
 But let her zeal its truth approve
 By many a *secret* act of love;
 And grasp occasions as they rise,
 (Unknown, unseen by human eyes,)
 To serve her friends; delightful part!
 The silent service of the heart;
 Service, that ne'er from duty swerves,
 But labors best when none observes.

Now, sober TRUTH, with upright face,
 What favors do you owe this grace?
 You, in your snow-white toga drest,
 A *spotless*, tho' a *woollen* vest;
 Trampling on ornament and show,
 A simple form, from head to toe.
 —In company, when parties meet
 With social glee, for converse sweet;
 Should Scandal, with her busy tongue,
 The conduct of the absent wrong;
 You might inspire some honest heart,
 To take the injur'd suff'ers' part,
 In terms too rough, though nobly meant,
 To justify the kind intent.
 What would our handmaid teach you here?
 No stern reply, no jest, no sneer;
 She would not, by insinuation,
 One tittle 'bate of indignation;
 But she would, to a point so fine,
 (Aware the metal is divine,)
 What your Ithuriel's spear, that strait,
 One touch would pierce, as sure as fate,
 The hardest heart, though pride and scorn
 Had cas'd it well in ten-fold horn;
 And ere its owner felt the wound,
 So delicate, yet so profound,
 The fiend within, if not reclaim'd,
 Would instantly start up *asham'd*.

PATIENCE—(but here in silence list!
 Be ev'ry playful thought dismiss'd;)
First of the VIRTUES, thou art blest,
 Of all the "shining ones" the best!
 Thou, with the arrow in thy heart,
 Can'st act the Christian's better part;
 With hallow'd lips can'st kiss the rod,
 Enough for thee, it comes from GOD.

Fav'rite of Heav'n, tis thine to paint
 The finest finish of the saint!
 So pure, so meek, from earth so free,
 Can DELICACY give to thee
 A lovelier charm?—forgive the strain,
 Tis not presumptuous nor profane,
 To say she can—Yes, even thou,
 May'st her refining pow'r avow;—
 For on thy couch of suff'ring laid,
 Sweet PATIENCE, thou may'st need her aid,
 Tho' not a murmur heave thy breast,
 And not a word charge heav'n's behest.
 For when dear friends around thee move,
 With watchful, sympathizing love,
 She bids thee put thy suff'rings by,
 And hide them from affection's eye,
 To spare her, with a grateful zeal,
 The sight of wounds she cannot heal;
 And all thy woes in secret keep
 For that dread Eye which cannot sleep.

Now, say, if our most lovely Grace
 Belongs to aught of earthly race?
 She comes, with agency divine,
 The soul to soften and refine;
 To make it, if not more secure,
 Still more ethereal, still more pure.

So, when the painter's magic art,
 Bids some sweet scene from canvas start,
 Outlin'd and wrought with skill so true,
 Faithful to nature's form and hue;
 His master hand, (thine, Claude, was such,)
 Gives the soft harmonising touch;
 Th' aerial hue, so sweet, so chaste,
 So dearly lov'd by genuine taste;
 Which seems as if the pencil's prints
 Were purified from earthly tints,
 And that it had permission giv'n,
 To dip itself in dews of heav'n.
 The lake seems calm, in melting light;
 The curving turrets steal from sight;
 The aqueduct's dim arches length'ning run,
 And softly mingle with the setting sun;
 On the rich woodlands rests the golden ray,
 And the faint distance vanishes away;
 Th'enchanted eye surveys each object fair,
 Thro' one *transparent veil* of azure air.— E * * *

LOCKE VINDICATED, AS A FRIEND TO FREEDOM; ADDRESSED TO COMMON-SENSE.

I was sorry to find, by a quotation in your admirable and characteristic letter to the reverend apologist of slavery, that Mr. Locke had given even an incidental countenance to the injuries inflicted upon the calumniated children of Ham. As the writings of those whom God has distinguished by an excellent gift of wisdom, justly rank among our most valuable possessions, our intellectual estate suffers loss by whatever diminishes their posthumous influence, or gives it a wrong direction: and I am persuaded, therefore, that you will indulge me in an attempt to assert our right to consider Locke among the most strenuous enemies of slavery, in every shape.

No one who has read the Letters for toleration, or the Treatise of government, can, for a moment, doubt what view their author would take of the system still pursued in our West Indian Colonies, were he living in the 19th century; though I am afraid that he cannot be defended from the charge of something like culpable neglect for having referred, in however slight a manner, to the African slave-trade, without distinctly expressing his reprobation of that source of guilty profit. Yet even the passage to which allusion has been made, does not, of necessity, imply indifference on the subject, since it did not fall within the plan of the History of navigation, to give more than a brief account of the produce for which various countries were remarkable.—Thus, under the head of Africa, we read, “The natives are, for the most part black, or else inclining to it. All the commodities brought from thence are, gold dust, ivory, and slaves; those black people selling one another, which is a very considerable trade, and has been a great support to all the American plantations.”—(Locke’s works, vol. 10, p. 414.)

One cannot help regretting that Locke should have touched upon this subject so much in the dry manner of the political economists, but when he gives his deliberate opinion of slavery, we find him holding very decided language. There is one passage in particular at the opening of his Treatise of government, which seems so applicable to the publication of the reverend gentleman to whom your letter was addressed, that I must beg leave to transcribe it.

“Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it. And truly I should have taken Sir Robert Filmer’s Patriarcha, as any other treatise which would persuade all men that they are slaves, and ought to be so, for such another exercise of wit as was his who writ the encomium of Nero; rather than for a serious discourse, meant in earnest: had not the gravity of the title and epistle, the picture in the front of the book, and the applause that followed it, required me to believe that the author and publisher were both in earnest. I therefore took it into my hands with all the expectation, and read it through with all the attention due to a treatise that made such a noise at its coming abroad; and cannot but confess myself mightily surprised, that in a book, which was to provide chains for all mankind, I should find nothing but a rope of sand; useful perhaps to such whose skill and business it is to raise a dust, and would blind the people, the better to mislead them; but, in truth, not of any force to draw those into bondage who have their eyes open, and so much sense about them as to consider that chains are but an ill wearing, how much care soever hath been taken to file and polish them.”

I will not take upon myself to say how far these remarks may be applicable to the pamphlet of the Rev. B. Bailey, A. M. but the only difference between it and the treatise of Sir Robt. Filmer appears to be that the argument of the Knight is more comprehensive, and is pursued to its legitimate conclusion; namely, that all men are born slaves and must continue so. In other respects their sentiments accord pretty nearly with those of each other; for both take the word of God as the basis of their reasoning, and both claim for their deductions all the authority which belongs to an article of religious faith. It would perhaps be prudent in the Clergyman to remove the slight distinction which now exists, by adopting the more bold and comprehensive principles of the Knight; since he will thus avoid the difficulty in which he would be placed in case some future correspondent should maintain the converse of your proposition, and prove that the curse of slavery has lighted upon other people besides the denounced children of Ham. I will only suggest that Javan, one of the descendants of Japhet, Noah’s eldest son, is supposed to have planted Greece, which was long the favourite mart for

slaves.* But it would be dangerous to prosecute such an inquiry, since it might lead to the discovery that we are ourselves the inheritors of the 'presumptuous sins' of our forefathers, who having, in time past, been bought and sold in the market as cattle or negroes, diverted the course of God's Providence, and transmitted a guilty freedom to their posterity. The possibility of such an application being made of his reasonings, will, it is hoped, restrain the zeal of the reverend gentleman, for the principles of that religion which he has been commissioned to preach, should have taught him that there is but one law for the Negro and the European, notwithstanding the distinction of colour,

Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses.

There is one God, one Saviour, and one Faith, for the negro and for ourselves, for the bond and the free; let us not make distinctions where God has made none, but include the whole human family within the influence of Christian love. For my own part, both inclination, and the duties of my office, prompt me to use all the means which are both lawful and within my power, for *breaking the chains* that have been provided for any portion of the human race, how much care soever hath been taken to file and polish them; and though conscious how very inadequate my best efforts must prove, I accept, with pleasure, your obliging invitation, of continued co-operation, and shall anxiously watch for opportunities to attempt the deliverance of people at home from the entanglements of *wordy fetters*, and to procure the emancipation of the negroes from the more palpable bondage under which they are held.

ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

* See Shuckford's Connection Book 3, and Ezekiel, chap. 27, v. 13.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We feel particularly gratified by the judicious strictures of our valuable ally upon a remark of ours, which appeared to cast a shade upon the justice and liberality of so great a man as Locke.

Had our space permitted, we should have reprinted in the present number, that most extraordinary document, the official declaration published in the Royal Jamaica Gazette of Nov. 13th last, by the Wesleyan Missionaries, solemnly vindicating themselves from the *misrepresentation* of being friends to the African Emancipation, and deprecating it as a *general calamity*, and *deleterious* (viz. *destructive, deadly, and of a poisonous quality*) to CHRISTIANITY!—We wish a friendly pen may be directed to this subject, which we shall be glad to notice more at large.

The favor of our Mathematical Correspondent in our next.

Errata in No. 2—page 44, line 24, for *their* faith, read *your* faith—p. 52. l. 18, for *Jamaica* read *Mahaica*—p. 56, for the signature, *a Friend to Truth* read *Humanitas*.

THE
Humming Bird ;

No. 4.]

MARCH, 1825.

[Vol. I.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY
IN ENGLAND.

“ Shall Britain, where the soul of Freedom reigns,
Forge chains for others she herself disdains ?
Forbid it Heav’n !—O let the nations know
The liberty she loves, she will bestow ;
Not to herself the glorious gift confin’d,
She spreads the blessing wide as human kind ;
And, scorning narrow views of time and place,
Bids all be free in earth’s extended space.
What page of human annals can record
A deed so bright as human rights restor’d ?
O may that god-like deed, that shining page,
REDEEM *our* fame, and consecrate *our* age !
And let this glory mark our favor’d shore,
To curb *false* Freedom, and the *true* restore !
And THOU, great Source of Nature and of Grace,
Who, of one blood, didst form the human race,
Look down in mercy, in thy chosen time,
With equal eye on AFRIC’s suff’ring clime !
Disperse her shades of intellectual night,
Repeat thy high behest, “ LET *there* BE LIGHT !
Bring each benighted soul, great God, to Thee,
And with thy wide salvation make them *free* !”

Hannah More.

The free-born Briton, as he loves to denominate himself, is called upon to remember that even his *early* ancestors, endured the horrors and degradation of slavery.—They were made an article of commerce by the Romans, after Cæsar had conquered this Island. Our new masters not only seized the treasures of their tin and lead mines, took away our bull dogs to bait bulls in our amphitheatres, our cheeses to feed their armies, and our osier baskets to adorn their tables ; but they also exported our youths, and (as testified by Strabo) sold them like cattle in the Forum at Rome, and employed them in laborious and servile offices in the Theatres and the Imperial Palace.

The lowest order of people among the Anglo-Saxons,
No. 4.—VOL. I.

and the other nations of Britain, in A. D. 449, were slaves, who, with their wives and children, were the property of their masters. Besides those who were native slaves, or slaves by birth, others frequently fell into this wretched state, by various means; as by an ill run at play,—by the fate of war,—or by forfeiting their freedom by their crimes, or even by contracting debts which they were unable to pay. These unhappy people, who were very numerous, formed an article both of internal and foreign trade, only if the slave was a Christian, he was not to be sold to a Jew or a Pagan; or if he belonged to the same nation with his master, he was not to be sold beyond sea. Slaves, however, were of various kinds among the Anglo-Saxons, employed in various works, and were not all in an equal state of thralldom. Some of them were called *villani*, or *villans*, because they dwelt in the villages belonging to their masters, and performed the servile labours of cultivating their lands to which they were annexed, and were transferred with these lands from one owner to another. Others were domestic slaves, and performed various offices about the houses and families of their masters. Some of these domestic slaves of the king and the nobility were taught the mechanic arts, which they practised for the benefit of their owners; and the greatest number of the mechanics of those times seem to have been in a state of servitude. Slaves were not supposed to have any family or relations who sustained any loss by their death; and therefore when one of them was killed by his master, no mulct was paid, because the master was supposed to be the only loser: when slain by another, his price or manbote was paid to his master. In a word, slaves of the lowest order were considered merely as animals of burden, and parts of their owners' living stock. In the laws of Wales, it is expressly said, "That a master hath the same right to his slaves as to his cattle."

The horrors of this cruel servitude were gradually mitigated; and many of those unhappy wretches were raised from this abject state to the privileges of humanity. The introduction of Christianity contributed not a little, both to alleviate the weight of servitude, and diminish the number of slaves. By the canons of the Church, which were in those times incorporated with the laws of the land, and of

the same authority, Christians were commanded to allow their slaves certain portions of time to work for their own benefit; by which they acquired property,—the bishops had authority to regulate the quantity of work to be done by the slaves,—and to take care that no man used his slave harshly, but as a fellow Christian. The bishops and clergy recommended the manumission of slaves as a most charitable and meritorious action: and in order to set the example, they procured a law that all the English slaves of every bishop should be set at liberty. But after all these mitigations of the severities of slavery, and the diminutions of the number of slaves, the yoke of servitude was still heavy, and the greatest part of the labourers, mechanics and common people groaned under that yoke during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The next class or rank of people in Britain, in this period, was composed of those who were called *frilazin*; who had been slaves, but had either purchased, or by some other means obtained, their liberty. Though these were in reality free men, they were not considered as of the same rank and dignity with those who had been born free; but were still in a more ignoble and dependent condition, either on their former masters, or on some new patrons. This custom the Anglo-Saxons seem to have derived from their ancestors in Germany, among whom those who had been made free, did not differ much in point of dignity or importance in the state, from those who continued in servitude. This distinction between those who had been made free, and those who enjoy freedom by descent, from a long race of freemen, still prevails in many parts of Germany, and particularly in the original seats of the Anglo-Saxons. Many of the inhabitants of towns and cities in England, in this period, seem to have been of this class of men, who were in a kind of middle state between slaves and freemen.*

Towards the end of the sixth century, Gregory the first, originally a monk, afterwards bishop of Rome, and finally pope, (the leading feature of whose exemplary life was anxiety for the spiritual good of mankind)† when walking

* Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. 3. p. 324.

† Nor was he less laborious in relieving the temporal wants of his fellow-creatures. He kept a large volume in the Lateran palace, in which were registered the names of the poor who were the objects of his liberality, with their age

one day in the Forum at Rome, observed, among other articles of merchandise exposed to sale, a number of young British slaves. Struck by their fair complexions, flaxen hair and ingenuous countenances, he enquired whence they came, and being told they were *Angli*, he replied, "In truth they have *angelic* countenances, and they ought to be co-heirs with angels." This expression was no mere play of words, but a benevolent thought, which the good bishop zealously reduced to practice, and by the mission of Augustine, he succeeded in establishing Christianity in this island.

Nor was Gregory alone anxious for the conversion of heathens, he also felt some idea of the injustice of the slave-trade. "The gentle spirit of the Christian religion, says Robertson, together with the doctrines which it teaches concerning the original equality of mankind, as well as the impartial eye with which the Almighty regards men of every condition, and admits them to a participation of his benefits, are inconsistent with servitude. But in this instance interest and false policy led men to a conduct inconsistent with their principles. They were so sensible, however, of this inconsistency, that to set their fellow Christians at liberty from servitude was deemed an act of piety highly meritorious and acceptable to heaven. Several laws or charters, founded on reasons similar to this, are produced by the same author, (viz. Potgiesserus, Robertson's authority.) Accordingly a great part of the charters of manumission, previous to the reign of Louis the Tenth, are granted *pro amore Dei*, *pro remedio animæ*, *pro mercede animæ*, and *pro redemptione animæ*.—Manumission, upon these principles, was frequently granted by the masters on their death-beds, or by will, and often by Princes, on the birth of a son, or any other happy event, as a token of gratitude to God. The formality of manumission was performed in a church as a religious ceremony. The slave was led round the great altar with a torch in his hand; he took hold of the horns of

and circumstances, at Rome, in Italy, and even in distant provinces. On the first day of every month, he distributed to the necessitous, various articles of provision according to the season; and before he sat down to eat, he sent portions from his table to those of the indigent who were ashamed to appear.—See Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, vol. 3. p. 46.

the altar, and there the solemn words conferring liberty, were pronounced.

When he granted liberty to some of his slaves, he gives this reason for it.—“Cum redemptor noster, totius conditor naturæ, ad hoc propitiatus humanam carnem voluerit assumere, ut divinitatis suæ gratia dirempto (quo tenebamur captivi) vinculo, pristinæ nos restituerit libertati; salubriter agitur, si homines, quos ab initio liberos natura protulit, et jus gentium jugo substitui servitutis, in ea, quâ nati fuerant manumittentis beneficio libertate reddantur.” *Robertson’s Charles 5th, Proofs and Illustrations, p. 269.*

“Inasmuch as our Redeemer, the author of all things, having offered himself a sacrifice for us, consented to take upon himself human nature for this purpose, that he might restore us to our former liberty, by virtue of his divinity having broken the bonds by which we were held captive, I am acting conformably to the example of my Saviour, if mankind whom nature at first made free, and the right of conquest has put under the yoke of slavery, can be reinstated in that liberty in which they were born, by my kindness in setting them free.”

At the beginning of the 11th century, the value of a human being was equal to that of a hawk or a grey-hound, and the murder of a Christian was no greater crime, in the eye of the law, than the robbing of a hawk’s nest. The following table of prices is found in the laws of Ethelred the Unready:—

			£.	s.	d.
Price of a man or slave,	....	....	2	16	3
A horse,	....	....	1	15	2
A mare or colt,	....	....	1	3	5
An ass or mule,	....	....	0	14	1
An Ox,	....	....	0	7	0½
A cow,	....	....	0	5	6
A swine,	....	....	0	1	10½
A sheep,	....	....	0	1	2
A goat,	....	....	0	0	5½

“The most numerous class of persons employed in cultivating the ground in these ages,” says Robertson,* “were the *servi*, or slaves. Their persons were under the absolute dominion of their masters, who had the power of punishing

* See his Charles V,—Proofs and Illustrations, p. 227, et seq.

them capitally without the intervention of any judge. This dangerous right continued so late as the twelfth century, Even after this jurisdiction of masters came to be restrained, the life of a slave was deemed of so little value that a slight compensation sufficed for taking it. The ancient codes prescribed punishments for the crimes of slaves different from those which were inflicted on freemen. The latter only paid a fine or compensation, the former were subjected to corporal punishments. The cruelty of these was, in many instances, excessive. Slaves, on very slight occasions, might be put to the rack on question. Nor had the masters absolute dominion over the lives and persons only of their slaves but also over their actions and property. They were originally not permitted legally to marry; and when they were afterwards allowed this privilege, they were not permitted to marry without the consent of their masters, and if they did, they were punished, sometimes with death. Slaves had a title to nothing from their masters but clothes and subsistence. If a master, from any kind feeling, gave his slaves any fixed allowance (similar to our board-wages) they had no right of property in what they saved out of it. They could not bequeath any of their effects by will—all belonged to their masters. They were distinguished by a peculiar dress, and were obliged to shave their heads. Thus every moment they were reminded of their degradation.—It was also enacted in the laws of almost all the nations of Europe, that no slave should be permitted to give evidence against a free-man in a court of justice.

SLAVES still continued, in the twelfth century, to be a capital article, both in the internal and foreign trade of Britain. When an estate was conveyed from one proprietor to another, all the villans or slaves annexed to that estate were conveyed at the same time and by the same deed. When any person had more children than he could maintain, or more domestic slaves than he chose to keep, he sold them to a merchant, who disposed of them either at home or abroad, as he found would be most profitable. Many were carried into Ireland. Yet to the honor of English feeling, a strong law was made against this barbarous commerce in a great council at St. Peter's, Westminster, A. D. 1102, the beginning of the reign of Henry the 1st. It ran thus—"Let no man, for the future, presume to carry

on the wicked trade of selling men in markets, like brute beasts, which hitherto hath been the custom in England."

But alas, this law did not put an end to the trade in slaves; for in the great Council held at Armagh, A. D. 1171, the whole clergy of Ireland, after having deliberated long concerning the cause of the calamities with which they were threatened by the invasion of the English,* at length agreed, that this great judgment had been inflicted upon them by the displeasure of God, for the sins of the people; *particularly for their having bought so great a number of English slaves from merchants, robbers and pirates and for detaining them still in bondage.* To appease, therefore, the Divine displeasure, which had been excited against them on that account, they decreed—"That all the English slaves in the whole island of Ireland should be immediately emancipated and restored to their former liberty."

It is a curious fact that slavery (the slaves being called villeins or bondsmen) was never abolished by law in England. It gradually expired, by enfranchisement and various means. The last trace of its actual existence in law books, is in the reign of James the first. The system continued the longest on church property; the owners of which thought they had no right to despoil the church by enfranchisement; but when church lands were seized at the Reformation, the general fashion was soon followed by the lay proprietors, and it spread to the estates which continued to belong to the church. Yet so late as the year 1514, Henry the 8th granted a charter enfranchising two slaves belonging to his manors,† and afterwards in 1547, Elizabeth issued a commission with respect to the manumission of certain bondsmen belonging to her.‡

Here a remark must forcibly impress every reflecting mind. Slavery in England was never *abolished by law*; it *gradually expired*. The same agent, whose silent, yet mighty operation produced this great effect, must, of necessity also be the destroyer of colonial slavery;

* By Henry the 2nd. who being determined on the possession of Ireland, obtained a bull from pope Adrian, by which the pope gave it to him, as part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

† See Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. 13. p. 470

‡ Rymer's *Obs. on the Statutes*, p. 261.

viz, *the influence of Christianity over the minds of men*. Every man, who enters into the subject with cool impartial reason, and who examines it in a just and comprehensive view, must come to this conclusion, that it is not a *political*, but strictly, a *moral and religious* question. We have seen that it was not *law*, but *religion*, which abolished slavery in England.

We do not sufficiently study the vast effects of Christianity. "The advantages are infinite, says the Rev. R. Hall, derived from Christianity, to every nation and clime where it has prevailed in its purity; and the prodigious superiority which Europe possesses over Asia and Africa is chiefly to be ascribed to this cause. It is the possession of a religion which comprehends the seeds of endless improvement; which *maintains an incessant struggle with whatever is barbarous or inhuman*; which, by unveiling futurity, clothes morality with the sanction of a divine law, and harmonizes utility and virtue in every combination of events, and in every stage of existence—a religion which, by affording the most just and sublime conceptions of the Deity, and of the moral relations of man, has given birth, at once, to the loftiest speculations and the most childlike humility, *uniting the inhabitants of the globe into one family, and in the bonds of a common salvation*—it is this religion, which, rising upon us like a finer sun, has quickened moral vegetation, and replenished Europe with talents, virtues and exploits, which, in spite of its physical disadvantages, have rendered it a paradise, the delight and wonder of the world."

PLANT SOLUBLE IN WATER.

The plant called *Nostock Communis*, which is found in the south of France, in the form of a green and membranous envelope, filled with a species of jelly, containing a number of elongated filaments, has the remarkable property of dissolving in water. It always disappears when the rain has ceased, leaving only a small, dry membrane, apparently inorganised, which resumes its original form on being wetted. A curious paper on this plant, and on the different names it has received, is published by M. Vallot.

Journal de Physique.

NOTICES ON THE ART OF WRITING.

Concluded from No. 2. page 49.

As the laurel to conquerors, so ought the box to be consecrated to learning, for of that tree, chiefly, were these wooden books made; though the lime was sometimes used, and the maple which takes a fine polish. Thus Ovid—

—Veneri fidas sibi Naso Tabellas
Dedicat, at nuper vile fuistis acer.

— This hasty table book
To thee, O Venus, now I dedicate,
Which was but worthless maple wood of late.

The Rev. D. Wilson, saw in the library at Geneva, a book of Philip le Bel, on boards of wood, covered with black wax, and written with a stylus, or iron pen.

The heaviness of wood at length gave way to the lightness of leaves; and the palm, olive and poplar were brought into the service of the learned. According to Pliny, the Egyptians were the first who wrote on palm leaves, and the Malabars, at the present time, write on these leaves with a fescue (or stile) and make them into books by joining them with a tape and framing them between two thin boards. Three copies of the *Telugian* or *Warugian* Bible in this form, are still preserved in Europe. One is in the university of Gotten-gen, and contains 5376 leaves, folded into 45 sheets; the second is at Copenhagen, and the third at Halle.

Ray enumerates divers kinds of Indian and American trees, which bear leaves proper to be used as paper; particularly one called *xagua*, which has something in it extraordinary; its leaves are so large and of so close a texture that they cover a man from top to toe, and shelter him from the rain, and other inclemencies of the weather like a cloak, and from the innermost substance of these leaves, a paper is taken, being a white and fine membrane like the skin of an egg, as large as a skin of vellum or parchment, and nothing inferior in beauty and goodness to the best of our papers.—*Vide Ray, Hist. Plantar. tom. 11. lib. 32.*

It is not to be wondered at, that man, in the variety of

his invention, should seek to perpetuate literary labours by means of an *indestructible* paper. Accordingly he has attempted to assist the cause of immortality on earth, by manufacturing paper from the asbestos itself.

Dr. Bruckmann, professor at Brunswick, has published a natural history of the *asbestine* or incombustible paper; and what is most remarkable, has printed four copies of his book on this paper; they are deposited in the library at Wolfembüttel.—*Vide Bibl. German*, tom. xvi. p. 10.

The manner of making this paper is described by Mr. Lloyd. He pounded a quantity of the asbestos in a stone mortar, till it became a downy substance; then sifted it in a fine searce, and thus purified it from its terrene parts. This done, he took it to the paper-mill, and putting it in water in a vessel just large enough to allow the making of one sheet, he stirred it well, and desired the workmen to proceed with it in the usual method, with their writing paper mould; only stirring it always before they put in the mould, it being a far more ponderous substance than common linen, and consequently, if not taken up immediately after it was agitated, it would subside. The paper made of it proved coarse, and was very apt to tear; but this being the first trial, there is reason to believe it might be much improved; nor did the workmen doubt, but in case it were pounded in one of their mortars, for twenty hours, it would make good writing paper.—*Vide Phil. Trans.* No. 166, p. 824, under the Article *Asbestos*.

Many of the eastern nations write on the leaves of the olen, a species of wild palm tree, the leaves of which are a yard and a half long and three inches wide. For extensive writings they are tied together; the letters, which are indelible, are written with an iron instrument. These leaves are now, by the Indians, preferred to our paper, because they are not only very strong, but will not decay in water.

The leaves were succeeded by the interior bark of trees, and from its Latin name (*liber*) came the term *book*. Elder, elm and birch were used for this purpose, and the bark books being rolled up for convenience, were called *volumen* whence our *volume*. There are many MSS. on bark, in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Latin, in the Vatican library.

To this succeeded the method of painting the letters with pencils, on linen and cloth (first steeped in sise or gum.) Livy states that the annual registers of the Romans were written in this manner. Count Caylus remarks that in some boxes containing Egyptian mummies, were found characters written on linen. Linen being subject to become mouldy, the tanned skins of sheep, goats and asses were called into use; and thus at length parchment was thought of. Other substances were used, as the skins of fishes, &c. In the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which is said to have contained seven hundred thousand volumes, were the works of Homer, written in golden letters on the skins of serpents and other animals. Isodorus affirms that the intestines of elephants were also used for writing.

We come at last to the invention of paper, for which Europe has most gratefully to thank *Africa*, though a vast part of that continent has endured such severe wrongs from Europe. The Egyptians severed strips of the rind of their celebrated reed papyrus,* (growing in the marshes of the Nile) and pasted them one over another; they then dried the mass in the sun, and beat it with a hammer, repeatedly.

This invention is dated by Varro (but controverted by others) soon after the building of Alexandria, and it soon superseded all other materials. Ptolemy Philadelphus, when he began to form his great library, caused all his books to be copied on this paper. It was exported to other countries, till Eumenes, king of Pergamos, emulous of the character of a patron of literature, resolved to collect a library which should surpass the famous Alexandrian, and Ptolemy, narrowing his mind in proportion as he enlarged the number of his books, to stop his rival's progress, forbade the exportation of paper out of Egypt. Eumenes persevered, and as he could not get paper, he had recourse to skins, and thus parchment became much used.

As the Egyptian paper was of an inferior quality, the industrious Romans set themselves to improve it; and by careful washing, beating, sizing and smoothing, they made very

* There is a volume of St. Augustine's Letters, written on papyrus, in the Geneva Library.—D. Wilson's Letters.

white paper, and also various kinds. To these they gave names, as *Charta Augusta*, (in compliment to Augustus) *Charta Liviana*, from the empress Livia. *Charta Hieratica*, or *holy paper*, used for sacred books—*Charta Claudia*, from the emperor Claudius—this was formed of doubled sheets pasted together.—*Charta Saitica*, made in the city Said, from the cuttings and shavings of other papers.—*Charta Emporetica*, shop-keepers' paper, to wrap goods in, and various others.

These names, to the honor of the Roman good sense; clearly shew their derivations;—but the etymologist may amuse himself with tracing the origin of such appellations applied to paper, as the *grand soleil* of the French, and the *foolscap* of the English.—

That the Romans, who did so much towards perfecting the art of paper making, should not have discovered that of Printing, is strange, as it is well known that they marked their bread with initials before it was sent to the oven, as we do now, and this was a kind of printing.

"After the Saracens conquered Egypt, in the seventh century," says Robertson,* "the commerce between that country and the Europeans was almost entirely broken off, and the papyrus was no longer in use among them. They were obliged to write all their books on parchment, and as the price of that was high, books became extremely scarce and of great value. About the year 855, the countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, bishop of Halberstadt, 200 sheep, 5 quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye and millet. Even so late as 1471, when Louis the 11th borrowed, from the Faculty of Medicine at Paris, the works of Rasis, the Arabian physician, he not only deposited, in pledge, a considerable quantity of plate, but gave a bond from himself and a nobleman, under a great forfeiture, to restore the books."

"A copy of Cicero de Officiis, now in the library at Geneva, printed at Mentz, 1465, just after the invention of printing, observes the Rev. Daniel Wilson, has a notice at the end, boasting that the work had not been done with the

*Charles the V.—Proofs and Illustrations, p. 281.

pen, nor with ink, but accomplished by a certain *magnificent art newly discovered.**"

We come now to the invaluable invention of linen paper, which Robertson in the following remark, fixes in the 11th century.—"The invention of paper, and the invention of printing, are two considerable events in literary history. It is remarkable that the former preceded the first dawning of letters and the improvement in knowledge, towards the close of the 11th century; and the latter ushered in the light which spread over Europe at the era of the Reformation."

The foregoing memoir is chiefly taken from Koops's "Historical account of the substances used in writing."—Printed on straw paper, London, Jacques, 1801.

This curious work is printed partly on straw paper and partly on paper made from wood shavings. It was presented, by the ingenious author to his late Majesty, who granted him a patent for the manufacture of straw paper, which he carried on, for a time, at Bermondsey. The speculation, however, unhappily failed.

That the Jews learned the art of writing upon the Papyrus, (from the Egyptians,) cannot be, certainly, proved. In the received version mention is made of "*The paper reeds by the brooks*" Isaiah 19, 7. but Lowth translates this passage—"The meadow by the canal."—There is mention of the *reed* and the *lotus*; but this is no proof of the point in question. That they used parchment is evident, from the phrases *a roll*, Ezra 6, 2. and *a roll of a book*, Jer. 36, 2, and *a scroll rolled together*, Isaiah 34, 4. And it is also evident, that they used both the *writing* and *engraving* methods very early, from Judges 5, 14, "They that handle (or draw with) the pen of the writer."—And from Psalms, 45, 1, "The pen of a ready writer"—and "Baruch wrote the words of Jeremiah with ink in a book." Jer. 36, 18. Here quills or reeds must be meant.—At the same time, they also used pens of iron, or styles, for writing or engraving on hard substances. "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a dia-

mond," Jeremiah 17, 1. The twelve precious stones in Aaron's breastplate, were engraven with the names of the twelve tribes, Exodus 28, 21.

NOTE TO FORMER PART OF THIS MEMOIR.

Another early instance that engraving or sculpture was the most ancient way of writing, occurs in Exodus, 39, 30, "And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing like to the engravings of a signet, "HOLINESS TO THE LORD."—The names of the twelve tribes were commanded to be written on twelve rods, Numbers 16, 2.—EDIT.

ANTIQUITY OF VENTRILLOQUISM.

This art, which has excited so much notice as a novelty, in the present times, is more than two thousand five hundred years old. The prophet Isaiah, describing with striking sublimity the judgment upon Jerusalem, under the name of the city Ariel, when invaded by Sennacherib, has the following passage. "And thou shalt be brought low; thou shalt speak as from beneath the earth: and from out of the dust thou shalt utter a feeble speech; and thy voice shall come out of the ground, like that of a necromancer: and thy words from out of the dust shall give a small shrill sound."

Lowth, upon this, gives the following note. "That the souls of the dead uttered a feeble stridulous sound, very different from the natural human voice, was a popular notion among the Heathens as well as among the Jews. This appears from several passages of their poets; Homer, Virgil, Horace. The pretenders to the art of necromancy, who were chiefly women, had an art of speaking with a feigned voice, so as to deceive those who applied to them, by making them believe that it was the voice of the ghost. They had a way of uttering sounds as if they were formed, not by the organs of speech, but deep in the chest or in the belly; and they were thence called *Ventriloqui*: they could make the voice seem to come from beneath the ground, from a distant part, in another direction, and not from themselves; the better to impose on those who consulted them. Psellus (de Dæmonibus) says, "These people studiously acquire, and affect on purpose, this sort of obscure sound that by the uncertainty of the sound they may the better escape being detected in the cheat."

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF EUROPEANS AND SAVAGES.

M. Peron, the naturalist, has observed that men in a savage state are inferior in strength to men civilized: and has demonstrated in an evident manner that the improvement of social order does not, as some have pretended, diminish our physical powers. The following are the results of some experiments made with the dyramometer of M. Regnier.

SAVAGES.

	Force with Hands.		with Traces.	
Of Diemen's Land,	50.	6.	0.	0.
— New Holland,	51.	8.	14.	8.
— Timor,	51.	7.	16.	2.

EUROPEANS.

— French,	69.	2.	22.	1.
— English,	71.	4.	23.	8.

VISIT TO THE GRAVE OF SHAKESPEAR.

And lives there one, whose heedless eye
 Shall scorn thy pale shrine glimm'ring near?
 With him, sweet Bard! may fancy die,
 And joy desert the blooming year!—

Long, long thy stone, and pointed clay,
 Shall melt the musing Briton's eyes,
 O vales, and wild woods, shall he say,
 In yonder grave your Druid lies!

Collins.

To the Editors of The Humming Bird.

As none of you, venerable Personages, through the long period of your existence, and during your constant intercourse with the great, the wise and the good, have ever been found inimical to genius and taste, I beg leave to offer, to such of your readers as are interested by the most minute particulars relative to our "Immortal Bard," as the English, with one consent, have agreed to call him, a letter which I received some years ago from a friend and admirer of Shakespear.

“ Aug. 19, 1814.

“ ——— On proceeding towards Stratford from Coventry, it was not without a sentiment of interesting pleasure, and exhilarating recollection that I first caught the sight of the “ Soft-flowing Avon,” glittering in the sunbeams, and then stealing from sight among the woods and rocks of that beautiful retreat, called Guy’s Cliff. I gazed upon this truly classic stream, with *sober* enthusiasm, for I was not one of Garrick’s idolaters.——

“ ——— Garrick was a worshipper himself,
He drew the liturgy, and fram’d the rites,
And solemn ceremonial of the day,
And call’d the world to worship on the banks
Of Avon, fam’d in song.”——— *Cowper*.

I had a jubilee day too, but one of a more rational kind; I traced the course of this beautiful, and (could the term be allowed,) I should say, elegant river, as it rolled its shining waters through the broken bridge, and among the rich wooded banks, at the foot of the rock on which rises that majestic remain of gothic magnificence and feudal terror, Warwick Castle. Hence I traced it through the plain which extends for many miles, level, yet remarkably rich, and which showed the beauty and propriety of the Psalmist’s expression, “ The pastures are *clothed* with flocks;” (Psalm 65, 14., Bible trans.) for this plain was literally clothed with cattle, whose various and strong colours formed a rich garment on the vivid green; the Warwick woods, massy, bright and tufted, lay like a rich skreen behind, and the midway was broken by beautifully scattered groves. Through this delicious plain I pursued my river, which, without any figure, strictly deserves the epithet of serpentine, for it winds along, and, as the French say emphatically, *elle retourne sur ses pas*, through banks fringed profusely with those graceful, waving and flexile trees, alders and willows; which sometimes bower over it and conceal it from view; then it seems to start from concealment, glittering and playing; then it runs by the continued side of a thick wood. In its course through Lord Warwick’s woods, it is in some parts 200 feet wide, and in no part less than 100, its bed is sound and gravelly, and its depth 12 feet.*

I did not quit the side of the stream without an ap-

* See Ireland’s Warwickshire.

propriate act of pilgrim devotion, for I poured a libation of its waters to the memory of its Bard, and drank of them most romantically, from the shell of a river muscle which I gathered from its bed.

Returning to the road, which winds very picturesquely through rich trees, the Worcestershire hills rising pale in perspective, our ideas are recalled from the river to the Bard, by the sight of the woods belonging to the Lucy family, in which he is said to have stolen deer. On entering the clean and ancient town of Stratford, which may be traced to a period 300 years before the Norman conquest, I first hastened to the spot upon which our poet was born, taking care to be convinced that it is the *identical* place; and of this there is unquestionable evidence. In a deed of settlement, in the possession of Mr. S. Ireland* dated Aug. 14. 33. Eliz. 1591, is the following passage. "George Badger, sen. of Stratford upon Avon conveys to J. & W. Combe, their heirs, &c. a messuage or tenement, in a certain street, called Henley street, between the house of R. Johnson on the one part, and of John Shakspeare on the other, &c."

The house is small and cottage-like; various relics are here shown, for the *genuineness* of which I have no credible evidence to produce—viz, Shakespear's arm chair, without the arms, (which were, it is told, bought by a Polish princess for twenty guineas, but according to Ireland, the princess bought the whole chair) a small old iron chest, in which he kept his will; a triangular piece of carved oak, a carved figure of oak, which belonged to his bed; tobacco stoppers made of his mulberry tree, &c. The whitewashed walls and ceiling of his chamber are entirely covered with names, in pencil, of the pilgrims that visit this shrine—some from America, Portugal, &c. with various scraps of rhyme among which I found nothing like sense except the following sprightly stanza.—

"Ah! Shakespear! while we read the votive scrawls,
With which well-meaning folk deface these walls;
And while in vain we seek some lucky hit
Amid these lines where nonsense nonsense smothers,
We find, (unlike thy Falstaff in his wit)
Thou art not, here, *the cause of wit in others!*"

Among the names on the ceiling, in large letters con-

* See Warwickshire Avon.

spicuously stands that of Lucien Buonaparte. This enlightened and literary Frenchman, who, unallured by the temptations that ambition, during his brother's conquests, threw even before his feet, wisely chose the safety of retirement, probably, as his visit hither testifies, did not feel the national French contempt for our Bard, though his votive tribute, (said to be his) as follows, does no credit to his poetical powers.

“ The eye of genius glistens to admire
How memory hails the sound of Shakespear's lyre ;
One tear I'll shed to form a chrystal shrine,
For all that's grand, immortal and divine.”

Mindful of the frailty of memorials written upon white-washed walls, the steward of the Stratford library has given to the person who shews the house, a large book for the insertion of names, entitled “A Tribute to the memory of the immortal Bard.”

I proceeded to the handsome collegiate church, by the side of a spacious meadow, round which flows my old favorite, the Avon, adorned by a handsome bridge of fourteen arches, 376 yards long and 16 wide. We enter the church-yard through a long paved walk, over which an avenue of limes trained on a trellis, forms a gothic aisle, well adapted for solitary meditation, and through a closed skreen, glazed with white and gold colored glass, we proceed to the chancel. On the left side of the altar is Shakespear's monument, (a mural one ;) it is a bust in stone, under an arch of red and white marble, supported by two pillars of black marble, with Corinthian bases and capitals, gilt; on the top of which are two little figures; the whole surmounted by a skull. If the face of the bust be not a resemblance of the poet, and Wheler observes it is unlike that on the cenotaph in Westminster Abbey, this monument has no merit. The countenance has great mustachios, which give an expression of humour to the lips; the drapery is a sort of loose robe, hanging in long folds over the waistcoat, which has one row of very small buttons;—a small turned down collar is round the neck; no ruff.

Wheler remarks* that “some observers discover a strong similitude in this bust to the earliest print of our

* See his History of Stratford.

poet, prefixed to the folio edition of his works, printed in 1623, which Ben Johnson, (who not only personally knew, but was familiarly acquainted with Shakespear) in his verses under it plainly asserted to be a great likeness." It is evident however, from some verses written by Leonard Digges, a cotemporary of Shakespear, that the monument was erected before 1623. It was erected (as is supposed) by the poet's executor and son-in-law, Dr. John Hall. To complete its bad taste, it was originally colored; but in 1798, at the request of the great admirer and commentator of the Bard, Malone, it was painted white. A real pen is still childishly placed in the hand; the head is rather bald. That elegant scholar, Sir Henry Wootton, calls the fashion of painting statues, an *English barbarism*. A barbarism it surely is, as colouring here has no place for its first merit, the beautiful harmony of tints and semi-tints; but Sir W. Hamilton has proved, in a MS. accompanying several drawings of the discoveries made at Pompeii, that even the ancients sometimes coloured their statues. In the chapel of Isis, discovered in that city, the image of the Goddess was found to have been painted, her robe being of a purple hue; and Junius, on the painting of the ancients, observes, from Pausanias and Herodotus, that the ancient statues were sometimes coloured as pictures.

Inscription under the figure—

Judicio Pylum, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.

Stay, passenger, why goest thou by so fast,
Read, if thou can'st, whom envious death hath plast
Within this monument, Shakspear, with whome
Quick nature dide; whose name doth deck ys tomb
Far more than cost; sich all yt he hath writt,
Leaves living Art but Page to serve his witt.

Obiit A. D. 1616, Ætatis 53, Die 23, Ap.

But let us turn from this unsatisfying monument to the simple stone which covers the grave of our Bard, immediately before the altar. His bones are here guarded, as by a talisman, by the striking lines written by himself, which, though there is some impropriety in perpetuating a maledictory sentiment in a sacred spot, have been faithfully preserved. They shew the abhorrence in which our Bard held the custom of removing human relics from their burial places to charnel houses. They are literally as follows :

“ Good Frend, for JESVS’ sake forbear
 To digge the dust enclosed heare ;
 Blest be ye man yt spares thes stones,
 And curst be he yt moves my bones.”

As I gazed on the spot where lies that skull, once so filled with thoughts that “glanced from earth to heaven, from heaven to earth;”—with creative powers that “exhausted worlds and then imagined new;”—with perception that pierced the profoundest recesses of all the varieties of the human heart; and which now, to use his own expressive phrase, is “My ladyworm’s chaplet,” I was struck by this solemn question;—Are the loftiest intellectual faculties favorable to the preparation of an immortal spirit for a higher state of existence? Are they calculated to promote that disposition of penitent holiness, which alone may support the terrors of that day, when, to use his own sublime language,

“ The cloud-capt tow’rs, the gorgeous palaces,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
 Shall vanish into air, into thin air,
 And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
 Leave not a wreck behind ?”

It is natural to observe that the most exalted powers of comprehension, (if rightly cultivated) must surely be adapted to the highest exercises of contemplating the greatness of the Supreme Intelligence, and the awful truths of his Revealed Will, as the examples of Newton, Locke, Boyle, and many noble spirits of our own day, have testisfied. On the other hand, we have seen too fatally, minds, gifted with exalted genius, which have devoted their high talents only to the purposes of their own degradation and the injury of mankind.*

As I stood upon the grave, I own it gave me a soothing melancholy pleasure to recollect all those passages in the works of our poet which evince his belief in the Christian system; and I remembered, and dwelt upon, the preamble to his will (in the registry of the archbishop of Canterbury,) It runs thus.

“ In the name of God, Amen. I, William Shakspear, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, Gent.

* We should be pleased to see this question discussed ; and if any literary friends will take it up, we shall gladly give a place to their remarks.—EDIT.

in perfect health and memory, God be praised, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, that is to say :

First, I commend my soul into the hands of God my Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting; and my body to the earth whereof that is made," &c.—

I recalled also that beautiful sentiment, (probably alluding to the Lord's prayer)

———"consider this,
That in the course of justice, none of us
Should see salvation. We do pray for mercy;
And that same pray'r doth teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy."——

And who shall dare to say that our mighty enchanter of the intellectual world, when retiring from his dramatic life, to the quiet of his native town, did not feel the vanity of his art, and exclaim, like his own Prospero,

———this rough magic
I here abjure.—I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth;
And deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book;——
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be, my grave."

Perhaps no man can discern the comparative nothingness of all earthly pursuits, till affliction, privation, bodily suffering, the approach of death, or some other infliction of the healing hand of mercy has given him a clear sight to see himself actually standing on the verge of "That undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns." At such moments of unclouded vision, with the past behind us, vanishing away in its true colours, and the tremendous future extending immediately under our feet, the highest works of art appear insignificant as a feather, and genius itself a profane trifle. Thus felt Michael Angelo, as he himself records in that beautiful sonnet which he wrote at the close of a life of nearly a century's length; and thus, we may hope, felt our Bard. However that might be, we cannot better close our meditation upon his grave, than in his own words, which he puts into the mouth of Henry the 6th in

his admirable scene of the death of Cardinal Beaufort—

“Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all.”

Close by the grave of Shakspear, lie the remains of his wife, Anne Hathaway, who died Aug. 6th, 1623, aged 67, and next to them, those of Dr. Hall; on the latter are three talbot's heads erased, impaling Shakespear.

I next visited the spot, now a walled garden, near the chapel of the Holy Cross, where stood the residence to which Shakespear retired, when he quitted the stage. This house, according to Dugdale, was originally erected in the reign of Henry the 7th, by Sir Hugh Clopton, kt. and he calls it “A faire house, built of brick and timber, called the *Great House*.” It was purchased by Shakespear, in 1597, who, having repaired and new modelled it, changed its name to New Place. That it was a residence of considerable respectability, is evident from this circumstance; viz. that Henrietta, queen of Charles the 1st, when she retired into Warwickshire, during the civil war, kept her court in this house for three weeks. This residence, with all his orchards, gardens, lands and tenements in Stratford and other places, he left to his favorite daughter, Susanna, the wife of Dr. Hall and her heirs. She had only a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Barnard, of Abington, Northamptonshire, and with her ended the poet's descendants. His daughter Judith, who married Mr. Thomas Quiney, appears to have left no heirs. New Place passed into the hands of many possessors, till it came to the Rev. Francis Gastrell, vicar of Frodsham in Cheshire; who alas! for an Englishman! having no taste for meditating in the very rooms where the great Bard had meditated, pulled down his house, and though, shortly before

“The mulberry tree was hung with blooming wreaths,

The mulberry tree stood centre of the dance;

The mulberry tree was hymn'd with dulcet airs;

And, from his touchwood trunk, the mulberry tree

Supplied such relics as devotion holds

Still sacred, and preserves with pious care.——*Cowper.*

Against the mulberry tree itself, he raised the sacrilegious axe, and no Dryad averted the blow. He cut it down *because it was troublesome.*

It has lately become a question whether or not Shake-

peare ought to be read. If decided in the negative, one consequence must inevitably follow, that all the other poets, with a *very small reserve*, must also pass through the court of inquisition. And it were devoutly to be wished that *some*, and those of the most admired of the moderns, were thus condemned to the flames. But there are numberless passages in Shakespear of such high-toned morality, such commanding eloquence, such inimitable knowledge of nature, and such pure and exquisite poetry, (though like diamonds in a mine, they are too often found in heaps of rubbish) that *they will not burn*; they are incombustible; they are written on asbestos. How far the reading of works of imagination may *safely* be licensed, is a part of the same question. They are luxuries, and as they proceed from talents given by the Supreme Creator, shall it be said that they are unlawful? Like other blessings, it is the abuse, and not the use, of them that is pernicious. To enjoy them with a pure and healthy mind, we must exercise the necessary virtue of temperance; to those who do not so taste them, I would certainly recommend *abstinence*. No recreation can be innocent, if we cannot, from our conscience, thank God for it. If the reading of works of imagination (I mean, of consequence, such only as do not offend good morals) exhilarates the mind and gives elasticity to the spirits, so that we can return with a composed mind, not only to the fulfilment of our solemn obligations, but to all the little, but important every-day duties of life, we may safely consider such relaxation as a call upon our gratitude. If we cannot exercise this degree of soberness and self-denial in our amusements, we may rest assured that they are criminal. When immoderately revelled in, they become as fatal as the banquet of Comus, and we must, like the magnanimous lady, close our lips against their destructive sweets.

VIATOR.

PHYSICAL SUFFERINGS OF THE NEGRO-SLAVES.

(For the Humming Bird.)

It is generally well known that the topographical peculiarities both of continents and insular countries, and even of certain portions or districts of these, influence and fre-

quently modify, in a remarkable manner, the effects of natural causes on the health of the inhabitants, as well of the animal as of the vegetable tribes. On these we shall endeavour at a future opportunity to expatiate at some length. Of this limited agency of natural causes on the human frame a very singular example is furnished by Barbadoes. This island is at all times visited with a malady peculiarly its own. As it forms a characteristic feature of the country, and cannot but attract the notice, and excite the curiosity, of strangers, we shall devote to a brief description of it a page or two of our miscellaneous publication.—In his hearty good wishes for the success of “The Humming Bird,” the writer of this article would fain apologize for the sombre cast of the topics which, through the course of a very few of its numbers, will occupy his contributions to it: but his object is, by exhibiting some account of the bodily sufferings of the wretched victims of slavery, and that in the simplest dress, rather to interest the sympathy of his readers in their behalf than to amuse them.—Truth needs no apology in this land of liberty, more especially when called for, and that loudly, in the cause of suffering humanity. The complaint alluded to is commonly termed the “Barbadoes disease,” or “Barbadoes leg.”*—It appears commonly in the form of an enormous enlargement of one or both legs; but affects occasionally other parts of the body, which are also enormously enlarged.—Whenever established, it is extremely difficult to remove, and proves for the most part to be incurable. It disturbs the general health less than might be expected, and frequently exists for many years, or even during the remainder of a long life, without seeming materially to impair the constitution. It is mostly seen among the negroes; but it occurs also among the Creole whites, and even suffers not the Europeans to escape. Although so much more frequent in Barbadoes as to be held in a great degree peculiar or endemial, it is not wholly confined to this country; some instances of it being found in the neighbouring islands.

It is occasionally met with at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, and also in South America. “It would seem not to have been so prevalent,” says Dr. Pinckard, “as it now is,

* Or, “Elephant’s leg.”

from any very distant period of time; for about the year 1760 died at Barbadoes, a man named Francis Briggs, more commonly known under the fictitious appellation of Christopher Columbus, who, from the uncommon and monstrous appearance of his legs, had been represented as the bugbear, or object of terror, for the purpose of frightening children. Male and female, young, middle-aged and old, black, yellow and white are now all subject to its attacks; and, in walking along the streets of the towns in Barbadoes, the eye is distressed, at almost every corner, with the appearance of this hideous deformity. It commences by an attack like that of an ague—the glands of the thigh swell; from whence a red line of inflammation extends down the limb, in the direction of the lymphatic vessels; the part swells, and puts on a shining, dropsical appearance. The swelling gradually occupies the whole of the leg, increasing until, in many instances, the limb is more than double its ordinary size. The skin grows rough and scaly, or is covered with wart-like risings. In some cases, deep belts or indentations appear in various parts of the swelling, as if formed by the pressure of ligatures: in others the swelling bulges out in a number of irregular protrusions: sometimes, from extreme distention, the skin breaks into fissures, and a watery fluid oozes out, which, on exposure to the air, grows gelatinous on the surface. The foot frequently partakes of the disease; but, in many instances, the immense swelling of the leg terminates abruptly at the ankle, hanging over the foot in knotty and scaly excrescences. The deformity is thus diversified, the enormous bulk of the leg appearing under a variety of unseemly and disgusting shapes. As the enlargement increases, the whole limb becomes hard and scaly, and the distended skin, which was at first pitted, grows thick and horny; and entirely resists the pressure of the finger.

The internal part of the extremity has the appearance of brawn; the morbid skin, and subjacent cellular membrane being thickened into a tough, horny, and almost cartilaginous consistence. But the swelling is produced by oil or fat deposited in its proper cells, looking like honey-comb filled with honey. From this unsightly malady being mostly accompanied with what is termed "The fever and ague," indeed from the periodical returns of the pa-

roxysms, and from the swelling succeeding to them, the disease has been very generally considered only as an effect resulting from intermittent fever. The disease is evidently connected with the lymphatic vessels.

The best means of relief appear to be founded on this view of it. The fever is treated as the original affection, the disease of the limb being regarded only as a sequel.—The patient is sent for a change to some other island, in order to prevent a relapse. No particular attention is paid to the swelling, which, on the fever being removed, sometimes gradually diminishes. But more frequently, it remains stationary, or increases; or if it subside, is renewed on any future invasion of the fever. A residence in a more temperate latitude as that of England, for a few years, has appeared, in some cases, to subdue the disorder entirely, yet it again takes place on the patient returning to Barbadoes. Some have regarded the disease in a directly opposite point of view, considering the tumour and inflammation of the lymphatic vessels, as the primary affection, and the fever merely as a consequence.

It is clearly not an infectious disease. It is not painful except on its commencement, or recurrence; the enlargement sometimes proceeding so gradually, that the patient is almost insensible of it. He walks about as usual, and appears to suffer but little inconvenience from either its bulk or weight. Hence it is often less afflicting to the individual, than offensive to others. It is extremely repugnant to the sight; and as the negroes walk in the streets with these diseased limbs exposed to every eye, Europeans, but recently arrived, are exceedingly annoyed by their filthy and monstrous appearance. "Perhaps," adds Dr. Pinckard, "nature has not formed, nor can the human mind conceive, a being at once so disgusting and so pitiable, as an old half-famished negro woman of withered frame, hobbling with her loose and naked skin hanging shrivelled in deep-furrowed wrinkles; and dragging after her one or both legs grown into an immense bulk of hideous disease—her feet only toes, protruding from this huge mass of distempered leg! Yet such are the objects too often seen upon the streets of Bridge-Town." Although this afflictive complaint may be supposed, by giving an additional expansion to the feet, to render them better adapted to the purpose of treading

down the sugar in the casks, we *trust* the sense of propriety and delicacy in the managers will not allow the sufferers to be so employed; yet we cannot but have some apprehensions that these principles have but a very feeble influence with this class of men, secluded as they are from every eye that would be pained at so repulsive and disgusting a sight, to say the least of it.

HUMANITAS.

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### AN EXTRAORDINARY PLANT.

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“ These are Thy glorious works, Parent of good :  
 Almighty, thine this universal frame,  
 Thus wond’rous fair; thyself how wond’rous then !  
 Unspeakable, who sittst above these heav’ns,  
 To us invisibly, or dimly seen  
 In these Thy lowest works ; yet these declare  
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow’r divine.”

*Paradise Lost.*

A plant, appertaining to a new genus, bearing a flower of extraordinary and prodigious dimensions, has lately been discovered in Sumatra, by the late Dr. Arnold, who accompanied the Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles:—It was found in a jungle, growing close to the ground under the bushes. It measured “ A full yard across.” The whole flower was of a very thick substance, Dr. Arnold says; the petals and nectary being in but few places less than a quarter of an inch thick, and in some places three-quarters of an inch: its substance was very succulent. The latyx consisted of several roundish, dark-brown, concave leaves, which seemed to be indefinite in number, and were unequal in size. There were five petals attached to the nectary, which were thick, and covered with protuberances of a yellow-white, varying in size; the interstices being of a brick-red colour; the nectarium was cyathi form, narrowing towards the top. The centre of the nectarium gave rise to a large pistil, at the top of which were about 20 processes, somewhat curved and sharp at the end, resembling a cow’s uccus; there were as many smaller short processes. A little more than half way down, a brown cord, about the size of common whipcord, surrounded what perhaps is the germen, and a little below it was another cord, somewhat monili-form. The

petals were sub-rotund, twelve inches from the base to the apex, and the distance of the insertion of one petal to that of the opposite one was about a foot: the nectarium would hold 12 pints, and the weight of the flower was calculated to be about 15 pounds.—There were no leaves or branches to this plant: so that it is probable that the stems bearing leaves issue forth at a different period of the year. The soil where it grew was very rich, and covered with the excrement of elephants. A guide from the interior said that such flowers were rare, and that the natives called them Krubut. Mr. Brown examined some of the buds, which had been presented to the Linnæan Society, and found the anthers, but no part which could be regarded as a perfect pistil, in the probable nature and place of the ovary. Mr. Brown has given a connected account of this plant in his thirteenth volume of the Linnæan transactions. Since the first account of this plant read to the Linnæan Society, Sir Stamford Raffles has found that the Krubut is more generally known than had been supposed; it seems to spring from the horizontal roots of those immense climbers which are attached like cables to the largest trees in the forest; the leaves and fruit have not yet been met with. It is said to be a many-seeded berry. Three months elapse between the first appearance of the bud and the full expansion of the flower, and the flower appears but once a year, at the conclusion of the rainy season.



### INDIAN GRATITUDE; EUROPEAN INJUSTICE.

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An American Indian was betrayed on board a ship, and sold as a slave: no cruelties could tame the high-spirited savage to labour: he refused sustenance, and attempted to kill himself. Another ship-master, struck with his distress, bought him for a trifle, and carried him back to Canada.—The joy which flashed in his eyes on approaching his native shore, was checked by gratitude to his deliverer. He swam back to the ship—he was landed again with presents—he left the presents, and swam back to his benefactor, with the generous emotions of a mind which had strongly felt



misfortunes, but more strongly the attachment to its deliverer. "I knew no sorrow," said he, "till I was betrayed, insulted, and whipped. I will return to my nation, for they will give me my hatchet. Though I had no presents to give, you gave me freedom; and now load me with presents. My eyes never shed tears before. Promise but to remember me, and to return after twelve moons, and I will give you many furs; and lay the scalps of my fiercest enemies at your feet."—When he had thus given language to his heart he walked off in silence. There is a greatness in this savage's feelings, which could be equalled only by the liberality of the man who deserved them.—*Bruce's Elements of Ethics*, p. 211.

May not thousands of suffering NEGROES, in our West-Indian Colonies, possess the seeds of similar virtue, choked only in their growth by depressing servitude? What a compound aggregate of evil, beyond all estimate, does the practice of slavery present to our view, when we contemplate the moral and intellectual excellence which it has probably prevented; and the depravity, ignorance and misery, it has actually produced . . . . The benevolent religion of Christ, which exalts the dignity, and establishes the equal rights of all mankind, as the offspring of God, and joint heirs of immortality, has gradually accomplished universal freedom, in this quarter of the globe. And I trust the æra is approaching, when the benign influence of evangelical charity will be extended to the sons of Africa, now forcibly carried from their native land; consigned to perpetual drudgery; and debarred of all the endearing connections of social life, which are at once the incitements to, and rewards of, virtue.

Life and liberty, with the powers and enjoyments dependent on them, are the common and unalienable gifts of bounteous heaven. To seize them by force is rapine; to exchange for them the wares of Manchester, or of Birmingham is improbity: for it is to barter without reciprocal gain—to give the stones of the brook for the gold of Ophir.—*Percival's Moral Tales*, p. 105.

ON THE SCORNFUL APPLICATION OF THE WORD  
"SAINT."

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*Rev. J. Marriott.*

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*A Saint !* O would that I could claim  
The privileg'd, the precious name;  
And confidently take my stand,  
Tho' lowest, in the saintly band !

Would that the name in scorn appli'd  
As well the test of truth could 'bide  
As kingly salutations giv'n  
In mock'ry to the king of Heav'n.

*A Saint !* and what imports the name  
Thus bandied in derision's game ?  
"Holy and separate from sin,  
To good, nay e'en to God akin."

Is such the meaning of the name  
From which a Christian shrinks with shame ?—  
Yes ! dazzled with the glorious sight,  
He thinks his crown is all too bright.

And ill might son of Adam dare,  
*Alone*, such honor's weight to bear ;  
But fearlessly he takes the load  
United to the Son of God !—

*A Saint !* O scorner, give some sign,  
Some seal to prove the title mine ;  
And warmer thanks thou shalt command  
Than bringing kingdoms in thine hand.

O ! for an interest in that name !  
When Hell shall ope its gates of flame ;  
And sinners to their doom be hurl'd,  
While scorned *Saints* shall judge the world !

How shall the name of saint be priz'd,  
Tho' now rejected and despis'd,  
When truth shall witness to the Word,  
That none *but Saints* shall see the Lord.

## TO THE HUMMING BIRD.

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Smallest of the feather'd throng!  
 Quick as light you dart along,  
 Flutt'ring orange groves among,  
 Sipping their honied dew;  
 Free as the air which round you blows,  
 Free as the stream which near you flows,  
 Your bosom nought but pleasure knows,  
 The flow'rets bloom for you.

Bethink you, as those sweets you sip;  
 Those flow'rs in which your beak you dip,  
 Yon negro planted;—Hark! the whip  
 Recals him to his toil.—  
 To pamper pride, he toils and weeps,  
 He dreams of scourging if he sleeps,  
 And oft a weary watch he keeps  
 While Muscavadoes boil.—

Haste you, sweet Bird! to Britain's isle,  
 Where flow'r's unnumber'd deck the soil,  
 No slave in chains is doom'd to toil,  
 Or writhe beneath the whip:—  
 For free men cultivate the ground;  
 Here purest liberty is found;  
 And as you flit your airy round,  
 Its sweetest flow'r's you'll sip.

Haste you to Britain's Humming Bird,  
 And let your note with her's be heard;—  
 United Britain gives the word  
 'Tis "Freedom to the Slave;"  
 Hark! Afric's sons across the main,  
 Re-echo back the cheering strain,  
 Britain has burst the galling chain,  
 Britain, the *just*, the *brave*!

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MOSCOW.

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*From Dr. Clarke's Travels.*

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Moscow is in every thing extraordinary—in disappointing your expectations, and in surpassing them—exciting



wonder and derision—pleasure and regret. We are now in the midst of the Pâques; which is here celebrated with a pomp and festivity, unknown to the rest of Europe. The most splendid pageants of Rome, do not equal the grandeur and costliness of the church ceremonies; neither can Venice, in the midst of her carnival, rival what is now passing in Moscow.

I want to conduct you with me to the gates of the town, and thence through the streets. You see its numerous spires glittering with gold, amidst domes and painted palaces, in the midst of an open plain, for several versts before you reach it. Having passed the gates, you look about, and wonder what is become of the town, or where you are, and are ready to ask, ‘When shall we get to Moscow?’ They will tell you, ‘This is Moscow!’ and you see nothing but wide and scattered suburbs, huts, and pigstyes, and brick-walls, and churches, and dunghills, and timber-yards, and warehouses, and the refuse of materials sufficient to supply an empire, with miserable towns and miserable villages. One might imagine that every town of Europe and Asia had sent a building, by way of representative, to Moscow. You see deputies from all countries holding congress. Timber huts from the north of the Gulph of Bothnia, plastered palaces from Stockholm and Copenhagen (not white-washed since their arrival,) painted walls from the Tirol, mosques from Constantinople, Tartar temples, pagodas, and pavilions from Pekin, cabarets from Spain, dungeons, prisons, and public offices from France, ruins and fragments of architecture from Rome, terraces from Naples, and warehouses from Wapping.

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### EAST INDIA SUGAR.

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We have the sincerest pleasure in stating the following fact, which is an irrefragible proof that the *silent* principle of opposing the injustice of African slavery by abstinence from the produce of slave labour, is powerfully operative. It was communicated in a private letter to a friend of ours.

From Nov. 1st, 1824 to Jan. 22nd, 1825, have been sold in England 30,429 bags of East India sugar, making on an average, 422 bags per day.

THE  
**Humming Bird ;**

No. 5.]

APRIL, 1825.

[Vol. I.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE HUMMING BIRD.

MY HIGHLY ESTEEMED FRIENDS,

As the main object of your publication is to convey "Morsels of information on the subject of slavery"—and you have invited contributions, I send you a few extracts from a valuable work, just published,\*entitled "THE WEST-INDIES AS THEY ARE." By the Rev. R. Bickell, late Naval Chaplain at Port-Royal, sometime curate of that Parish, and previously of the city of Kingston, in Jamaica. The author appears to be, in the strictest sense, an impartial reporter of facts within his own knowledge and observation—and his book furnishes a complete answer to those who still contend for the *comforts of West-Indian slavery*, as exceeding those enjoyed by a great proportion of the British peasantry. In his preface the writer thus expresses himself:

"At the present time, when the humane and religious of all classes and sects in the united kingdoms, seem deeply impressed with the evils, and are anxious to alleviate the hardships, of slavery in our West-Indian colonies; some remarks on the real state of that slavery, with the effects it produces on the different classes of the inhabitants, by one who has been an eye-witness, and has had abundant opportunity of making himself acquainted with the subject on which he writes, may not be unacceptable to the public. The writer is influenced by no party: he has no interests to serve but those of religion and humanity. As a Christian and a clergyman he is too highly sensible of his own privileges, through the Gospel, not to wish to see them shared by every son and daughter of Adam; and he trusts also, that where he has seen any obstructions to the extension of

\* By Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, price 6s. 6d. bds.

these blessed privileges, (which more particularly sweeten the bitter cup of adversity and hard labour) that he has fear enough of his Maker to induce him to use all lawful means (which his humble station allows him) to endeavour to remove these obstructions, whomsoever he may offend, or whatever abuse or injury he may draw down upon himself by so doing.

I am as much rejoiced as any one at the appointment of bishops to our West-Indian islands; but bishops will never have an opportunity of seeing what I have seen. Should they visit as many parts of the colonies as I have, yet a veil would be studiously thrown over the most prominent parts of the evils of the system, by every person with whom they might converse, and on every estate they might choose to visit. There would be no floggings, nor even a single stroke of the whip in a bishop's presence: no indecency to shock his sight, nor any thing said to offend his ears, and if he attended at any church, it would be crowded by design and order, for that time; every thing, in fact, would be acted so as to deceive, and make a favorable but false impression.

I shall, most probably, draw down upon myself a large share of abuse from the colonists and their friends, for the faithfulness of the picture which I have drawn, and may incur odium from other selfish and hard-hearted persons; but though I desire it not, and would much rather be at peace with them all, yet I can assure them, I fear them not altogether.

The present brutish, unchristian and impolitic state of things in the West Indies, cannot exist much longer, for all good Christians are bound to oppose it, and God himself cannot long bless and prosper those who defy his laws, and contemptuously break, and teach others to break, his holy and everlasting commandments.

Looking at the negroes in the West Indies in a physical point of view, I think it must be allowed by all who have had opportunities of judging, that they stand as high in the scale of being, as white persons would, who had never enjoyed superior advantages. The poor field negroes being kept continually at hard labour, and not having the least opportunity of exercising the powers of their minds, are certainly very ignorant and stupid; but domestic slaves,



who mix more with the whites, and especially those who have been long emancipated, exhibit much acuteness of judgment and shrewdness of observation; and when, in a few favored situations, they have had a little education, they shew such quickness of apprehension and retentiveness of memory, as would make many white persons blush, or throw them completely in the shade.

As curate of Port-Royal, I thought it my duty during Lent, in the years 1821 and 1822, to examine the children of different schools in the church catechism, after divine service on Wednesdays, and to excite emulation among them, I promised to give books, as rewards, to those who should excel. Two or three of the classes learnt, in the course of a few weeks, the greater part of the answers, and in more than one instance, a black child excelled and carried away a prize.

In making these observations, I know I am completely at issue with the great body of the colonists, who, with very few exceptions, look upon the negroes as beings every way inferior to the whites; and this is one great cause of their ill treatment, and of their being deprived of many little privileges, which might, with perfect safety, be granted them.

The universal custom in Jamaica, is not to allow the slaves any wages (except a few domestic ones in the towns, where they are allowed from two shillings and three pence to three shillings sterling per week) but to each slave is apportioned a piece of land, which he is to cultivate at the portions of time allowed him, and on which he raises vegetables for himself and family. They are allowed a few salt herrings, not always of the best kind, once a week or fortnight. Many of them, in favored situations, keep a hog, with a few fowls, which they commonly sell, to purchase better clothing than is allowed them by their owners. This however is not general. Some few of the head negroes are however much favored upon large estates belonging to wealthy and humane proprietors, and keep more small stock, besides having larger grounds, in which the drivers, at times, oblige some of the other negroes to labour for them. By these means they are enabled to sell more than their fellow-slaves, and do, here and there, lay up a little money; but if any should be weak enough to imagine that

this is generally or frequently the case, they would be woefully mistaken; these instances are rare and uncommon.

All the field slaves are allowed by the law of the island every other Saturday, out of crop-time, and some extra days after crop, to make up the number of twenty-six days in the year, when they are to labour in their grounds to raise provisions for their subsistence. Crop-time generally lasts from Christmas to June or July, so that the slaves get only from fourteen to sixteen days in the year, besides a few extra days after crop, in which to work their grounds, and on many estates and plantations, they get no extra days at all, so that these few days being wholly insufficient, the Sundays are intruded on, and the Sabbath, therefore is, with most, a day of labour, instead of a day of rest.

This shews that the object of the planters is to obtain the greatest quantity of labour possible; though I am quite certain, that their object is in most instances defeated; for the negroes are shrewd enough to observe it, and it is a common observation with them, "Noting please Massa, but work, work, work!" and under this impression they generally take care not to put forth all their strength in their daily labour, but take it leisurely, and even indolently; and I have no hesitation in saying, that if they were allowed every Saturday to themselves, the business of the plantations would go on quite as well, and the produce be just as great.

This constant work, work, work, is also a principal cause of one of the greatest hardships in West-Indian slavery, I mean the constant use of the whip; for seeing that work is their only portion, they are, as I before observed, inclined to be indolent, and a driver is continually after them in the field, to flog them with his heavy whip, if they do not work as hard as he thinks they ought. It is certainly a most degrading sight to see one fellow-creature following twenty, thirty, or forty others, and every now and then lashing them as he would a team of horses or mules: but this is not all, for if any one offends more than ordinarily, the driver, who has almost unlimited power, takes him or her from the ranks, and having two or three strong negroes to hold the culprit down, lays on twenty or thirty lashes with all his might. Thirty-nine is the number spe-

cified by law, beyond which even a white man cannot legally go in one day: but I have seen a black driver lay on, most unmercifully, upwards of forty at one time, whilst his fellow-slave was crying out for mercy, so that he could be heard a quarter of a mile from the spot. The black driver is himself liable to be degraded to the ranks, or punished, if a certain quantity of work be not done. Most of the overseers are too fond of flogging, and feel no more for the cries of a negro, than they would for the howling of a dog. Those daily punishments of the present horrid system, for indolence and other trivial faults, lose moreover their intended effect, for the frequency hardens the poor wretches, and makes them less willing to exert themselves, as after all their endeavours they are not certain of giving satisfaction.

On every estate or plantation, there are also stocks, in which a proprietor or overseer can place any of the negroes, for real or supposed faults, as often as he pleases. When a slave has offended more than commonly, he is placed in them for a considerable time, day and night; but sometimes he is sent to the field, to work under the inspection and charge of another in the day, and sent back to the stocks again at night: this is often done when they are given to running away, or after a severe flogging, when they are suspected of being inclined to desert. Sometimes for greater safety and an increase of punishment, they are sent, without the interference of a magistrate, to the parish work-house, or gaol, where they get a severe thirty-nine at going in and at coming out, and are worked in pairs, chained together by the neck; in this manner they go out to work on the roads, or in the streets, with a work-house driver after them, who lashes them very sharply to urge them on. I have been told, that in a certain parish, they were marched in this heart-rending state to church, though I never saw it myself.

It may be said by the colonists and their friends, that if the present system were altered, and the drivers deprived of their whips, very little work would be done, as the negroes are so very idle that they would not labour unless through fear of punishment. I conceive this to be a very erroneous idea; if they were allowed more time to cultivate their own grounds, and encouraged to attend places of religious worship, they would then see that the whites took an



interest in their temporal and eternal welfare; gratitude would then impel the nerves and sinews of Afric's sons, to do what the whip now scarcely obliges them to perform; they are not devoid of sense and feeling, and I can say, from experience, that gratitude glows as fervently in the black men's bosoms as it does in those of the fair-skinned sons of Europe.

It has been also asserted, that nothing but coercion can induce a negro to labour, more than barely to raise enough for his subsistence: this is extremely erroneous: witness the great number of free blacks in the towns of Jamaica; in Kingston they are most of them good mechanics, and work as regularly and as hard as white men in this country; they also conduct themselves as well, can read and write, many of them, and are more respectably clad than white men of the same class in England. In Port Royal, they are intelligent and industrious, and several of them (to their credit be it said) have more, much more religion than the low white men there, who affect to despise them.

Another of the great evils of slavery is, that the slaves are so degraded in the eye of the law, as not to be considered persons, but mere animals and chattels; so that they can be sold, not only at the will and pleasure of their masters, but can be seized and sold for debt by a writ of execution, and exposed for sale at a public auction to the best bidder. Many a bitter cry is heard when the Marshal's deputies (dogs, as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim, and drive or drag them away to the workhouse or gaol, till the day of sale arrives, which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable: this hardship is much increased when slaves are married, or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's, or mother's, or children's cries would not be attended to, any more than the moans of so many animals. I can affirm, that the affections between the mothers and even spurious offspring are very powerful as well as permanent.

On large estates, these much-to-be-lamented separations do not often occur, but in the towns, particularly Kingston, where small tradespeople and persons of colour have but few slaves, they are to be seen almost daily exposed for sale (by writ of *venditioni exponas*) like oxen or sheep, and appraised and valued for their strength, age or appearance, and other qualities, and knocked down to him who will give the most money.

They can also be seized and sold in a summary way, by the collecting constables of parishes, for taxes, and they are often bought in, by some of them, for little more than half their value, and sold again shortly after, at an advanced price; so that a poor creature may be bandied about, and have three or four masters in as many years.—One strong case of a poor negro being separated from his wife, and sold to a distant parish, after many prayers and endeavours to get a new master, in Kingston, came more immediately under my own observation.

The distress and terror among a gang of negroes, when the Marshal's Deputy, with his dogs, and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee mountain (staying for a few days with a brother Clergyman, who had permission to reside there) on which were about seventy or eighty negroes; the proprietor was much in debt and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves, to pay themselves; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the Argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked about an hour before day-light, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children; I at first scarcely knew what it was, but in a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me that it was the Marshal's deputies making a levy on the negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, being nearer to the scene of action than

he was, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the negro-houses, the resistance had ceased; for the negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law, they being eight or ten in number. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief, by a fierce and horrid-looking Irishman, who had been one of M'Gregor's free-booters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broad-sword over the poor creature, with the grin and growl of a demon, as much as to say, you dog, I will annihilate you and them too, if they attempt to interfere.

Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and most of the women and children, amounting, in the whole, to between thirty and forty, which were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene, as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman, in particular, had six or seven children; two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped, but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud, and very bitterly for it, saying, "That she must give herself up, if the child were not got back; for she could not live separate from it." There was many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children; for they loved their master, who was kind, and had also excellent provision-grounds for them. Two or three of the poor fellows were wounded, and I was assured, by a free-born man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, and very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate, under their master's eye and voice. They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish-Town gaol, a distance of twenty miles. I might here remark, that the labour is much lighter on a coffee mountain



than on a sugar estate, and that the negroes are not required to be up so much at night, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision-grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable and less harassed than on a sugar estate."

For a future number, I shall present you with some farther extracts from this humane and intelligent writer, illustrative of the *comforts* of West-Indian slavery—especially with a picture of a WEST-INDIAN SABBATH. Y. Z.



### LETTER FROM SADI THE ARABIAN OF DAMASCUS, TO ABOU ALNASCHAR, THE DERVISE.

*From the City called London, 10th of the 1st. Moon,  
in the year of the Hejira, 1214.*

Friend of my life! may the peace of home be with thee;—thy wandering Sadi hath, at length, entered this city of strangers, and he hastens to salute thee with a heart more affectionate than ever, now that mountains rise and oceans roll between us.

Most venerable Dervise!—I write with my head in the dust, and my feet unshod, in token of reverence. Thou wert the instructor of my youth and the father of my manhood—and thou art still the guide of my elder days. It was thou who didst teach me the knowledge of good. Thou, who seeking for wisdom, as for a talisman more precious than the signet of Solomon, didst not vainly pursue it through books of secret science, written by mortals, nor study with the famous Geber the idle transmutation of meaner metals into gold, but didst read, with a clear eye, the volume of the visible world, written by the finger of Him from whom all things proceed.

Alnaschar! does the thirsty pilgrim who sinks fainting on the burning sand of the desert, owe gratitude to the deliverer who raises to his quivering lip the cup of restoring

water, who places him on his own dromedary, and conveys him to the grove of reviving shade?—Then what do I not owe thee, who didst rescue my soul from the destroying draught of ignorance, and nourished it with the waters of intellectual life?—Thou didst impart to me, from thy science of nature, those virtues which form the real pleasures of man; thou didst teach me industry from the bee, patience from the camel, and gratitude from the elephant.—Friend of my life!—if I forget thee, may I become the companion of the hyæna, and never more look upon those animals who shame the ingratitude of man!—

I have a lodging in a khan, where, except the faithful face of my old Greek, Titus, I see no eye that rests upon me with affection, though all look friendly. I am alone, but Allah is with me, and I frequently retire to quiet meditation; yet the noise, bustle and confusion of this vast wilderness of houses (for methinks here are a hundred cities joined in one) sorely distract my ideas.

Thou knowest that it was not merely my thirst for seeing distant lands that led me thus far from the banks of our Barrady, but the wish to make, for myself, some observations upon these Islanders, and particularly upon their religion, which, thou knowest, they are now trying to spread over the whole earth. I confess to thee, I was much struck by reading that little book which, in our own language, was given to me by a Christian at Aleppo. It is called the God's-spel, or good tidings from God, which is the name by which these people call Allah. Though a humble and faithful follower of our great Prophet, I have taken much pleasure in reading the history of Jesus, the son of Mary, whom Mahomet acknowledged to be a Holy Prophet; and in one of the letters written by his disciples to their friends, which are at the end of the book, I found this sentence, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."—There is wisdom in this; and, thou knowest, I have always felt an ardent desire of enquiring into all matters which are of importance to the spirit of man. I therefore formed a purpose of journeying thus far to obtain some knowledge of the Christians, and to compare what I shall see in their practice with what I read in their Holy Book. As our sect permits us to make use of our own reason in explaining the difficulties of the Koran; I shall therefore exercise my understanding also on the book of the Christians. ( a )

Alnaschar! I must give thee some account of what I have seen; but had I a roll of paper ample as the firmament, and ink abundant as the ocean, ( <sup>b</sup> ) I could not tell thee half of the wonders that have astonished me.

Having reached a port in the kingdom called France, I enquired for a galley to convey me to this Island, and when on board, I left Titus to stow our baggage, and retreated into the cabin. I found a sofa very commodious, and placing myself upon it, betook myself to my segar and to meditation, notwithstanding there was a great number of people of various kinds, running backwards and forwards, and carrying about baskets of provisions. I had just fallen into a delightful reverie, fancy having transported me back to Damascus, that city of gardens.

I was, methought, sitting in my orange garden, at the hour of the evening twilight, when the nightingale begins to sing, and the majestic moon ascends her throne. As I breathed the delicious fragrance of the flowers, and observed how the pure stream visited and revived every plant;—( <sup>c</sup> ) such, thought I, is knowledge to the soul of man. From the full reservoir of immortal wisdom flow all the streams which, divided into small channels, nourish the plants of the mind of man; this brought to my recollection a beautiful comparison which I had read in one of the writers of the Jews—

“He shall be like a tree planted by the water side,  
And which sendeth forth her roots to the aqueduct;  
She shall not fear when the heat cometh;  
But her leaf shall be green;  
And in the year of draught she shall not be anxious,  
Neither shall she cease from bearing fruit.\*

Also another of their authors, called the son of Sirach, speaking in the name of Wisdom,\* says,

“I also come forth as a canal from a river,  
And as a conduit flowing into a paradise.  
I said: I will water my garden,  
And I will abundantly moisten my border:  
And lo! my canal became a river,  
And my river became a sea.”——

I was pursuing this idea, and tracing the course of

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\* Jeremiah 17—8.      † Eccclus. 24.—30, 31.



wisdom, far above the borders of this earthly space, till I became lost in a sublime reverie, and insensible to all around me. Suddenly, I was roused by a dreadful noise, as of something splashing and floundering in the sea. I imagined it to be a whale which the sailors had attacked, and which was beating the waves with his mighty tail and fins. I instantly ran upon the deck, and observing no whale, I looked about the galley, and perceived a tall mast, from which issued a volume of black smoke. I now believed that the ship was on fire, and by all the gestures I could use, made signs to the Commander to get out a boat. He was walking very calmly on the deck, and to my great surprise, seemed in great anger at my importunity. As I suffered great distress of mind, from apprehension of the galley instantly blowing up, I own this behaviour appeared discourteous. I felt angry; but I immediately recollected one of the lessons which Noureddin Ali gave, when dying, to his son, "Never reply when you are spoken to in anger; silence is the ornament and safeguard of life; we should not, by speaking, resemble the stormy rain, which destroys all that it falls upon."—I therefore resumed my presence of mind, and silently pointed to the smoke which continued to roll from the top of the iron mast. The Commander then took me by the arm, and leading me to the side of the ship, showed me that the noise which had alarmed me, proceeded from wheels upon which the ship went along with wonderful swiftness, in the water. Observing my wonder, he next showed me a great fire, from which the smoke proceeded, and which served to boil a vast quantity of water, the steam of which served to turn the wheels.—Alnaschar! dost thou believe my relation?—thou knowest that to speak the truth was the first lesson thou taughtest me.—These are great and wonderful people;—their wheel-ships can go against the winds and the tides, and they need neither oars nor sails!

I had not recovered from my astonishment when we entered this great city, when another miracle seized all my thoughts; but this came in a pleasing shape. Passing over a magnificent bridge, twenty times longer than that of Bagdad, I looked down the vast river which runs through part of the city, and on each side I observed beautiful lights, brighter than the most brilliant of our lamps, sud-

denly bursting out one after the other. I took them, at first, for exhalations, but remarking, that they settled in regular rows, I imagined they must be lamps; and as we entered the streets, I saw numberless rows of glass lanterns and the same beautiful flames kindled in them. Every street, all the *bezesteins*, and all the magnificent palaces were thus illuminated, and wouldst thou believe it; all this is done without the help of oil. These Christians have discovered an invisible spirit of flame, which they call forth from the essence of a certain mineral called coal. This is a work of extraordinary science; indeed the Christians have studied all the secrets of nature. They command the spirits of the elements, the fire, the air, and the water; and they make use of them for the most important purposes.—*Alnaschar!* I have more wonders to tell thee.—It is well that thou knowest my veracity. These curious inventors are going to employ this spirit of flame and the spirit of the steam which impels the wheel-ships, for the purpose of guiding their carriages, which are to go without horses, and they are about to make level roads throughout the whole land for them to run upon. I have no doubt that these humane people have devised this plan from the motive of saving much labour and suffering to the poor horses; for I observed that these noble animals were grievously tired and distressed; by drawing the heavy carriage in which we travelled; and when they were taken out of it, they panted and smoked, and every vein in their flesh trembled and swelled, and seemed ready to burst.

Holy Dervise, I confess to thee, that I begin to reverence the religion of these people; they have learned all this kindness of feeling from their Holy Book, it is full of it. And my admiration is mingled with delight, when I observe the principle of unity upon which they perform all their astonishing works. Their prophet, Jesus of Nazareth, commanded them to love one another, and said to them, “one is your master, even Christ (meaning himself) and ye all are brethren.” Consequently, they act like *brethren*; for whatsoever they do, even in the most extensive works, they do it upon this amiable principle of *fellowship*. No man acts singly for his own interest, but all *unite* for the good of their neighbours. Those Christians who carry on the work of the lights I have described are called a *Company*;

those who spread abroad their Holy Book in all tongues, are called a *Society*; those who are to make the carriages go without horses, are also called a *Company*; nay, they do not even provide themselves with their food without uniting with others, for they write upon their houses, *Tea-Company*; tea is a beverage made from a Chinese herb, of which these people are very fond. And when they convey their merchandise from city to city, they do this in the same *harmonious spirit of union*, for upon their vast wooden machines, used for this conveyance, is written *Association*. In short, this temper of *brotherhood and fellowship* is in every thing they do. Holy Dervise! thou wilt admire, as I do, this entire obedience of the Christians to their prophet. May we Musselmen receive a lesson from it!—We, who, so many of us, disobey even the easy injunction of our prophet, to abstain from wine!

Alnaschar! I have still more wonders to relate, and one in particular, which cannot, like those I have already mentioned, be explained by the rules of science. It is a very extraordinary natural curiosity relative to the horses of this kingdom. They are all born with short tails. Thou canst not imagine how this astonished me; and it has puzzled me extremely, because it has ever been one of my most delightful subjects of reflection to observe and contemplate the goodness of the divine contrivance in the formation of all the animals. The stomach of the camel, formed to contain a reservoir of water, to support the labouring beast through his long journey in the deserts, has seemed to me a convincing proof of goodness, equalled by wisdom. The horse is formed exactly to suit the wants of man;—his back gives him an easy and steady seat; his swift feet convey him rapidly wheresoever he pleases; his strength tires not.—The wise Creator has furnished him with a tail which adds grace to his beauty, and is useful to the animal himself, in beating away flies and stinging insects from his sides. I have no words whereby to express my astonishment at this deviation from the general formation of this creature; it confounds me. I have always felt a strong affection for the animal part of the creation; and it becomes a Musselman; for we know that our prophet himself cut off the sleeve of his garment that he might not disturb his sleeping cat.

These horses, though strong and well-made, would not be so beautiful as ours, even had it pleased the Creator



to adorn and benefit them with long tails. Their tails are not only short, but heavy, thick and stumpy; in short, they are formed in a manner never seen in any other of the wise and beautiful contrivances in the works of nature, and they do not depend, but seem to grow upwards. I was the more surprised at this deviation from the otherwise invariable operations of nature, as I remarked that it does not take place in any other of the quadrupeds of this kingdom which I have yet seen: the cows have all long tails, though not so long and full as those of the cows of Tartary; but I remarked that the sheep's tails are much shorter than ours. I have diligently examined the tails of the other quadrupeds, the asses, the dogs, the rats, the cats and the mice, and I find that all their tails are of the usual length. Though I am anxious to collect all knowledge of natural history, which is a most pleasant subject to my mind, and I have written much upon it, how to add to my book this strange fact I know not. Our Arabians will say, Sadi has been making "the voyages of Sindbad!"

But sun-set is advancing, and the hour of prayer approaches. I listen in vain for the voice of the talismanni\* on the minarets. The people here ring loud bells when they go to pray, which they do many times a day, as the bells are constantly sounding.

Alnaschar! at this solemn hour I am by thy side in imagination, and methinks, together we turn our faces towards Mecca.—I recall the words of the Commander of the faithful, Mowiah, (<sup>d</sup>) "God desires to approach all who desire to approach him; O God we love to meet thee, do thou love to meet us!"

Holy Dervise! thou hast felt that it is in retirement alone that the pleasures of devotion can be felt. Thou art inspired by the spirit of the pious Ibrahim Ben Adham (<sup>e</sup>) and thou art blest in thy solitude—May I, though in this crowded city, still preserve the flame of secret devotion which thou didst kindle and cherish in my breast.

Friend of my life!—Salem alicum!—May the flame of thy existence be fed by the oil of the divine blessing, and thy destiny be written with the feather of a celestial bird!

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\* The persons who call the Mahometans to prayer, from the minarets; bells being never used in the Mosques.

## NOTES TO THE LETTER OF SADI.

( a ) The Mahometans are divided into four orthodox sects, viz. the Malekites, the Shafaites, the Henbalites, and the Hanifites; so denominated from their several founders. Sadi, it seems, belongs to the latter, for they hold themselves at liberty to make use of their own reason in any difficulty, whereas the other sects are invariably bi-gotted to tradition in their interpretations of the Koran.

( b ) The Eastern writers have always been remarkable for the boldness, strength and wildness of their metaphors and similies; but that this peculiarity is exclusively their own, would be too much to affirm. As it springs from the uncontrolled luxuriance of a fervid imagination, it will be found wherever such imagination exists, and that cold climates have produced the warmest fancy, is very evident. It is curious to observe, that this extravagant hyperbole, used by Sadi, may be traced in India, Greece, Italy and France.

The poets in Italy, excepting, perhaps, their first classic, Tasso, abound in wild and violent expressions; and Guarini, in celebrating female charms, has used the very same metaphor of which we are speaking:—

“ Se tutti gli alberi del mondo fossero penne,  
Il cielo fosse carta, il mare inchiostro,  
Non basteriano a descrivere la minima  
Parte delle vostre perfezione”—&c.—

Thus ludicrously paraphrased—

“ If all the trees, in ev'ry realm,  
Pine, cedar, cypress, oak and elm,  
Were chang'd, this moment, for my use,  
Each to the feather of a goose!—  
Were all the sky, from east to west,  
A sheet of foolscap—just hotpress'd;  
And if I could, whene'er I please,  
To pots of ink turn all the seas;—  
All, all would fail, e'er I could trace  
Your meanest charm, your smallest grace!”

The same thought occurs in the following specimen of the alternate verses, sung by the modern Greeks, which they repeat continually; it is inserted in Dr. Pouqueville's "Account of the Morea," and is thus translated, literally, by Hobhouse.—See his "Journey through Albania."—Appendix 1091:—

COTZAKIAS; OR, ALTERNATE VERSES.

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If all the ocean were of ink,  
And paper all the skies;  
Should I attempt to write my woes,  
They never would suffice.

It is very probable that the Greek poet might have read Guarini, as several of the modern Greek airs are supposed to be borrowed from Italian sailors. It is pleasing to know that our national hymn, "God save the King," is a well-known tune in the Greek islands. Romaic literature it is to be hoped, will flourish, if these oppressed descendants of the universal classics shall once regain their independence. They already possess a translation of Locke's Essay; and Robinson Crusoe himself, that popular navigator, who could not originally find a publisher among the whole tribe of English booksellers, is now translated into modern Greek. These are dawnings which, though faint, may forerun the rising again of intellectual splendor on the coast of Greece.

In India again, we find our hyperbole borrowed, as Maurice imagines, from Baldæus. "It is a saying of great notoriety among the Brahmins, and the saying itself proves their intimate acquaintance with our sacred volumes, that if, to use the words of Baldæus, *'the whole sea was filled with ink* and all the inhabitants of the terrestrial globe were employed only in writing, they would not be sufficient to give an account of all the miracles wrought by Creeshna, during the space of an hundred years.\*'" The allusion to the sacred volumes in this passage, refers to the sentiment with which St. John concludes his Gospel. "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that *even the world*

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\* Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. 2, page 310.



*itself could not contain the books that should be written."*—This is perhaps the only hyperbolical phrase used by this Evangelist, whose style, Michaelis observes, is better and more fluent than that of the others, and he ascribes this excellence to the facility and taste in the Greek language, which the apostle seems to have acquired during his long residence at Ephesus.

Once more, and we will close this long sketch of the travels of a hyperbole.—Basnage (see *Histoire des Juifs*, liv. 3) says of Jochanan who succeeded Simeon, attained the age of Moses, and employed forty years in commerce and in pleading before the Sanhedrim—"He composed such a great number of precepts and lessons, that *if the heavens were paper, and all the trees of the forest so many pens, and all the children of men so many scribes, they would not suffice to write all his lessons.*" Jochanan was cotemporary with St. John, being at Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Vespasian. The same author also, speaking of Eliezar, one of the presidents of the Sanhedrim, says, "*Although the firmament were vellum, and the waters of the ocean were changed into ink, they would not be sufficient to describe all the knowledge of Eliezar.*"

(c) In the sultry climates of the east, the importance of conveying streams through gardens is peculiarly felt; and this furnishes the sacred writers with numberless beautiful allusions. The following passage from Maundrell, (p. 122) will give a clear view of the care with which the watering of gardens is attended to. "Damascus is encompassed with gardens, extending no less, according to common estimation, than thirty miles round; which makes it look like a city in a vast wood. The gardens are thick set with fruit trees of all kinds, kept fresh and verdant by the waters of Barrady (the Chrysorrhoeas of the ancients) which supply both the gardens and city in great abundance. This river as soon as it issues out from between the cleft of the mountain into the plain, is immediately divided into three streams, of which the middlemost and biggest runs directly to Damascus and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city. The other two (which I take to be the work of art) are drawn round, one to the right hand and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let, as they pass, by little currents, and so

dispersed all over the vast wood; insomuch that there is not a garden but has a fine quick stream running through it. Barrady is almost wholly drunk up by the city and gardens. What small part of it escapes is united, as I was informed, into one channel again, on the south-east side of the city: and after about three or four hours' course finally loses itself in a bog there, without ever arriving at the sea. This was the case in ancient times, for Strabo and Pliny testify that this river was expended in canals and drunk up by watering the place."

Maundrell also observes (p. 39) that the best sight that the palace of the Emir of Beroot (anciently Berytus) affords, and the worthiest to be remembered, is the orange garden. It contains a large quadrangular plot of ground, divided into sixteen lesser squares, four in a row, with walks between them. The walks are shaded with orange trees of a large spreading size: every one of these sixteen lesser squares are bordered with stone; and in the stonework are troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the water all over the gardens: there being little outlets cut at every tree, for the stream as it passes by, to flow out and water it." According to Kempfer, the royal gardens at Isphahan are watered in the same manner.

(<sup>d</sup>) Mowiah was the fifth caliph in succession from Mahomet, and the founder of the Omniad dynasty. He displayed as many virtues when in possession of the caliphate, as he had shewn talents in acquiring it, and after a glorious reign of nineteen years, died at Damascus universally regretted. The beautiful passage of simple devotion quoted by Sadi, is in the last public speech which he made to his people, still preserved. "I am like corn that is to be reaped," said the dying monarch, "I have governed you till we are weary of one another; I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me; God desires to approach all who desire to approach him; O God, I love to meet thee, do thou love to meet me!"

(<sup>e</sup>) Ibrahim Ben Adham was a hermit of Syria, equally celebrated for his talents and his piety. He was the son of a prince of Khorassan, and cotemporary with the celebrated caliph Haroun Alraschid. The reason of his betaking himself to a religious life is thus related by Ibrahim Ben Yesar, from the holy man's own mouth. "I once requested him,"

says this author, "to inform me by what means he arrived at his exalted sanctity, and by what motives he was first induced to take leave of the world. For a while he continued silent, but upon my repeatedly urging him, he answered, that being one day engaged in the chace, he was surprised with hearing a voice behind him utter these words; *Ibrahim! it was not for this purpose thou wert created.* He immediately stopped his horse and turned about to see whence the voice came, but discovering no one near, he fancied it to be an illusion, and returned to his sport. In a short time he heard the same words pronounced still more loudly, *Ibrahim! it was not for this purpose thou wert created.* He now no longer doubted the reality of the admonition, and falling down in a transport of devotion, cried, '*It is the Lord who speaks, his servant will obey!*' Immediately he desisted from his amusement, and changing clothes with an attendant, bade adieu to Khorassan, took the road towards Syria, and thenceforward devoted himself entirely to a life of piety and labour. Ibrahim performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, prescribed to all true Musselmen, with peculiar devotion. He took the journey alone, unprovided with necessaries, and obliging himself to make eleven hundred genuflexions in every mile, the time he took in completing his pilgrimage was twelve years. On his return from this laborious and self-mortifying task, he met the caliph Haroun Alraschid going on the same pilgrimage, with a magnificent train; upon which, for our hermit was also a poet, he wrote the following verses, addressed to the caliph, as a reproof of his ostentatious devotion. They are thus elegantly translated by Professor Carlyle. (*Specimens of Arabian Poetry.*)

RELIGION's gems can ne'er adorn  
 The flimsy robe by pleasure worn;  
 Its feeble texture soon would tear,  
 And give those jewels to the air.

Thrice happy they who seek th'abode  
 Of peace and pleasure in their God!  
 Who spurn the world, its joys despise,  
 And grasp at bliss beyond the skies.



LINES

On hearing the Rev. J. Owen at the 1st Meeting of the Bible Society in Boston, 1813.

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Inspired ! go on, thou herald of the Lord,  
Born to diffuse the everlasting word ;  
At thy etherial touch the sacred scroll,  
Greets every clime, expands beneath each pole.  
The mountains sink, the vales become a plain ;  
Earth moves to meet Messiah's glorious reign.  
'Mid Afric's sands salvation's fountains flow,  
The sun of righteousness melts Zembla's snow,  
Siberian wastes the rose of Sharon cheers,  
And Zion's songs the wond'ring Cossack hears.  
Inspired ! go on, till that bright æra rise,  
When the last ling'ring cloud of error flies ;  
And knowledge, sacred knowledge, full and free,  
Fills the wide earth, as waters fill the sea ;  
Till universal nature owns her Lord,  
And blooms once more a paradise restor'd.

C\*\*\*.

[It is with sincere pleasure that we insert the following authentic letter, with which we have been favored ; it gives a striking proof, to those who doubt the capacity for moral and religious impressions in the Africans, that they are fully as susceptible as ourselves of genuine feelings, and of the intrinsic value of piety and devotion:—]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER,

Addressed to Anna Braithwaite, Daughter of Charles Lloyd, Esq. of Birmingham, during her late visit to the American Continent:

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*" Shrewsbury, Black Point, 6th mo. 1824.*

*" My sister, E. H., (several years ago,) travelling*

through some of the southern states, near the borders of North-Carolina, while waiting for the horses to be refreshed, walked towards a hut, and on entering, observed an aged black man employed in making shoes; his hair was white, and his countenance thoughtful—he looked up with surprise, when she asked him if she might come in and sit down, and replied, “Will mistress sit with me?” She enquired if he were a slave, and had a wife and children; he said,—“If mistress will hear me, I will tell her—I have a wife and four children,—Massa sold them into Georgia.” (He then wiped his eyes with the sleeve of his shirt.) “I am a slave—but, Mistress, ever since I got religion, God has sweetened my bitter cup, and made smooth my rough path:—my bitter cup was parting with my wife and children—the rough path is my slavery.” She asked him how he got religion. “My massa let me go hear preaching, and I *member* what minister say.” “Canst thou read?” “No, mistress, but God helps me *member*;—fourteen years ago I got religion;—I was bad before:—Massa was bad too.—When I got religion I was good:—Massa was kind,—hard things were made easy,—bitter cup sweetened,—Mistress know what that mean,—(looking at her earnestly,) I know you do. Massa gives me my work, and I *must* do it. Nobody comes here, but overseer once a day walks by to see if I am at my work, then the rest of the time is my own; I have *one*, and sometimes *two hours*.” “And how dost thou employ thy time?” (expecting it was in procuring food which is usual,) “I will tell you, mistress,—I shut the door,—then sit down on that bench, and wait upon God, and mistress, what good times I have! Sometimes I go to prayer, and God puts words into my mouth—then sometimes something here (laying his hand on his breast) tells me you must not pray; you must *be still*.—*Wait upon God in silence*; and mistress, did my massa and the white people know how good I felt, they would be glad to come and sit with me.—We don’t know, mistress, what’s behind the curtain:—had any body told me a white lady would come and talk with me, I would not believe them; but, mistress, *in heaven* God makes no difference—massa and slave all one,—black and white.”—Her companions now reached the place, and put an end to this very interesting conversation. She arose to bid him farewell, making some encouraging remarks to this intelligent

and pious slave, whom to meet among so many oppressed brethren, was a cordial to her mind. His parting address was—"Farewell, mistress, till we meet again *in heaven*.—God bless you." With tears they parted.

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## NOTIONAL CHRISTIANITY.

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I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.

*Rev. 3 c. 1st.*

Since the Pagan temples have been destroyed, or turned into Christian places of worship, and since the worship of the one, living and true God has been in this country at least, the only one tolerated, how easy is it for persons to imagine themselves to be Christians; or rather how difficult would it be for them to believe it possible that they should be any thing else. The Cathedral, with all its pomp, the Chapels, the Meeting-houses, with all their gradations, and varieties, accommodate themselves to different states, and tastes; so that persons, the most peculiar in their notions, and the most eccentric in their manners, find some denomination with which they can mingle, and with which they can worship, and thus all come by courtesy to be *called* Christians. But were we closely to examine the standard of our religion, the New Testament, and compare ourselves as individuals, and sects, and bodies, and churches, therewith, alas! where shall we find New Testament Christians? In certain places, popular preachers are set up as the standards of *truth*, and all deviation from their opinions, is deemed error. In some instances, it is to be feared, that dogmatism and arrogance supply the place of faith, and scriptural knowledge; and in others eloquence and volubility, may be mistaken for truth and zeal. Great deference is due to the Christian Ministry where its offices are properly fulfilled; but what saith the unerring Teacher, "Call no man *master* on earth, for one is your master, even Christ;" and unless we be taught by his Spirit, we shall find all else to be but "Sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." As we must be finally judged by the Gospel, happy would it be, were we led more frequently to examine ourselves by it, *now*: there we read, that, "If any man be in Christ, he *is* a new creature, old things are passed away,



and behold all things are become new." They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts." See also Ephesians, 2 c. 1. and 10 v. 1 Peter, 2 c. 9 v. It would tire the patience of common readers to refer to all the passages which represent the *transformation* of the real believer. Now as it is a matter of infinite moment not to deceive ourselves, would it not be well, to examine whether we have adopted our religion from the maxims and manners of the world, or from the Book of God? Are our modes of living, speaking, and acting taken from the standard of society, or from the oracles of truth? In some circles, abstinence from certain amusements, subscriptions to popular charities, and institutions, seem *all* that is requisite for being deemed a Christian; but where is the humility, the self-denial, the active devotedness of spirit, required by the Gospel? "Whosoever will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me." "He that is greatest among you let him be as him that serveth." From all this it appears, that the spirit of the world, and the spirit of the Gospel, are *totally opposite*. "Whosoever will be the friend of the world, is the enemy of God." Now it seems that those who are *really* Christians, are *redeemed* from this present *evil* world, and are united to their Great Head, by the quickening, sanctifying influences of his Holy Spirit, and made *willing* to be what he would have them to be. Temporal things sink in value, in proportion as eternal realities are unveiled, and the world can no more continue with them to be the rule of conduct, than it can be the portion of one who is expecting "Glory, honor, and immortality."—The principles of real Christians are so noble, their prospects so elevated and grand, the sources whence they derive guidance, support, and consolation, so sublime, and exhaustless, that was there but consistency, cordiality, and affection amongst them, what an example would be exhibited to the world, and what an opposing barrier would be raised against the inundations of fashion, folly, and vice? But the supineness and indifference of a notional Christianity, paralyzes the soul, and blends the majority of men in one mass of spiritless inactivity, till the silence of death, and the solemnities of the grave awfully close the scene.—

Was any thing more than this Notional Christianity

operating on the majority in the three kingdoms, would it be *possible* for them to contemplate eight hundred thousand of their *fellow-creatures*, (for God "hath made of one blood *all nations* that dwell on the face of the earth,") candidates for the same glorious immortality, in a state of vassalage, bought and sold, branded and treated as cattle, without making use of every lawful means for their liberation?

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### SINGULAR PUNISHMENT OF PARRICIDE AMONG THE ROMANS.

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In the present age, when religion and morals are so well studied and explained, it is a lamentable truth, not less alarming than paradoxical, that there is a considerable dereliction in moral principle. A rage for sentimental writing,—a sort of poetical laxity of ideas, a fashion of refining away plain meanings, prevail in popular writings, and in general thinking. Many there are who call "Evil good, and good evil, who put darkness for light, and light for darkness."—The pernicious dramas of the Germans have been none source of this alarming evil; their generous robbers, and the rest of their amiable sinners, have done no small injury to English minds and manners. Lest the current impress of vice and virtue be so polished off, that those once so contradistinctive qualities become, like worn-down coin, undistinguished from each other, it is the imperious duty of all who honor the immutability of moral truth, to be vigilant in opposing, by writing, by conversation, and by every possible method, the delusive and destructive influence of this false view of things. Crimes are beginning to be known by palliating names; thieves and defrauders, if happily for themselves, they possess a little sentiment and pretence of feeling, are excused and pitied, and murderers are extolled in the public papers, for meeting the just sentence of the Law with *fortitude*; and are thus raised to the honour and commiseration due only to heroic virtue. The tremendous crime of murder has, of late years, become, in this nation, so common, that the old-fashioned horror it was wont to excite, is fast wearing away. This horror was felt, in a striking manner, by the Romans, a *Pagan* nation—a nation who had not heard the Divine denunciation proclaimed against it in thunder;

but who, by the mere power of natural conscience, held it in just abhorrence. *All* murder was consider by Romulus as parricide, therefore, in his code of Laws, he ordained no punishment for real parricide, deeming it an *impossible* crime; and for six hundred years it was not known in Rome. Afterwards, a most extraordinary and excruciating punishment was invented for it; which is exemplified in the following highly-wrought fiction. It is the conclusion of a very pleasing work, by Count Pietro Verri of Milan, entitled "*Le Notti Romane al Sepolcro de' Scipioni.*"

The author supposes himself to descend every night into the caverns containing the tombs of the Scipios. Here he meets with the ghosts of all the celebrated Romans, and, under the friendly guidance of the spirit of Cicero, hears them converse upon the most interesting events of the Roman history.—The tombs of the Scipios were discovered in the year 1780, within the Gate Sebastiano in Rome, deep under ground, in vaults till then unknown. The passage leading to them is in a vineyard, and is overhung with orange trees; loose fragments of columns are scattered about. The late Pope took away the Sarcophagi and inscriptions, and placed them in the Museum Pium Clementinum.

### THE PARRICIDE.

As the calm of the ocean changes to a sudden storm, so the agitated spectres undulated like waves, over the sepulchres, rolling among the scattered bones, and along the damp and gloomy paths. The air murmured with confused and mournful sighs; unnumbered tones uniting into one sound, a sound of the deepest woe. From the remotest hollow of the caverns came forth a spectre, who extending wide his arms, seemed to implore the general pity. It was however denied him, and as if his presence were execrable, some of the shades threw the border of their togas over their heads, some covered their eyes with both their hands, others bent downwards their faces, and all, avoiding him, fled. The earth shook, the tombs trembled, the bones within them grated with a dry sound, and a blast howled around, the forerunner of some impending prodigy. The caverns remained deserted. The spectre, who had thus dispersed the rest, advanced alone; his aspect was youthful.—His eyes inspired terror; his countenance was blackened by deadly anguish; his locks



were rough and disordered, his lips gasping, his cheeks bathed in tears, his person pallid and wasted by grief. He seemed ardently to wish to approach the flying multitude, and endeavoured, by his groans, to detain them.—Ah! sight of woe! which might well excite compassion!—Yet not one shade remained, and a melancholy silence reigned throughout these paths of death. I, abandoned by Cicero, as if in a frightful desert, in the presence of a monster, felt my wonted confidence languish in my breast. Spirits the most valiant, having thus fled away, it appeared rash obstinacy in me, still the slave of mortality, to face a spectre by them avoided. Perplexed by these reflections, I retreated, but without turning my back to the spectre, keeping my eye intent upon him; he advanced towards me as I retreated. He fixed his burning eyes unceasingly upon me, as if he contemplated an object of wonder. He drew near, and I perceived that his hands dropped blood, and though he continually endeavoured to wipe them with his garment, still like a fountain they distilled afresh. His breast was encircled by a vengeful serpent, which, with poisonous tongue, pierced his heart, which, through the aperture of an ample wound, formed by incessant bites, was disclosed to view, and its ceaseless throbbings were apparent to the eye. He walked slowly, for his feet were impeded by chains, which, as he dragged them along, clanked with a dreadful noise. I turned away my trembling steps, not because I feared any injury, but through horror at this hideous spectacle. The shade was already close to me; and, in a faint voice, he exclaimed, “Stay, O kind son of posterity! and have pity on me, who suffer inexpressible torture.”—At these melancholy words I stopped, ready to perform the offices of human benevolence; he saw my sympathy, and thus sorrowfully continued.—

“Noble art thou among mortals! for thou endurest my presence!—thou art one that compassionatest the woes of others! Ah! pity me, and know how deplorable is my destiny. Behold! I wander through the deserts of death, goaded by desperate agony. I call unceasingly for pity, but my moaning accents die away in the silent darkness. A burning sting pierces me, and agitates me with torturing, never-ending phrenzy. If, in this abyss of silence, I meet by chance, a wandering spirit, to him I address the most supplicating prayers, that he would hear me; but the shades, one and all, flee from me, inexorable and mute; leaving me to roam bewildered in this immense wilderness. O un-

paralleled misery! to be even forbidden to relate my misfortunes to some one, who might hear them with a faint degree of compassion!—”

Terror and compassion now divided my mind. I gazed with horror; I listened with grief.—Already on my panting lips stood the sentiments of my heart; already my heart prepared to console this victim of wretchedness, when I saw his hair agitated, and angry reptiles hissing among it. I found—oh sight of horror! that intermingled with his locks were asps, which, rooted in his head, endeavoured writhing, and with venomous bites, to uprear themselves. The spectre, driven to desperation by the torture, sought, with both hands, to free himself from this insufferable annoyance; but the asps, turning upon his hands, rendered their endeavours useless. He often attempted likewise to pluck from his heart a serpent, which insatiably fed upon it; but the aid of his hands was here also ineffectual, for against them, with double ferocity, the irritated reptile directed his bites.—

My breath was suspended within my lips, my accents died on my tongue, through horror at this punishment. The spectre continued to gaze on me with eyes full of tears and terror;—and, with his hands, stained with blood and the foam of the serpents, he beckoned to me, intimating the dreadful pangs he suffered, while his agonizing roar was like the fearful sound of the tempestuous ocean. Overcome by compassion I now exclaimed—“What punishment is this to which thou art doomed, O most wretched of the dead?”—He replied, with sighs, “If thou desirest, O pitying auditor! to comprehend, as though by conjecture or dream, my torture, know, that it resembles that which I suffered when dying. I am ever in the agonies of death;—yet still ever exist to insufferable, to inexplicable tortures. The force of these pangs seems as though it would destroy me. I ardently wish for annihilation. I abhor that immortality which reserves me for never-ending woes. In your body a final spasm extinguishes the feeling that agitates it.—but this, my being, is ever awake to anguish, ever susceptible of unlimited grief.”—“Alas! for what cause” I now enquired with tears, “art thou destined to this dreadful state?” The spectre groaned, and began in the following manner.—

“Behold! after the slow revolution of so many ages, at length it is granted me to soothe the everlasting woes of my

heart, by relating my crime to one who, if he cannot pity it, feels at least compassion for my punishment.

Oh father! thou, who wert the tender supporter of my infancy! the director of my youth!—what availed thy fond anxieties—thy virtuous discipline?—I shone distinguished among the youth of my times. I was even called happy in possessing such a parent. As yet, an unexperienced voyager on the ocean of life, I looked unceasingly towards him, as a pilot to the star that directs him to navigate his bark in safety.—His affection was mingled with dignity; mine was tempered by reverence. But, arrived at that period when the pastimes of the boy are over, I beheld a virgin who infatuated my soul. She sat among other maids and matrons at the games of Ceres;\* but she bloomed above the rest like the rose that opens at the breath of spring.

Oh pernicious paroxysm of love! whither didst thou drive the mind of man?—Perish him! who praises thee as the sweet consolation, the delightful charm that invites us to social life.—Thy sad effects rather constrain men to suffer evils worse than are endured in the rudest savage state!—

Soon as this poison entered my heart, my mind became enfeebled. I felt no concern but that of gazing on the object, the sovereign of all my thoughts. Oh insatiable phrenzy! The smile of youth vanished from my lips, my brow was darkened by sad solitudes. The damsel, more beloved than loving, conscious of her power and of my weakness, maintained her dominion with tyranny. Now, too late, I know these artifices, which then appeared the delicate effects of true affection.

Of my father I asked permission for my marriage. Severe in his power, he denied it, inexorable to my tears, deaf to the incessant lamentations of my fatal passion. Not satisfied with this, he intimated the dreadful sentence, that I should immediately bind the breast-plate over my softened bosom, and repair to Sicily, at that time the scene of our martial exploits. I, under the dominion of dangerous inaction, refused, what no Roman ever before refused, to serve

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\* The Romans paid great adoration to Ceres, whose games were celebrated yearly by the matrons in the month of April during eight days.—These rites were held so sacred, that whoever appeared at them without a previous invitation, was punished with death.



in the field. The flame of glory was extinguished in my heart. At this cowardice, the sorrows of my father were inconsolable; his imprecations tremendous. He bewailed that he had given birth to me as no longer worthy of him, or of my country. But this sufficing not to cure my ignominious passion, he endeavoured to undeceive me, by revealing the insidious arts of the damsel. My darkened understanding, however, instead of relishing these prudent exhortations, abhorred them as importunate.

Thus tormented by two sorrows, one that excluded me from marriage, and the other that drove me to arms, I felt arise in my heart a perverseness till then unknown. The fury of atrocious thoughts plunged my understanding into a horrid delirium. The flame of vengeance ran through my limbs; my senses were darkened by the bloody design. The tumult of anxieties, the instigations of ferocious madness, agitated me most forcibly in the silence of darkness. Ah night! most execrable of all that ever were or shall be, in which I, awakened by ferocious phrenzy, turned my steps towards the paternal couch!—This infamous hand grasped the weapon,—my heart was as insensate as the steel;—every nerve trembled at the impending enormity, yet the atrocious madness urged them to the gratification of dreadful vengeance. Frantic, I advanced to the door of the apartment, and though with treacherous caution I unclosed it, the hinges creaked.—Oh! had this creaking but prevented the crime!—My father lay by the side of the unhappy matron who gave me birth, sunk in the forgetfulness of slumber. Night had passed the midway of her course.—Silence reigned in the streets.—The thunder only murmured afar off. Unaided by my ferocious eyes, I ascertained the place occupied by my father. Already my knee touched the bed—already my right hand was upraised.—Thou seest that I relate the fatal event still weeping. I heard him pronounce in his sleep confused words, among which I discovered that he named me with groans.—I stood gasping—My trembling hand drew back with sudden commiseration. My mind was suspended between the cruel intention and the dreadful consequence:—the latter at length prevailed, and in the paternal heart sunk down the parricidal dagger!—

The wretched parent, awakened by this unexpected blow, writhing, filled the dark air with agonizing cries. The bloody bed shook.—My mother was aroused by the

dreadful accents of her consort, and scarcely conscious of the unknown misfortune, she invoked the gods, and weeping, called the slaves.—I, plunged into the abyss of wickedness, no longer knew myself;—darkness overclouded my understanding.—Oppressed by my crime, trembling, breathless, I fled.—A voice of horror roared within my breast and reproached the deed.—Already I heard the sentence of nature, which drove me from her bosom. Already I felt myself an abominable nuisance upon earth. I quitted the city, and no abode seemed more consonant to my fatal thoughts than a wood. I plunged into the wood of Tusculum, where, wandering, I howled like a monster. My eyes were two fountains of grief.—My food was anguish; and when my limbs fainted through long fasting, I refreshed them with the wild products of the earth. The sun, the frost, the storm, the rain, the wind, like ministers of the vengeance of heaven, by turns outraged my defenceless head. The thorns tore my garments and lacerated my body. My hair grew entangled, bristled, inextricable. I dared not to gaze on my own form, become now to myself an object of horror. Night, the dispenser of sleep to all, to my afflicted mind brought even more fatal thoughts; amid her glooms I saw wandering, threatening spectres. The earth shook beneath my feet as if scorning to support me. If, at any time, lying in some grotto, I closed my eyes oppressed by anguish, I enjoyed not sleep.—I suffered the terror of dreams, crowded with strange disasters, with misfortunes, slaughter, blood.—Agitated by these visions I rose up, frantic, uncertain which of the two were most fatal, sleep or watching, and ever driven from one to the other. If lightnings gleamed in the sky, the destructive flash seemed to turn on me, as its destined mark. When the thunder roared in the vallies, affrighted, I fell prostrate; or trembling with head bowed down, I fled to the caverns. Yet needed not the heavens to display the terrible pomp of their formidable empire to appal me, for the slightest breeze shaking the leaves of the trees gave to my fancy some beast of prey ready to devour me, some gliding serpent, or treacherous mortal, or god of the forest.—These tortures were enough to render life wretched, but it was the will of heaven that existence should be taken from me, by a punishment still more dreadful. One day, when burning with thirst, in the noon-tide heat, I descended from the forest to a rivulet, I was seized and led into the presence of the Prætor. I denied not my

crime; the proofs were too evident. I was, according to our customs, enclosed in a leathern bag, together with a viper, a mastiff, an ape, and a cock, all living. In this narrow space, with such executioners, I was thrown into the sea, the sport of the waves. My crime, it is true, was abominable, but not less so was the invention of this chastisement. Without light, without air, without support for my feet, I suffered the tossings of the billows; billows, formidable even to the experienced pilot who braves them in the firm-constructed ship.—Ah! think what they were to me, wrecked amid the fury of the ocean, in a blind vessel, expiring with numerous punishments—the last more cruel than the former;—doomed to die, naked, among talons and stings, outraged by vengeful animals;—and to find with them a common grave!—The greedy jaws of the dog fastened on the more fleshly parts of my body;—the serpent, with his cold scales, glided over my limbs, and twining himself round my throat, stifled the faint gaspings of my breath. I endeavoured, with my hands, to prevent his strangling me, but the angry reptile then directed his bites to my eyes, which, already deprived of light, and now filled with blood, were extinguished in my head.—The icy thrill of death now ran through all my nerves. At length, these cruel animals, at once the executioners and partakers of my punishment, seemed to revenge on me the tortures they endured. Vain was all defence; it only supplied new cause for attack. When I endeavoured to loosen from my flesh the greedy mouth of the dog, he more eagerly grasped it. The cock and the ape, with their claws and their bites, unceasingly tore my limbs, so that the bag was filled with blood. But the fierce strife of these animals, and the shock of the surges rent the leather. Methought it was a happy event to breathe the open air; yet I beheld not the sky, for the light of my eyes was extinguished. Even this poor consolation was short; for, overwhelmed by the waves, I sunk down in the deep, and quitted my lacerated body, a spirit, I know not whether more hateful to myself or others, but certainly of all spirits, the furthest removed from hope.”

While the spectre thus related his dreadful tale, the serpents, hissing, erected themselves upon his head, and tears of blood dropt from his eyes. Agitated with pity, I felt an icy grasp at my heart, while warm tears flowed down my cheeks.—But the spectre suddenly measuring back his steps along the eternal path, disappeared among the tombs.



THE  
**Humming Bird ;**

No. 6.]

MAY, 1825.

[Vol. I.

ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF AFRICAN SLAVERY

————— “ Mammon led them on—  
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,  
Ransack'd the centre, and, with impious hands,  
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth  
For treasures better hid.—Let none admire  
That riches grow in hell; that soil may best  
Deserve the precious bane.” MILTON.

When gold had become the measure of value among the European nations, and was elevated into the precious metal by which man purchases his comforts and his pleasures, the Portuguese, anxious to find a passage by sea to those countries from which they obtained gold dust and ivory by land commerce, began their celebrated naval discoveries. In 1442, while they were exploring the coast of Africa, their Prince, Henry, ordered Anthony Gonzalez to carry back to Africa, some Moors whom he had, two years before, seized near Cape Bojadoz. Gonzalez landing his prisoners at Rio del Oro, received for them in exchange, ten negroes and a quantity of gold dust. He returned to Lisbon with his treasure, which roused at once the wonder and the avarice of his countrymen, who, in the course of a few years, fitted out thirty-seven ships in pursuit of the same gainful traffic. In 1481, they began to strengthen their depredatory power, by building a fort on the Gold Coast, as they justly termed their new territory, the King of Portugal assuming the title of Lord of Guinea. So early as 1502, the Spaniards, led on by the same leader, Mammon,\* began to employ a few negroes in the mines of Hispaniola; but the following year, Ovando, the Governor of that island, forbade the further importation of them, alleging that they taught the Indians bad practices.

\* See note on Mexico at the end of this article.

The decrease in population, however, of the wretched people (the Indians) became so dreadfully rapid, that the Court of Spain, in a few years, revoked the orders of Ovando, and, by royal authority, allowed the introduction of slaves brought from the Portuguese Settlements, on the coast of Guinea.

It is melancholy to relate, (and we shall presently come to a similar example of inconsistency in the person of our Sovereign Elizabeth,) that the celebrated Bartholomew Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, so renowned as the benevolent protector and advocate of the oppressed and conquered Peruvians, was the very person who, by his influence with the Emperor Charles the 5th, was also, in the infancy of this diabolical traffic, an advocate and promoter of it. He, who defended one nation, helped strongly to forge chains for another.—By his solicitation, Charles, in 1517 granted a patent to certain persons, annually, for the exclusive supply of negroes to the amount of 4,000, for the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and Porto Rico. This patent having been assigned to some Genoese merchants, the supply of negro-slaves for the American plantations became from that time an established and regular branch of commerce.\*

This extraordinary conduct of Las Casas is defended by Edwards, upon the premises that the negroes and the South Americans were found in most dissimilar situations; the former having fallen from affluence and independence into all the horrors of an abject and oppressive subjection, and so reduced in number, that in Hispaniola alone, their population fell, in 15 years, from one million to sixty thousand; and the latter, viz. the negroes, (some of them) were born in slavery and inured to labour.—Surely this is a mode of argument disallowed by solid reason, repugnant to common-sense, and an evident attempt to gloss over a glaring inconsistency. The plain meaning of it is, that a man who falls from happiness to misery may be restored to happiness; but a man born in misery may as well be left in it, because he is accustomed to it.—If Las Casas reasoned in this manner, as Edwards states him to have done, we must

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\* See Edwards's History of the West Indies, book 4, chap 2

look for the solution of the paradox in that fatal tendency to error, so often found even in great and good minds. We must lament it, nay, weep at it; but truth prohibits us from defending, from palliating, from excusing it. There is too much of this in the present age. Errors and crimes are shown, by specious but fallacious representation, in many a false colour, and it becomes a double duty in all who love honest truth, to be upon the alert in guarding the eyes of themselves and others from the dazzling effects of those Claude Loraine glasses, which confuse the real and native hues of objects.

Soon after this first fatal charter of the enslavement of Africa, viz. in 1536, England also sent out her merchants to the Guinea Coast, for gold dust, elephants' teeth, wax and leather; giving in exchange, old and new draperies, iron-works, scissars, knives, muskets and cottons. Shortly after, viz. in 1562, she, following the example of her royal neighbours, first began to import also from Africa, for her plantations in America, those beings, which, as defined by our lexicons, are "*A kind of black slaves that make a considerable article in modern commerce.*"—(See Rees's Cyclopædia, Art. Negro.) The celebrated Navigator, Sir John Hawkins, during his voyages, had begun to seize the Africans and carry them off for slaves, of which his honest biographer Hill, thus speaks—"Here began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity which, as sure as there is vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it."\*

We come now to another anomaly, distressing to contemplate, and which has, for a series of years, involved this nation in guilt, and brought on a system of slavery in her own dominions, which it now requires such stupendous efforts to overthrow. In the year 1588, a period which stands in the British annals gilded with national glory; when, by Divine favor, the winds and waves fought for England, and delivered her from the *Invincible Armada*;—in that very year, when her own freedom was, so signally preserved, did she sign the charter of Africa's bondage. Her idolized Queen, so zealous for the independence of her

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\* Hill's Naval History.



own subjects, that she would, as she told them, (and no doubt, honestly,) when riding in armour through her troops at Tilbury, "For God, her kingdom and her people, lay down her blood even in the dust," granted a patent of exclusive privilege to the African traders for ten years.—Thus, in the same reign, under which slavery in England had been exterminated\*, by the silent working and action of men's consciences, did a Sovereign of England actually and legally commence the system of slavery in her colonies!—That she did not see the criminality of this traffic, cannot be alleged; for it is well known that she sent for Sir John Hawkins, the first kidnapper, and expressed her concern lest any of the negroes should be carried off without their *free consent*, observing, "It would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven."—The *free consent* of a man to lose his freedom for ever, would be a most extraordinary effect of the faculty of volition; and to enjoin a kidnapper to ask a man's permission to steal him, is as rational as to exhort a thief never to break open a house unless the owner agrees to it.

Here again, we have to bemoan the inconsistency of great minds; and as according to our principles, we must call black black, and white white, the judgment of straightforward truth obliges us to explain this problem in the conduct of our renowned and glorious Queen, by attributing it to that spirit of double-dealing which, in another of her unjust exercises of power, viz. the death of Queen Mary of Scotland, throws a deep and dark shade over the lustre of her character.

In the reigns of Charles the 1st. and James the 1st. the African traders were successively incorporated by charter, under the title of "The Royal African Company." The demand for negroes in the English plantations increasing, a new company was established in 1662 by Charles the 2nd. in favor of his brother, the Duke of York, securing to him the commerce of all the country, coasts and islands belonging to the Crown of England, from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope; including, consequently, all the coast of Guinea.

This charter was soon revoked by mutual consent;

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\* See Note 4, p. 105

and in 1672, Charles, by his Royal Letters Patent, established an exclusive African Company. A capital of £111,000 was soon raised, and this new company improved their trade and increased their forts; but after the Revolution, the trade was laid open in 1689. In 1698, by a statute of King William, all private traders to Africa were obliged to pay 10 per cent. in order to assist the company in maintaining their forts and factories. This assistance, however, proving insufficient, parliament voted an annual grant of £10,000 for this purpose.—In 1758, the parliament exerted its legislative power in the patronage of this disgraceful commerce, and established an African Company under new regulations. In 1752, the new company gave to the old a pecuniary satisfaction for their charter, lands, forts, slaves, &c. and they were empowered to arm and train military forces at their forts, and to punish offences so as not to extend to life or limbs, and to erect courts of judicature. They were incorporated under the name of “The Company of Merchants trading to Africa.” See 23rd George II. cap. 31.

The Spaniards having, under their daring and savage adventurer Cortez, conquered Mexico and so destroyed its defenceless inhabitants, that no hands were left to work the fatal mines of gold which allured them to this enterprise of slaughter, set themselves to perform this labour by negroes,—thus murdering one nation to obtain possession of their treasures, and enslaving another to dig them out of the earth. Finding themselves unable to procure a sufficient number of slaves, they made a contract with other nations for this purpose, called *the Assiento*, (from a Spanish word, signifying a bargain.) The Genoese first undertook to supply them, and afterwards the French,—the latter making a grand profit by this engagement. It is mortifying to add, that Great Britain also not only committed the sin of enslaving Africa herself, but lent her help to her neighbours; for in the Treaty of Utrecht, it was one of the articles between England and France that *the Assiento* contract should be transferred to the English. In virtue of this, the furnishing of negroes was committed to the South Sea Company in 1713—who engaged to supply, *yearly*, for Spanish America, 4,800 negroes! paying a duty on them to the King of Spain—which was thus arranged. The negroes, on

their arrival, were separated into four classes; the first class consisted of all in perfect health, from 15 to 30 years of age, who were charged with a duty of 33½ piastres each, or per head; the second class was composed of the old and sick, each of whom was rated at 3-4ths. of a head; the third consisted of children, from 10 to 15 years old, and were reckoned at three for two heads; the fourth were children from 5 to 10 years old, and were rated at two for one head.

Before the year 1700,\* planters, merchants, &c. coming to England, were in the habit of bringing with them slaves, to act as servants, during their stay here. These wretched men seeing the freedom and happiness of servants in this country, and knowing, too well, what would be their own sad fate on their return to the Islands, frequently ran away. Their masters made search after them, seized and carried them back by force. It was, however, observed by some, that the laws of England did not sanction such violence, and that all persons who were baptized, were free. In consequence of this opinion, most of the slaves brought into England, prevailed upon some Clergyman to baptize them. They took for godfathers such of the Citizens of London as had the generosity to espouse their cause, and when seized, they applied to them for protection. The godfathers maintaining that the slaves were made free, both by baptism and the general tenor of the laws, defied their masters to take them out of the kingdom. In this dilemma, the planters and merchants applied, in the year 1729, to York and Talbot, (the Attorney and Solicitor-General for the time being,) and obtained from them the following strange opinion:

“We are of opinion, that a slave coming from the West Indies into Great Britain or Ireland, either with or without his master, does not become free, and that his master’s right and property in him is not thereby determined or varied, and that baptism doth not bestow freedom on him, nor make any alteration in his temporal condition in these kingdoms. We are also of opinion that the master may legally compel him to return again to the plantations.”

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\* See Clarkson’s History of the Abolition, vol 1, page 63.



Terrible consequences to the slaves followed this cruel and illegal judgment, to which their masters gave all the publicity in their power. London now became another West-Indian scene of oppression. Absconded slaves were advertised as runaways in the newspapers, and rewards offered for their apprehension. They were even advertised to be sold by auction, (as now practised in the islands) sometimes by themselves, and sometimes among horses, chaises and harness! They were seized in the streets, by their masters, or persons employed by them, and dragged to the ships. Many abandoned wretches made a trade of them, engaging with captains of ships, to put them on board for a certain price. Thus, in *the eighteenth century*, kidnapping was practised in our polished metropolis.

The first opposer of this disgraceful cruelty was the illustrious Granville Sharpe, who, as we have before stated,\* was so successful in the case of Jonathan Strong. Having devoted himself, for three years, to the study of the law, he published, in 1769, his work entitled, "A Representation of the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England," in which he clearly refuted the opinion of York and Talbot, producing against it that of the Lord Chief Justice Holt, who, many years before, had determined that every slave, coming into England, became free. He also refuted it by shewing it to be an axiom of the British constitution, "That every *man* in England is free to sue for and defend his rights, and that force cannot be used without a legal process," leaving the judges to determine whether or not an *African* is a *man*.

Among the accounts of slaves rescued by the exertions of this indefatigable philanthropist, is the following affecting case. An African had been dragged on board, and confined in a vessel, which had reached the Downs, and was actually under weigh for the West-Indies; in two or three hours she would have been out of sight. At this moment an officer arrived with the writ of Habeas Corpus, and served it on the Captain. The Officer saw the miserable object whom he was come to deliver, chained to the main-mast, bathed in tears, and casting a last mournful look on

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\* See No. 1. p. 15

that happy land, which was fast receding from his eyes.—The Captain, though he became outrageous on receiving the writ, dared not to resist the law; he gave up his prisoner.—The slave, now a free man, and weeping for joy, was safely conveyed by the Officer, back to the land of freedom!—

Another African, named Lewis, was seized by two watermen, in a dark night, and dragged to a boat lying in the Thames; they gagged him, tied him with a cord, and rowed him to a ship, and put him on board to be sold as a slave in Jamaica. Lewis, on being seized, had screamed violently, and his cries had been heard by the servants of Mrs. Banks, (the mother of Sir Joseph Banks,) near whose garden the assault was committed. This benevolent Lady instantly sent for Mr. Sharpe, who procured a Habeas Corpus, and Lewis was brought from Gravesend, just as the vessel was on the point of sailing.—

Yet none of the cases had yet been pleaded on the broad ground, “Whether an African slave coming into England became free?”—Lord Mansfield, as well as Mr. Sharpe, was anxious for a decision on this basis; upon which, accordingly, the celebrated case of Somerset was tried.\*—James Somerset, an American slave, was brought

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\* The Court of Common Pleas, so late as the 5th of William and Mary, held, that a man might have a property in a negro boy, and might bring an action of trover for him, *because negroes are heathens*. A strange principle to found a right of property upon! But it was decided in 1772, in the celebrated case of James Somerset, that a heathen negro, when brought to England, owes no service to an American or any other master. James Somerset had been made a slave in Africa, and was sold there; from thence he was carried to Virginia, where he was bought, and brought by his master to England: here he ran away from his master, who seized him, and carried him on board a ship, where he was confined, in order to be sent to Jamaica to be sold as a slave. Whilst he was thus confined, Lord Mansfield granted a *habeas corpus*, ordering the captain of the ship to bring up the body of James Somerset, with the cause of his detainer. The above-mentioned circumstances being stated upon the return of the Writ, after much learned discussion in the Court of King’s Bench, the Court were of opinion, that the return was insufficient, and that Somerset ought to be discharged. In consequence of their decision, if a ship laden with slaves was obliged to put into an English harbour, all the slaves on board might and ought to be set at liberty. Though there are Acts of Parliaments which recognize and regulate the slavery of negroes, yet it exists not in the contemplation of the common law; and the reason that they are not declared free before they reach an English har-

by his master, Charles Stewart, to England, in Nov. 1769, whom he left; and by whom he was afterwards seized and conveyed on board the *Ann and Mary*, Capt. Knowles to be carried out of the kingdom, and sold as a slave in Jamaica.

This case was argued at three different sittings, and the opinions of the Judges taken upon the pleadings; the decision was, "THAT AS SOON AS EVER ANY SLAVE SETS FOOT UPON ENGLISH TERRITORY, HE BECOMES FREE." This great and glorious completion of the English law of liberty took place in May, 1772, and thus, having *reigned* for ages, been connived at too long, and lurked about even till the latter end of the 11th century, slavery in England expired!

The finish of perfection, by this additional rampart, having been given to the majestic and impregnable structure of British freedom, and the successors of Granville Sharp having, by indefatigable labours, obtained a solemn abolition of the slave-trade, in the British Parliament, we may fairly ask our opponents the following question; requiring a plain, rational answer, given in the same dispassionate and deliberate temper, in which it is asked.—

How are these two positions to be reconciled, viz. "That a slave, the moment he sets foot upon English territory, *at home*, becomes free;" but the moment he sets foot upon English territory *abroad*, he becomes a slave for ever?

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The following curious extract will give an idea of the riches found by the Spaniards in South America.—The orthography is modernized, for the convenience of the Reader:

Thomas Gage, an English Dominican Friar, in his work (which is now very scarce) called the English American, his Travels by Sea and Land; or a New Survey of the West-Indies, printed in London 1648," describes Mexico in the following manner:

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bour, is only because their complaints cannot sooner be heard and redressed by the process of an English court of justice.

Liberty, by the English law, depends not upon the complexion; and what was said even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is now substantially true, that the air of England is too pure for a slave to breathe in,———*Christian's Blackstone's Commentaries.*



“ The streets are very broad, in the narrowest three coaches may go, and in the broader six may go, in the breadth of them, which makes the city seem a great deal bigger than it is ; in my time it was thought to be of between 30 and 40,000 inhabitants, Spaniards, who are so proud and rich, that half the city was judged to keep coaches, for it was a most credible report, that in Mexico, in my time, there were above fifteen thousand coaches. It is a by-word, that in Mexico there are four things fair, that is to say, the women, the apparel, the horses, and the streets. But to this I may add, the beauty of some of the coaches of the gentry, which do exceed in cost the best of the court of Madrid and other parts of Christendom ; for there they spare no silver, nor gold, nor precious stones, nor cloth of gold, nor the best silks of China to enrich them. And to the gallantry of their horses, the pride of some add the cost of bridles and shoes of silver : the streets of Christendom must not compare with those in breadth and cleanness, but especially in the riches of the shops, which do adorn them. Above all, the goldsmiths’ shops and works are to be admired. The Indians, and the people of China, that have been made Christians, and every year come thither, have now perfected the Spaniards in those trades.— The viceroy, who went thither in the year 1625, caused a popinjay to be made of silver, gold and precious stones, with the perfect colour of the popinjay’s feathers, (a bird bigger than a pheasant,) with such exquisite art and perfection, to present unto the King of Spain, that it was prized to be in riches and workmanship half a million of ducats. There is in the cloister of the Dominicans a lamp hanging in the church, with 300 branches wrought in silver, to hold so many candles, besides 100 little lamps for oil set in it, every one being made of several workmanship, so exquisitely, that it is valued to be worth 400,000 ducats ; and with such like curious works are many streets made more rich and beautiful by the shops of goldsmiths. To the by-word, touching the beauty of the women, I must add the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is such, that the day and night is too short for them to end a primera when once it is begun ; nay, gaming is so common to them, that they invite gentlemen to their houses for no other end :—To myself it happened that, passing along the streets with a friar that came with me the first year from Spain, a gentleman of great birth knowing us to be chapetans, (so they call the first year those that come from Spain) from her window called unto us, and after two or three slight questions concerning Spain, asked us if we would come in and play with her a game at primera. Both men and women are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloth ; precious stones and pearls further much this their vain ostentation ; a hatband and rose, made of diamonds, in a gentleman’s hat, is common, and a hatband of pearls is ordinary in a tradesman ; nay, a blackmoor or tanny young maid and slave will make hard shift but she will be in

fashion with her neck-chain, and bracelets of pearls, and her ear-bobs of some considerable jewels."

The same person gives the following account of the Almeida or public walk at Mexico. "The gallants of this city shew themselves daily—some on horseback, and most in coaches, about four of the clock in the afternoon, in a pleasant, shady field, called the Almeida, full of trees and walks, somewhat like unto our Moor-fields, where do meet, as constantly as the merchants upon our Exchange—about two thousand coaches full of gallants, ladies, and citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted,—the gentlemen having their train of black-moor slaves—some a dozen—some half a dozen, waiting on them in brave and gallant liveries, heavy with gold and silver lace, with silk stockings on their black legs, and roses on their feet, and swords by their sides; the ladies also carry their train of slaves by their coaches' side, of such jet-like damsels, as have before been mentioned for their light apparel, who, with their breviary and white mantle over them, seem to be, as the Spaniard saith "*Mosca in leche*," "*A fly in milk*."



## THOUGHTS ON MODERN POETRY.

Time was, when mounted on the "horse with wings,"  
The poets talk'd of Heliconian springs;  
Bright, chrystal streams from an unsullied fount,  
Issuing from high Parnassus,—cloud-top'd mount!—  
An allegory this—and meant to prove,  
That poetry was *pure*, and soared *above*.

Some modern bards, who certainly *drink deep*,  
Their thirsty lips in *different* waters steep;  
Abroad they come, th' astonish'd gaze to fix,  
Bath'd, to the eyes, in *Acheron* and *Styx*;  
With all the picturesque of death and sin,—  
Sable without, unprincipled within;—  
They gorge with woes the self-accurs'd hero,  
(Whom weeping damsels pity, though a Nero)  
With woes all non-descript, of monstrous shape,  
Unlike to *human* griefs, as man to ape.  
With treachery, love and murder, dreadful matters!  
They rend the passions all to rags and tatters;  
And rave, despair and sigh, from eve to matin,  
For what?—to "make a part to tear a cat in\*!"—  
—Yet, 'mid this worthless mass of horrors black,

See, here and there, a beauteous shining track !  
 A beam of poesy, in splendor full,  
 A flow'r in mud !—a jewel in a scull !

Fair maids of Britain !—you, of old renown'd  
 For gentle grace, and sense, tho' modest, sound ;  
 BEWARE !—lest strains like these your fancy win ;  
 And let your taste be spotless, like your skin !  
 BEWARE the dang'rous pleasure, bought too dear,  
 It leaves a drop of poison in your ear !

Oh Genius !—Name, exalted and refin'd !  
 Thou beam of heav'n !—thou morning star of mind !  
 Plac'd, by celestial wisdom's fav'ring plan,  
 In the first order of the race of man ;  
 Perchance, ordain'd a golden link, to bind  
 The human spirit to th'angelic kind !—  
 Thus high endowed with intellectual grace,  
 To love thy Maker, and to bless thy race !  
 Ah ! know'st thou not thine origin sublime ?  
 If *thou* dost err, thou err'st with tenfold crime !  
 'Gainst HIM, who form'd thee thus, dar'st thou rebel,  
 Refuse to *serve* in heav'n, and seek to *reign* in hell ?

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## MEXICO.

*From Poinsett's Notes.*

In my walk this morning, under the porticoes leading to the principal square, I was struck with the singular exhibition they presented, of the busy, the idle and the devout. The shops were filled with tradesmen and purchasers. Under the porticoes were men and women selling flowers and wax-work, representing, with great accuracy, the costume of the country, the work of Indians, and the best of the kind I have ever seen. *Leperas* were leaning against the columns sunning themselves; and beggars and little urchins, selling pamphlets and gazettes, followed us with loud clamors. In the midst of this scene of noise and confusion, I observed two women on their knees before a picture of the virgin, which is inclosed in a glass case, and has always tapers burning before it. They were abstracted from all that was passing around them, and appeared to be really and devoutly absorbed in prayer. While looking



at them and at the crowd, the tinkling of a small bell was heard. It announced the passage of the host from the cathedral to the death-bed of a sinner. In an instant all was still. Shopkeepers and their customers, leperas and noisy children, all doffed their hats and knelt on the pavement, where they remained until the host was out of sight, devoutly crossing themselves the while. We then rose, and the hum and bustle and clamor were gradually renewed. We crossed the square, where there are always a number of hackney coaches standing, (better I think than the *jarvies* and *fiacres* of London and Paris,) to the statue of Charles the fourth: when seated on the steps of the enclosure we found a class of men called *evangelistas*. Their business is to indite memorials and epistles for those who cannot write themselves. Wrapped in his blanket, and furnished with a pen and ink, and a basket full of paper, the evangelista is ready to furnish letters in verse or prose, to all who apply for them. I listened for some time to one of them, who was writing a letter for a pretty young girl, and was artfully drawing her sentiments from her.

The facility with which these men write is surprising. Memorials to ministers and judges; letters of condolence and congratulation, and epistles breathing love and friendship, succeed each other rapidly, and appear to cost but little effort. Some of them are tolerable improvisatori—a faculty more common among the people of Spanish America, than it is even among the Italians.

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## DECLARATION OF THE QUAKERS OF AMERICA AGAINST SLAVERY.

It was in the year 1765, that the attention of the actively benevolent Granville Sharp was first directed towards the sufferings of a race of men who had long been the victims of European avarice.

The cause of the negro slaves had at length found advocates in America, in the society of quakers, whose efforts were great and unremitting, but unavailing, except

among their own body ; to whose honor it is recorded, that after many laudable researches, carried on by individuals, respecting the actual state of the slaves, a *public* acknowledgment of the sentiments of the quakers was made in 1754 declaring "THAT TO LIVE IN EASE AND PLENTY BY THE TOIL OF THOSE WHOM FRAUD OR VIOLENCE HAD PUT IN THEIR POWER, WAS NEITHER CONSISTENT WITH CHRISTIANITY NOR COMMON JUSTICE." Shortly after this declaration, a general emancipation of slaves, belonging to Quakers, was agreed on and begun.\*



### REMARKS ON THE DECLARATION OF SOME OF THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES IN JAMAICA.

It would have given me pleasure, if the suggestion thrown out in your number for February, had drawn the attention of one of your correspondents to the extraordinary and important document which has been put forth by *some* of the Wesleyan Missionaries, in *one* of our West-Indian Islands. Rather, however, than suffer the subject to pass without any notice in your pages, I am induced to offer a few remarks ; and the more so, because it appears to me that, living as we happily do at a great distance from the sight of slavery, we must derive our most satisfactory information of its effects from such documents as the one before us. Mr. John Bull, (whatever spirit may hide itself under that honest mask,) cannot lay greater stress upon the importance of this document than myself, though its testimony may not, perhaps, lead us to precisely the same conclusions. That worthy personage, whose outward clothing would imply that he was the friend of Scriptural Christianity, and Constitutional Freedom, considers the declaration of these Wesleyan Missionaries as a death-blow to the cause of negro emancipation, and a complete exposure of "That double-faced quackery, (to use the elegant phraseology by which his Journal is distinguished,) which is so

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\* Mr. West, the late venerable president of the Royal Academy, stated, that his father, who was a Pensylvanian quaker, was the first person who liberated his slaves, about twenty years previous to the public declaration—*Memoirs of Granville Sharp.*

hypocritically, and basely undermining the prosperity of the colonies." On the contrary, I must confess that my intellect is either so dull, or so perverse, that I collect from the very same document, additional proof of the baneful influence of slavery, the absolute necessity of putting a speedy termination to so destructive a system, and a thorough vindication of the measures which have been adopted for this purpose, by humane, religious, and wise individuals, in this country.

Such are the contradictory conclusions to which the same evidence has conducted us; but let us put the document itself to the question.

And, in the first place, I would inquire respecting the claim of this document to be considered as expressing the sentiments of *the body* of the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Island of Jamaica. On this point we have not any very distinct information; but there are several circumstances which may lead us to suspect that it expresses the sentiments of a very inconsiderable portion of that body. The Missionaries, of whom the meeting held in Kingston, on the 6th of Sept. 1824, was composed, must have been aware that, in the present state of feeling, respecting the Colonial System, every caution was necessary, to screen their assembly from the obvious imputation of being a private, and partial proceeding. If it had been a meeting regularly convened, and numerously attended, we should, doubtless, have had the requisition to call a meeting, the notice of the day on which such a meeting would be held, and a list of the Missionaries who attended. But on none of these particulars have we the slightest information. What then is the natural conclusion, but that no satisfactory information could be produced respecting them, and that this meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries was both private and partial, or, (as Mr. John Bull would say,) "a thorough juggle." What! it will be asked, by the indignant advocates of men who, under a change of circumstances, "would doubtless be called in derision *Saints*," is it to be supposed that any Missionaries can have been guilty of such unfair dealing, as to set forth the opinions of one or two individuals as those of the body to which they belong? This question has, probably, received a decisive answer, before this time, by subsequent communications from the West-Indies; but, however melancholy



the fact may be, that Missionaries of the Gospel should have so far departed from Christian simplicity, we cannot but suspect, for the reasons above mentioned, that this has been the case. This suspicion is confirmed, though happily much restricted in its object, by what we read in the 3rd. resolution passed at a general Meeting of the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, held January 5th, 1825. We there find, that those who have the best means of judging, consider the whole document before us to be the production of a very few only of the Missionaries of Jamaica, *two of whom had been placed by the last Conference under censure*, one been recalled, and the other removed from that Island, for the manner in which they *surrendered themselves* to the party feelings excited there, in opposition to the measures of his Majesty's Government, and the proceedings of the British Parliament." It is sad to think that such things are, and that even those who one might have hoped were provided with good drugs against contagion, have yet fallen victims to the Mal-aria of the Colonies. Slavery, it seems may become familiar, until it ceases to be offensive, and

" Custom can blunt the daintier sense,"

which was at first affected by the sight of suffering, and the cry of affliction. The conduct of these Missionaries is, I maintain, very convincing evidence of the accursed effects which slavery produces on the hearts of those who live within its sphere: for, even supposing that, by personal observation, they had been convinced that a good deal of misconception prevailed at home, as to the actual condition of the slaves, the course which, as Christians Ministers, and agents of a society which, they knew, had forbid their interference with political questions, they ought to have followed, was, clearly, to have sent home a temperate, and, above all, a private representation on the subject. When such a representation had been slighted, it would have been time, *first*, to have dissolved their connection with the Society; and *then*, to have given publicity to their statements. But, even in this case, one would not have expected to find the representations of "Honest Missionaries," characterised by that peculiar style of abusive phraseology, which has long distinguished the literary productions of the West-Indies.

There is, then, I imagine, quite enough on the face of

the document before us, to convince us—first, that the meeting of Missionaries from which it issued, was a private assembly, not regularly convened, and attended by very few of those in whose name it has been published: secondly, that they, whose sentiments it does in fact express, were evidently under the influence of party feelings, or of fear, in either of which cases their testimony is not deserving of much credit; and thirdly, that the conduct which has been adopted by these Missionaries, and the language in which their sentiments have been conveyed, illustrate, in a very striking manner, the baneful influence of slavery upon society at large, and even upon that class of society which might fairly have been supposed least liable to contamination. I purposely use the word *contamination*, from the assurance that, if the minds of the Missionaries had yielded to the simple force of truth, they would have acted far otherwise than they done, and expressed themselves in a very different manner.

I am unwilling to trespass longer upon your time at present, but shall request permission to pursue the subject in a subsequent number of your interesting publication.

ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

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### A WORD FOR THE NEGRO.

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"Lies are against *thee* ranged, and lies shall fail!

"Thine is the cause of truth, and must prevail:

"And GOD is truth, who reigns supreme above;

"Thine is the cause of LOVE, and "GOD IS LOVE."

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Sweet was the toil that nursed the earth's first flowers,  
 And cultured Eden's amaranthine bowers :  
 But when the voice of GOD in vengeance brake,  
 "Curst be the ground that bare thee for thy sake,"  
 Then man, in sorrow, ate the bread of toil,  
 And thorns and thistles clad the barren soil.  
 But many a drop of mercy GOD hath blent  
 Within the appointed cup of punishment.  
 Still on the thorn unfolds the vernal rose,  
 And joys of labour mingle with its woes.  
 For this, amid the purple bowers of FRANCE,  
 The vintage gatherers trip the airy dance.

For this, when tottering on the winding road,  
 The ponderous waggons creak beneath their load;  
 And, slow through England's plenteous valleys come  
 The cheerful songs and shouts of harvest home.  
 For this, "When ev'ning closes nature's eye,"  
 The joys of rest, the sweets of liberty—  
 A warmer smile adorns the matron's face,  
 The yearling infant runs with tottering pace,—  
 With arms uplifted, runs in clamorous glee,  
 And quits its mother's for its father's knee.  
 Then sweet the beverage that her hand distilled,  
 The produce of the field his labour tilled!  
 Thus, when our sun declines his western way,  
 Outmeasuring half the circle of the day,  
 Anticipation nerves the rustic's arm,  
 Disperses care, and makes his labour charm.  
 Then,—when *his* gladdened heart beats light within,  
 The *negro's* shrieks, the *negro's* groans begin!  
 Above the clustering isles that softly rest,  
 Like glittering gems, upon the ATLANTIC's breast;  
 Abroad, in full magnificence of light,  
 Bursts the fierce orb with torrid splendour bright.  
 There, to the dregs, unmingled, are drunk up  
 The dire ingredients of the bitter cup.  
 Beneath the glories of those golden skies,  
 Earth yields her treasures,—purchased, ere they rise,  
 (Oh! curse more dreadful than the primal ban—)  
 Not by the sweat, but by the *blood* of man.  
 There, swiftly as the winged shaft is sent,  
 Are nature's strongest ties asunder rent.  
 The mother weeps to see her offspring's face,  
 Heir to the sorrows of an outcast race!  
 O'erloaded, there, is death's insatiate maw;  
 There man, protected by the arm of law,  
 (Oh! gentler they who loose the tiger's cage,  
 And offer food to glut the serpent's rage!)  
 To scare, to rend, to torture and to kill,  
 Seizes his living victims at his will.  
 Each evil passion, that within the breast  
 Of Adam's offspring has its serpent's nest,  
 Darts its fierce sting, an unresisted woe,  
 Not like the serpent on the serpent's foe;  
 But fellow upon fellow, man on man;—  
 Man, since the reign of sin on earth began,  
 Since first the frown, that blighted EDEN, fell,  
 (Though the earth opened to her inmost cell,  
 With wings of death the whirlwind swept the ground,



While pestilence, a giant, stalked around ;  
 His work, destruction, forth the lion sprang,  
 By ravenous instinct, spurred with murderous fang ;  
 Though lightnings follow'd the ALMIGHTY nod,)   
 The fiercest engine of the wrath of God.

Oh ! drop the veil, and happy in the skreen  
 Of convex ocean, half a world between ;  
 Turn to your spire-crowned hills, your tranquil sky,  
 Your home of joy, your isle of liberty !

Regions of horror !—yet your shrieks I hear ;  
 Your yell of anguish breaks upon my ear.  
 Leave, then, its victim in the serpent's fang ;  
 Save not the kid on which the tiger sprang !  
 But woe to him who passes on his way,  
 Nor aids the wretch whom *man* has made his prey,  
 Who turns aside, nor lifts the pleading cry,  
 Though winds be listeners, and the rocks reply !

Then hearken, children of an ENGLISH sire !  
 What, though successive suns of tropic fire,  
 From age to age, by operative flame,  
 Have tinged, with deepening hue, the negro's frame,  
 'Mid glittering plains, beneath meridian skies,  
 Where cloudless light, unshadowed glory lies ;  
 Though darker shades than wrap the pole in night,  
 Involve his mind, and keep his soul from light ;—  
 Though in his heart a savage wilderness,  
 Which no directing cares nor culture bless ;  
 Unlike the offspring of the tutor'd grove,  
 As straggling shoots his wild affections rove,  
 Though as the river rushes in its force,—  
 The wild horse to the desert water-course,  
 By the strong impulse of a power within,  
 By native thirst impelled, he rush to sin :  
 That grovelling form, that face deformed by vice,  
 Sprung from inhabitants of Paradise.—  
 Yourselves irradiated from above,  
 Your law all mercy, and your God all love ;  
 Turn hither—hasten to this precious mine,  
 And try your skill ! behold the jewel shine,  
 And rays of science, gloriously combined,  
 Dart from the centre of the negro's mind !  
 Link the wild plant that asks the tiller's hand,  
 With kindred offspring of the fruitful land,

And straight resplendent, on each laden bough,  
 The flowers and fruits of true affection grow!  
 Come! with those truths, by heavenly might addressed,  
 With power magnetic acting on the breast;  
 Touch the rude iron of the negro's soul!  
 And see! the needle trembles to the pole,  
 And tells the Christian, though a world deride,  
 That this is he for whom the SAVIOUR died!—  
 Who sits upon the desert throne, forlorn  
 As Rachel, weeping for her youngest born?  
 I know thee, mourning mother! far though spread  
 The bright tiara of thy plumed head;  
 Though varying pearls amid thy vest be placed,  
 And gold barbaric glitter on thy waist;  
 By right in honour high, a queen by birth;  
 I know thee for the outcast of the earth,  
 Scorned by her offspring;—they, the great, the free,  
 Whom the world worships, shoot the lips at thee:  
 At thee, where man has being, far or near,  
 A by-word, and a proverb every where:  
 The veriest wretch on whom the sunbeams shine,  
*His* name a mockery, flings reproach at *thine*.

No merchants now, with gems and precious store,  
 With gold and purple hasten to thy shore.  
 No legates throng, no princes bow the knee,  
 No ships resort, no minstrels sing of thee;  
 Extinguished is the lustre of thy fame,  
 Thy shores despoiled, thy CARTHAGE but a name!—

What though thy empire stretch from east to west,  
 Nigh half the compass of earth's peopled breast;  
 'Tis but of misery a vaster page,  
 A wider field to glut the spoiler's rage.  
 Though bisons bellow there, though tigers howl,  
 Beneath thy moons though roaring lions prowl,  
 'Tis but a waste to echo to the woes  
 That burst in cries more dreadful still than those,  
 Since to its tracts the priests of MAMMON trod  
 To seize the victims of their demon-god;  
 Who rears in ZION's courts his seat abhorred,  
 His altar by the altar of the LORD;  
 Yet claims the rites that MOLOCH claimed of yore,  
*His* joy in carnage, and *his* offering gore.

Ill-fated AFRIC!—long from year to year  
 Thy children died, unhonoured by a tear.

Fresh from their work of blood the murderers rose,  
 No murmur spake perdition to thy foes.  
 Long was that space,—at length the negro's groans  
 Stirr'd in the hearts of some who caught their tones.  
 They heard within, the voice of nature rise,  
 Which said, it is thy brother's tongue that cries.  
 To rescue, forth they rushed,—aghast they stood,  
 Fear-struck recoiling from the negro's blood.  
 Then did the indignant cry in thunder break,  
 (The voice of nature will in thunder speak!)  
 And monarchs trembled at the o'erpowering sound,  
 And nations heard, and senates shook around,  
 And widely struck, by the victorious spell,  
 From negro limbs the enslaving shackles fell.  
 In youth awoke, those offspring of the free,  
 And now their heads are grey, who pled for thee;  
 But dauntless still, and watchful for alarms,  
 The unwearied champions slumber on their arms;  
 And more shall rise, defenders yet unborn,  
 The children at their fathers' altars sworn.  
 Lies are against thee ranged, and lies shall fail;  
 Thine is the cause of truth, and must prevail,  
 Since lies are his who only for an hour  
 Rules with permitted sway, divided power:  
 But GOD is truth, who reigns supreme above;  
 Thine is the cause of love, and "God is love."

I saw the end of time, the incipient birth  
 Of the new heavens, and new-created earth.  
 I saw the negroes' SAVIOUR, spurned as they  
 Who trod "A pilgrim on the world's highway:"  
 No more a man of sorrows, pains and woes,  
 But come in clouds for judgment on his foes.  
 Myriads of sleepers over earth's wide bound  
 Awoke together at the trumpet's sound.  
 Throes, thicker than her waves toss'd ocean's bed,  
 As from the scattered waters rose her dead.  
 Cities, by earthquakes swallowed and subdued,  
 Gave to the day again their multitude.  
 Atoms, dispersed by storm, by flood, by rain,  
 The winds that parted first, combined again.  
 The graves were opened through their secret space,  
 And the earth looked at once on all her race.

Then fell the stedfast tombs where NILUS springs,  
 And from their caverns rose a hundred kings;  
 Blind devotees, who gave their lives for nought,



Beneath the crushing wheels of JUGGERNAUT ;  
 On Indian plains awakened to the view  
 Of the ONE ONLY GOD they never knew.  
 PERSIANS, who served the sun with servile knee,  
 Offering the incense of idolatry,  
 Awoke to see the failing sun grow dim,  
 And GOD alone shine forth, who guided him.  
 Whole hosts stood up where CANNÆ's field was won;  
 Again two armies peopled MARATHON.  
 Consuls and senators on ROMAN plains  
 Rose at the trumpet's voice in lengthening trains,  
 And Roman gods, awakened at its call,  
 To wait the sentence of the GOD of all.  
 Kings stood together with their thousands slain,  
 And fallen CÆSAR reared his head again.  
 Then ALFRED, with his SAXON myriads rose;  
 Where BABEL stood unnumbered graves unclosed;  
 The earth that sheltered EVE, resigned its trust,  
 And parent ADAM rose again from dust.

The day was spent, the severed goats were told,  
 And the sheep sheltered in their SHEPHERD's fold.  
 The KING had put His crown of beauty on,  
 His chosen jewels round his forehead shone.  
 I saw the accepted throng, whose course was trod,  
 The saints, that stood before the throne of GOD.  
 Sages, who traced the stars, and marked the race  
 Of flaming comets through the depths of space,  
 But owned the hand that wheeled them round the zone,  
 Now, when the stars were quenched, for ever shone.  
 The helpless lazar now, who wont to wait,  
 A slighted suppliant at the rich man's gate,  
 Here, through that door where none shall knock in vain,  
 Had entered inward with the marriage train.  
 Prophets, whose eye rejoicing, caught afar  
 The distant glimmerings of Messiah's star,  
 Transported, fell before the throne of grace,  
 Lost in the sunshine of their SAVIOUR's face,  
 With kings who feared the ALMIGHTY judgment-seat,  
 And cast their crowns before the SAVIOUR's feet.

Saw I the NEGRO?—yea, I saw him there,  
 In those white robes the SAVIOUR's followers wear,  
 With those who sought him lost in heathen night,  
 And led the negro to his SAVIOUR's sight.  
 From GUINEA's coast, from ETHIOP's farthest land,  
 From WHIDAH's hills, from ZAARA's burning sand,

From CONGO's woods they met, from NIGER's fount,  
 A mighty multitude, whom none could count !  
 Yes, *them*, when their betrayers all were fled,  
 When their accusers durst not raise their head,  
 The spurned, the abject and the hopeless,—*them*  
 The JUDGE of quick and dead did not condemn.  
 And oh ! lorn sufferer, under curse and ban,  
 Poor outcast from the family of man !  
 Neither do we condemn thee :—go and know  
 That BRITAIN's mightiest sons have struck the blow !  
 Her mightiest, for her worthiest, (truth shall speak  
 Where she is recreant, there her hand is weak,)  
 And hundreds more, unseen in every part,  
 Conjured, are ready at their call to start ;  
 And urge, combined, assured, at home, afar,  
 The sacred, sworn, immitigable war ;  
 Till LOVE, and TRUTH, and MERCY, conquer all,  
 And proud oppression totter to its fall.

M. R.

Sheffield, March 10th, 1825.

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## ON THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE.

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A recent occurrence at Leicester\* having called forth many painful feelings, I venture to offer, for the budget of the Humming Bird, a few dispassionate remarks on the topic in its general bearings, without, however, proposing to vindicate the occasion which gave rise to those feelings.

Of all the branches of human science that of *Medicine and Surgery* confessedly takes precedence in point of utility. What, it may be asked, is dearer to a man than his life and health ? and, next to his own, that of his nearest and dearest friends ? When these are assailed by alarming disease, or accidental injury, the general harbingers of dissolution, where is the man who would not willingly give all he possesses to be restored to health ? to which of all his surrounding friends is his eye then directed, with equal anxiety, as to the *medica*. friend in whom he confides ?—

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\* The removal of a body, recently interred, from the church-yard of St. Margaret's, in Leicester.

Though he trace up to a *higher Hand* his cup of affliction, and be fully aware, that He who appointed the bane, must also direct the application of the antidote, or that vain will be the help of man, yet it is an imperative duty he owes to himself, his friends and society, to employ, for his relief or cure, every proper expedient, under the conviction that the Supreme Arbiter of all our concerns must in nowise be expected to confer the needful blessing, but in the ordinary way of His providence, by giving success to the means of relief.—The Medical character is therefore one of so great private and public importance, as to become a national concern, forming a prominent characteristic in distinguishing the civilized from the uncivilized state of society. It is, indeed, on these considerations that it claims the countenance and support of all parties. Medicine being one of the branches of natural philosophy, the study of it must be pursued, if pursued to any good effect, by that method which is alone successful in the other departments of natural knowledge, that of induction and observation; since no species of knowledge is intuitive, or derivable by hereditary descent. And although we admit, and admit justly, that the science of Medicine is yet very far from having been advanced, in all points, to any near approximation to perfection, it has unquestionably made greater progress within the last thirty years than in the two former centuries. This extraordinary success has resulted chiefly from the more frequent *examination of the body after death*. The havoc in human life, inflicted by contending armies, within the period alluded to, has contributed an ample share in eliciting this advantage out of so much evil. To the increased freedom of communication between the different countries of Europe, and the more general diffusion of information in our own, through the medium of the Press, is also to be attributed a very important share in this advancement. Nor does the knowledge acquired now, as was formerly too much the case, rest with the individuals who first attain it, but is now added to the public records as to a general stock—a consideration which furnishes one of the strongest possible motives for the promotion of the general good, by withholding no proper occasion of thus subserving it, while the public may be assured that the *names* of the party are always conscientiously suppressed in all cases of delicacy. The profession of Medicine is most arduous



both in the study of it and in its application to practice; imposing on its members duties and responsibilities of no common kind, demanding too, if pursued aright, the severest sacrifices; and not seldom must it be pursued at the peril both of reputation and of life itself. Nor are the rewards it offers to those who engage in it of an alluring nature. Many a physician, after having ventured, in the acquisition of knowledge a competency, in order to qualify himself for practice under the best advantages, has never recovered one-half of the sum he had thus expended. Even the father of Medicine, the renowned Hippocrates, confessed with grief, that after a long life devoted to the study and practice of his art, and that with the most unwearied application and much travelling into distant countries in the pursuit of information, and although his great fame obtained for him divine honours, he knew not whether he had been most frequently applauded or censured for his services. What multitudes have paid with their lives for the ardour with which they had fulfilled their duties in visiting the sick, and in examining the dead!—If this statement be correct, it is sufficiently evident that this body of benefactors to the community by no means occupy in the public estimation, the place of respect and honour which is their just claim. If there subsists between the parties a reciprocity of obligation, a mutual connexion of their best interests, which no one will dispute; and though the servants of the public, in the best sense, medical men ought to be esteemed as friends worthy of the highest confidence. This combination of interests cannot be more effectually promoted, as has already been suggested, than by rendering every facility to the cultivation of Medical Science, more especially by allowing an examination of the remains of departed friends, whenever the peculiarities of the fatal disease shall justify it. And this would be a most laudable recognition of sacrificing private feeling to the general benefit, one of our most salutary moral obligations.

As it respects the art of *Surgery*, Anatomy (i. e. the minute examination into the structure of the human body after death) is the very basis and ground-work of all that can be achieved by it. What would the reader say of the workman who, professing himself an artist, undertakes to repair a piece of machinery, but from his utter ignorance

of its construction, instead of correcting the derangement, either increases it, or renders the thing totally useless? Let this expostulation be applied to the instance of an injured limb, eye, or a vital organ of the body,—while the offender, in the former case, would incur only the loss, probably, of a portion of his fame with his employer, the surgeon would be exposed to the censure of the whole country, and perhaps to the severest penalties which the law can inflict on him. If, on the contrary, he is well instructed in Anatomy, he is qualified to render to the community the most signal services. It is therefore precisely *this* branch of his education which lays the only true basis of the surgeon's knowledge and skill. Nor can any exertions, or industry, however laborious, or however gifted he may be in talent, make up for any deficiency in this point. This is a species of knowledge which is unattainable in any other way than by actual dissection by the hand, and under the most attentive contemplation of the eye.—It cannot be acquired by merely looking on, while another hand performs the work; it cannot be attained by the observation of the various parts of the frame preserved by art, nor by the skill of the engraver, much less by the verbal descriptions of the ablest teacher. The hand and eye must become familiar with the most delicate and complex, as well as the more simple structures and parts; or the surgeon, when he comes to reduce his knowledge to practice, will act in the dark, with uncertainty, hesitation, and tremor, where decision, promptitude, and steadiness are absolutely requisite to ensure success. Thus endowed, the surgeon proposes his measures with becoming confidence in his own judgment, and executes them with the ability of a master in his art, well deserving the confidence of his patient. Nor is the science of Anatomy of less importance to the *Physician*, who grounds his knowledge of the almost innumerable shades of disease which he is called to treat, on his acquaintance with the minute texture of the various organs of the body and their functions in health, and with that of the changes produced in them by disease. Whether therefore he attempt to correct the daily and slighter derangements of the system, or to arrest and repair the ravages of more deeply-rooted ailments, he cannot take a single step with the confidence and ability of a proficient in his department, without this elementary knowledge. It has been argued dis-

ingenuously indeed, in excuse for the want of this minute anatomical learning, that this is by no means more necessary to the physician than that it is necessary for the captain of a vessel to be thoroughly acquainted with the art of building it, in order to steer it in a storm: this, however, is a mere logical *petitio principii*—a living animal must never be compared to a mere lifeless machine, since the functions and offices of either of them are regulated by laws and principles exclusively appropriate to one of them only. While the surgeon is more particularly occupied in treating the diseases and accidents to which the exterior parts of the system, the head and extremities are liable, the physician's principal concern is the management of those affections which take place in the interior organs, or attack the whole system at once. The structure of the latter parts therefore ought to be most minutely familiarized to him by actual dissection, both in the sound and unsound state. Could the healing art be advanced to any thing like perfection, it is unnecessary to inquire of what incalculable advantage would it be in lessening the sum of human sufferings, when they do not admit of absolute removal, or in effectually curing them by certain and infallible rules and measures, when they are curable: and it is, undoubtedly, in a high degree, susceptible of such a degree of excellence. It is acknowledged on all hands, I believe, that we are in possession of the necessary remedies for the cure of a large proportion of the diseases to which the human subject is liable; but that we fail in the successful application of them, from the want of greater precision in adapting them correctly to the particular stages, degrees and other circumstances of each malady, which indeed would constitute the perfection of the art. It is also sufficiently notorious, that the continental practitioners excel most remarkably the English, both in anatomy and in their knowledge of diseases: while from a bigotted attachment to the use of very inadequate modes of treatment, to which long usage has accustomed them, they are very far behind us in the curative department.—This superiority they derive from the very frequent opportunities of examining the bodies of the patients which are so properly and so generally permitted abroad. This is to us a great national disadvantage, if not a national disgrace, and calls aloud for an adequate corrective. The enactments of the legislature, it is conceived, might, and ought, to



provide a tolerable supply of subjects for the anatomical schools in the metropolis, by ordering all those who suffer the penalty of death, to be sent thither. The further deficiency would be supplied, in the completest manner, if the popular prejudices against an inspection of all who die of remarkable or obscure disorders were overcome. The writer of this article can, with difficulty, persuade himself that an enlightened public, viewing the subject dispassionately, should continue to foster prejudices which prove an effectual bar to the promotion of a science which might otherwise be so essentially perfected, as to be capable, in innumerable instances, of curtailing the avenues to untimely death; and of beguiling the path with greater certainty, where the disease is incurable. Nor can he more readily conceive that, on due consideration, the survivors can hesitate to entrust to the delicacy of their medical friend the examination of the remains of one who perhaps had been long his charge under circumstances in which all the feelings of sympathy, interest and skill had been painfully exercised.

Here I lay down my pen, submitting the subject, which involves the best interests of society, to the correct, deliberating judgment of a British public, which may safely challenge every other nation for the soundness of its policy and its general freedom from prejudice.

HUMANITAS.

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#### NOTE FROM THE EDITORS.

SOME of our friendly readers having objected to the title of this little work, (we presume because it is irrelevant,) it becomes us, with very cordial respect, to remind them that it is no less our inclination than our duty to pay honorable consideration to objections of every kind, whether they relate to small matters, or to the important bearings and dependencies of our main subject. TRUTH delights in the elucidation of *error*;—COMMON SENSE never forgets that “without counsel, purposes are disappointed;” and PHILANTHROPY, in the amplitude of her honest affection for all men, invariably acts upon the maxim, “Let every man please his neigh-

hour to his edification." Yet in the present instance, we think our reason for non-compliance will be valid: we will preface it by a short story. A woman had her infant baptized by the name of Cassandra; her neighbour having no veneration for the old Grecian Prophetess, objected, urging that it was the name of a *heathen*. "Then I will send to the minister to alter it," exclaimed the affrighted mother. "No," replied the minister, "that cannot be; the name is *entered in the Register*."

Our little winged messenger, charged with volant despatches, and intended to fly swiftly, as she flies lightly, has been entered in the Register of Publicity by the name she now bears; and we freely confess that we feel an unconquerable attachment to proper names, as the tangible badges of personal identity. Our own *names* are *immutable*; our principles and characters are *immutable*; our zeal and our loyalty in the AFRICAN CAUSE are beyond a *shadow of turning*.—Therefore, except from conviction of error, *we never change*.

We cannot conclude this epistle to our readers without a few words upon two more points. First, we must pay the tribute of our gratitude, *in the name of those* whose advocates we are, to those friends who, zealous and faithful in the cause, have hitherto aided us by the benefits of their influence and their talents. Secondly, we must prefer *an appeal for additional help*. It may be said, in the consciousness of truth, that this small undertaking was begun *solely* under a strong conviction of *duty*. It arose purely, and most independently, from the imperious call which injury and suffering make upon the principles of every disciple of that Saviour by whose name we call ourselves. No lurking wish of acquiring notice, or of receiving emolument, defiled the purpose of this effort. Retired individuals, who have no more to do with this world, than to perform, as well as they may, their duty towards it, planned and have hitherto pursued this design, in the straight broad road of Christian obligation; a cause, like that of a *whole oppressed and enslaved nation*, leaving no man with a safe conscience who does not do all he can in its behalf, whatever that *all* may be. A mistaken idea that African slavery is merely a political question, a matter of debate between Great Britain and her colonies, has

had a most lamentable and lethargic influence upon the minds of many highly estimable, pious, and benevolent people. They who feel keenly for the miseries of their poor neighbours; who cannot see without relieving, close beneath their eyes, a fellow creature enduring hunger, cold, and sickness, shut their eyes and ears to the tremendous injustice and cruelties exercised in distant lands towards their black brethren, deeming such things too atrocious to be true. It therefore becomes the labourers in this most mighty, this colossal cause of humanity, to double every effort; to sift, oppose, and refute every specious but false argument; and to be "instant in season and out of season"—to rest not, but to spend and be spent, till this anomaly in nature, this authorizing of temporal and spiritual *slavery* by those who boast that they themselves are *free* on earth, and *redeemed* in heaven; this communion of darkness with light; this concord of Christ with Belial, be removed, and no longer allowed to stand like a rooted and everlasting pyramid, incorporating its basis with the very heart of the earth, because it is the work of ages, and the levelling of it must be a labour of difficulty. In this spirit, and, with reverence be it spoken, with an entire committal of the *beginning, continuance, and end* of this small, but faithful labour, to Him

" Whose frown can disappoint the proudest strain,  
Whose approbation—prosper even ours—"

we have conducted our "Humming Bird" to the half of one year's existence. We faint not in *courage*, but we may faint in *power*: the ability of mental exertion, however comparatively small, may not keep pace with the wishes of unabated perseverance. Therefore with a steady, deliberate determination not to desert our post, while we can raise even a palsied arm in defence of our African brethren, we appeal, and we appeal *confidently* to the BENEVOLENT, the GIFTED, the ZEALOUS, and the FAITHFUL, for *further literary assistance*. It cannot be questioned, that among the various efforts now so zealously put in practice by the friends of the Negroes, the distribution of Tracts containing *authentic* information, is of great use. The minds of the poor and the middling classes have been, as every one knows who has distributed these Tracts, strongly excited by them to sympathy in the cause. Nor can it also be doubted that small periodical publications, adapted to the educated minds of the higher



classes, are equally efficacious; and, if such, throughout the kingdom, were established in every town and neighbourhood, the public mind of the nation might be kept alive to the subject. If England slumbers now, when will she again awake? The spirit of exertion is gone forth; the combat is begun; the standard of Justice and Freedom waves in its native sky of England. He who sits still under his own luxurious vine, is assisting the enemy with all his might; because he is robbing the cause of support. It is much easier to subdue *violent opposition*, than to open the eyes which *will not see*—to unstop the ears which *will not hear*—and to convince the understandings which *will not believe*.

It must be repeated that the question is a *Religious one*. We have already proved, and the argument is so important that it ought to be frequently reiterated, that it was *solely* by the influence of Christianity on the minds and consciences of men, that Slavery in England was abolished, and this even in Catholic times. Men freed their slaves *for the love of God*; for the *safety of their own souls*.\* The same principle must, in the nature of things, effect the abolition of African Slavery. There is no other engine mighty enough to remove this long-rooted crime from the earth. They, who are opprobriously styled *the Saints*, that is, they, who, to whatever sect they belong, are faithful, sincere, and indefatigable in the discharge of their sacred duties, and they alone *will* and can perform this duty, one of the most indispensable ones that man can perform. We, who rank among the inferior labourers in the vineyard, but who, were we able, would thankfully “bear the burden and heat of the day,” solicit aid that this little plant may not be rooted up. This is a cause in which we must *conquer or die*. There is no middle way. Slavery and Christianity cannot exist in the same nation. The Negroes are our fellow men, and fellow subjects; they are subjects of the king of Great Britain as well as ourselves. If we would enjoy our *own* freedom, we must obtain *theirs*. If we would secure our *own* salvation, we must seek *theirs*. If we would not “deny the Lord who bought *us*,” we must labour and persevere, even though we be sacrificed, to redeem *them* from bondage.

And now, requesting our readers to pardon the length of this address, (it has arisen from a heart deeply impressed

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\* See Number 4, page 106.

by the subject,) we cannot close it without begging every fellow Christian to unite in a fervent prayer to HIM, "without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy," to shed his grace and blessing upon *all* his labourers in this work: to strengthen the weak, to confirm the strong, to animate the luke-warm, to encourage the hopeless, and to guide them all with undeviating ardour and perseverance, through "honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report," undaunted by difficulties, untouched by reproach; and having once put their hand to the plough, fearing nothing but the sin of *looking back*. To HIM be the issue of the contest committed.

As the subject of Slavery leads through a dark defile, where appalling objects of terror often deepen the general gloom, those friends who may favor us with a few flowers to strew in the road, the roses of poetry, or the plants of science, will advance the cause, by engaging the regard of those eyes which would otherwise be averted from the gloomy prospect.

#### TO OUR CORRESPONDENTS.

OUR friends and supporters at Sheffield must accept our warmest thanks. It is exhilarating to see a Muse of no common power fired by the wrongs of Africa.

It will at all times be gratifying to us to be favored with any communication from H. P. We are highly obliged by his letter, and much benefitted, as he will see in our next Number.

We have a peculiar satisfaction in inserting the paper of our old friend Humanitas, on a subject which, though of the highest importance to health and life, is seldom or never seriously considered. We request our readers to bear in mind that while our *first* object is the deliverance of the Negro Slaves, we are *universal Philanthropists*; consequently we shall always thankfully receive any hint, plan, or remark, tending to promote the good of man; to remove prejudices; to enlighten the understanding on questions of moral duty; and to promote a liberal spirit of self-denial and renunciation of our own feelings for the sake of others.

Our highly esteemed *near Relative* has much gratified us, and his further remarks will add to the obligation.

We beg leave to thank T. B. L. W. for his kind communications; and to request, when he next favors us, to address the Editor *at the Printer's*, and not through the gentleman to whom his letters have been sent. It gives us cordial pleasure to learn that there is formed a "Ladies' Society for the relief of Negro Slaves," at West Bromwich, near Birmingham; the Secretaries are Mrs. Townsend and Mrs. Samuel Lloyd, jun. Its object is to diffuse the knowledge of the horrors and iniquity of the Slave system, and, through the Missionaries, to send help to the aged, sick, blind, and maimed Slaves, who have no owners; particularly the females; and also to support Negro Schools. We rejoice also to state, that a Society of Ladies is about to be established in the same cause in this town. Has misery ever appealed to the female heart *in vain*?

A kind friend having honoured our motto "*As the small Bird, &c.*" by setting it to Music, it will appear in our next Number; composed by Mrs. W. Heyrick; the words by Susanna Watts.

THE  
**Humming Bird ;**

No. 7.]

JUNE, 1825.

[Vol. I.

ADDRESS TO THE LADIES OF GREAT-BRITAIN,  
IN BEHALF OF THE NEGRO-SLAVES,  
PARTICULARLY THE FEMALES.

“ Oh ! 'tis a godlike privilege to save !—  
And he that scorns it, is himself a slave.  
Inform his mind—one flash of heav'nly day  
Would heal his heart and melt his chains away.  
' Beauty for ashes,'— is a gift indeed !—  
And slaves, by truth enlarg'd, are doubly freed.”

COWPER.—CHARITY.

THE time is gone by, when the energies of the female sex were wasted upon laborious and everlasting tasks of needle-work, and their literature was confined to cookery books. We do not, consequently, use the term *energies* in the sense given to it by the celebrated Bridgetina;\* but in that which it bears under the correct practice of the English tongue; viz. those powers of mental exertion, which are adapted to the performance of all relative duties that conduce to the good of our fellow-creatures. The English Ladies, (we say, *the English Ladies*, because we would fervently hope that the number of those who remain either inactive in ignorance, or busy in acquiring knowledge ostentatiously, or sacrificing themselves to fashion and vanity, is now comparatively small;) have now taken their proper rank in society; not stepping forward, to the offence of their native delicacy, with prominence and display, but vigorously cultivating goodness, kindness, and, in one comprehensive word, *religion*, in those retired fields, in which they are the natural labourers; there planting and collecting fruits to be thrown into the public mart of national benevolence. That vast Charity of the Universe, the Bible Society, is benefited,

\* Mrs. Hamilton's Memoirs of Modern Philosophers.



to a great extent, by their labours; the Missionary Cause is equally forwarded by their diligent exertions in collecting even mites for its treasury, to say nothing of numberless other admirable female labours. The rising generation, upon whom we must chiefly rely for a state of more principled honesty, industry, and respectability among our poorer neighbours, are peculiarly under the care of the Ladies, whose devotion of time, and personal tuition to the Sunday and other schools, is perhaps one of their noblest praises.

Thus, beginning at home, does this spirit of active usefulness, dilate and enlarge, like an angelic form, till it expands itself to the very verge of the earth. It flies to every spot where misery is found, and there carries its sympathy. The cause of the negroes must, therefore, when fairly and honestly understood, come with peculiar force upon the heart of every female. It unites the claim of strangers with the claim of brethren and the claim of a fellow-sex. A vast portion of our fellow-subjects, for such, though they have no rights, they are acknowledged to be, groan under heavy bondage. No small number of these are females. The extremest state of wretchedness to which females can be reduced in our country, poverty, personal hardships, cruel treatment from savage husbands, &c. is far, immeasurably far, above that abyss of degradation in which the female negro-slaves are engulfed. They are under the absolute, unrestrained power of their masters, or as they are termed in the colonies, their *owners*; the negroes having been originally seized as chattels merely, and continuing to be so regarded, so that it is a common phrase with the masters, "*May I not do what I will with my own?*" This power of possession was not at first corrected by restricting laws, and whatever Colonial regulations have been since attempted to be enacted in their favor, are nugatory, as Edwards confesses, for want of executory power. The female negroes are therefore, together with every relation that belongs to them, husband, children, &c.—in the power of their owners. They have no one right in themselves—body, heart, soul, are their owners. Nay, even life—if that owner be cruel and vindictive; as even for the murdering them, he will only, in some colonies, pay a fine. Here we must stop short;

and, (we will not say the imagination, for imagination has nothing to do in a representation of simple fact,) but the deductive reasoning of our sympathizing females, will shew the appalling, the inevitable consequences of this horrible extent of the power of one human being over another.—Being on a level with all the other articles of their owner's property, his cattle, his house, his furniture, &c. they are, with them, sold to pay his debts; separated from their husbands and children, with the same coolness as a set of chairs might be parted—some being sold to one person some to another. The slave is in danger of suffering from hunger,—if the owner be poor; who, receiving the whole produce of his labour for six days, robs God of the seventh, that his bondman may, on that day, labour on, to earn a scanty morsel for himself.—The bodily labour of the females is taxed also, to keep pace with the strength of the men. They work in the same gang; they endure the same corporal punishment of the whip—a species of barbarity by the abomination of which, common humanity and female delicacy are equally outraged.

Our countrywomen may have heard the remark, for it is, unhappily, often made even by the good and amiable, who, consequently, have never entered into the subject—*This is too dreadful to be true.* They may safely answer, these are substantiated facts, not denied by the Colonists; nay, they are as real as the existence of slavery, for they are the thing itself. It is too late in the day of enlightened reason and religious truth, to assert that the race of the blacks are mentally inferior to that of the whites. The minds of these wretched females, thus, as it were, outlawed from all the tender connections most dear to the sex, and from all the modest proprieties and exercises of feeling that form its highest pleasures, are yet constituted with capacities to elevate and adorn it as well as our own happy and honourable countrywomen. The negro female, whose hospitality to the brave and lamented British Discoverer, Mungo Park, every one must feel, had an English heart; so would a British woman open her door to the lost wanderer, so would she shelter him from the storm, and dismiss him with her prayers.—Seek then, daughters of a free and Christian country! seek the lost wanderers of the African race.—

Seek and save them, not alone from the storms of this world, but from *the blackness of darkness for ever*. In *their minds* there are sparks of feeling, kindred to the light of pity and benevolence that illuminates your own bosoms.

We will not offend your generous feelings by supposing that it is possible you can now answer, "*We can do nothing.*"—There are two very important branches of action in this grand cause, exactly adapted to the ability and power of every female, whatever may be her rank and situation in life, without a single exception,—viz. the extension of a just, faithful, sober, unanswerable knowledge of the subject among your friends, families, children, dependants, &c.—in conversation, by the distribution of tracts, &c. If a cause must be taken up *nationally*, and that it is the imperious duty of Great-Britain to do so in this instance, is self-evident, every individual in this nation ought to know its merits.—And this, the more especially, as *every individual* here, *is, and has been*, effectively, a supporter of slavery, by being a constant and habitual consumer of those articles of commerce and luxury, the cultivation of which is the *single* cause of this horrible system, and upon which its existence depends.—By religiously abstaining from polluting your lips with sweets, produced by sufferers under a state of bondage so galling as this, which is the other line of action for which you have full power, and by influencing others to do the same, you will, most effectually promote that most wise and promising Institution, lately established for the purpose of supporting and bringing into general use manufactures of voluntary labour, in opposition to those of constrained labour, intitled—"The tropical free-labour Company."

That slavery is supported entirely by the consumption of articles manufactured by the slaves, is an axiom that carries its truth in its own intrinsic evidence. To attempt to prove it would be to insult common sense. It follows, equally self-evidently, that to reject the consumption of those articles, must lead to the abolition of slave labour. We see, therefore, that abstinence from West-Indian sugar, however it may be neglected by the hopeless, who tacitly determine to let things remain as they are, or scoffed at by



the careless, who feel nothing for the slaves, is not merely a practice followed from the impulse of antipathy to a luxury almost literally spotted with the blood of a fellow-creature, but a principle of action, built on the duty of giving no support or countenance to wrong, oppression and cruelty of any kind. Until slave labour can be proved to be as just, as equitable, and as beneficial to man, as free labour, it would be a bold task indeed to attempt, by *serious* argument, to defend the use of colonial produce. The argument against it is unanswerable, on the deduction of reason, and equally so on that of humanity. Were a curtain to be undrawn at the end of a banqueting room, and a perspective of a cane-piece to be introduced, with its gang of slaves, men and women, labouring under terror of the whip, some actually undergoing this savage punishment—some feeble females forced to drive the hoe with the same force as the strong, &c.—this sight would greatly impede the pleasure of the eye in viewing, and that of the palate in tasting the tasteful, beauteous and delicious varieties on the table, into which the confectionary art has transformed the juice of the sugar-cane.

One great advantage of extending authentic information, of showing the cause in the brilliant light of simple truth, will be the rousing of the indifferent. Though Opposition come forth, like the giant of the valley, armed with his spear and shield, perchance even a stone from the brook, thrown by a faithful hand, may lay him low; but the indifferent stand between the combatants, immoveable, like statues of stone, and advancing not a foot towards either side, interrupt the contest.—Here is a task for the gentle powers of female persuasion; a task which may be performed without the formality of design—in the friendly party, in the cottage of the poor.—Animate these statues; make them to move, see, hear and feel; impel them by the irresistible impulse of sympathy, justice, religion,—draw them within the wheel of active duty.

Next to the indifferent, you will have to contend with the *hopeless*. Very many there are, and those among the good and amiable, who are heartily the foes of slavery in the abstract; but who, taking a stronger view of the difficulties than of the necessities of this cause, rest in an

unfounded opinion that *they can do nothing*; that the evil is *inevitable*. African slavery, in the abstract, is a criminal evil of such glaring enormity, that no man in his senses, however interest may blind, or various prejudices pervert his judgment, can any more bring the shadow of a reason in its favor, than he can be able, by lifting up his hand, to put out the light of the sun. The whole nation of Africa has, for centuries, been robbed of its inhabitants by the European nations, for the purpose of enslaving them and their posterity, that they may use them as beasts of burden in the cultivation of their lands. This is horrible enough, without going into a detail of all the countless miseries necessarily attaching to such a state of degradation. But because this abominable system has become cemented by old custom, and bound together by commercial interests; and because it has so fearfully demoralized those human beings, who have been thus, by their fellow-men, transformed into beasts, till they are judged not fit to be unchained; is all this to be brought as an argument for the continuance of such—*injustice*, we would say, but there is no word strong enough to express the wrong?—Is it not rather an irrefragible reason why such a system should be no longer permitted to offend God and disgrace man?—To acknowledge the evil to be so immense that it cannot be cured, is to exhibit it in a more tremendous point of view than even any of its most eloquent opposers have ever represented it; it is equalling it with the misery of eternal condemnation—it is consigning the African race to a state, where

“HOPE never comes that comes to all.”

Let those who give up the case as hopeless, consider whither this argument of theirs leads them. It leads them by unavoidable corollary, to consider the Africans as enslaved for ever in this world, and as going down to darkness in the next; for their masters (some at least) have frankly confessed that “educated and church-going slaves” will not suit their purpose—their time is wanted; it cannot be spared for the keeping of God’s commandments.

Now, what shall daunt you?—Is this a cause for hopelessness?—Are we to be hopeless that the designs of Divine mercy will succeed; or dare we to alledge that Divine mercy is only for white men?—Are we to limit infinity?—

Are we to doubt that we should do our duty?—Are we to doubt that we are agents under the control of Almighty power, appointed, commanded, and endowed with powers to defend and save our fellow-men, in all cases of wrong and misery—and this, under most tremendous denunciation?—If we are to be hopeless that the cause of justice and humanity will ultimately be triumphant (and that this is such a cause no opponent can directly and honestly deny, however he may paint and polish and palliate slavery) we may and must be hopeless in all other vast cases of distress.—We may relieve those that are easily relieved, but despair of those that are difficult. We see how fatal is this reasoning; if that may be called reasoning which is built upon *despair*. What would the captain of a ship in danger, say to the mariner who should sit still because the storm was violent?—Would he not reiterate his orders, “*All hands to work!*”

As an encouragement to the hopeless, we have a strong fact to produce, which will shew what *may* be done, from what *has been* done. In the town of Leicester, by the zeal and activity of a *very few* individuals alone, nearly one fourth of the population, viz. 1500 families have been so impressed by the subject, as to engage themselves to abstain from the use of West-Indian sugar.

Under an earnest desire that our fair Countrywomen may so prepare their minds with a just and deliberate knowledge of the question, that they may be ready “to give a reason of the hope that is in them,” we cannot forbear a few words of warning upon a misrepresentation which has done much mischief, we mean the accusation of *fanaticism* so violently and maliciously charged upon the advocates of the Negroes. The question of African emancipation is one that concerns our duty to God and our obedience to our Redeemer. The highest species of charity, and the most binding on the consciences of christians, is the imparting to heathen minds the inestimable blessing of “life and immortality brought to light by the Gospel.” It is one of the paradoxes of the present age, that very many who honor the Bible and consider themselves members of the Christian Church, oppose Missionary labours, and stigmatize the conversion and liberation of the Africans as a vision of enthusiasm, because the



tenets of the zealously pious who support those exertions, may differ in some points from their own. They do not consider that to save the souls of men, was the heavenly benevolence of the Apostles—the end and crown of all their devoted labours; and that, not to promote this with all our heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, is to be disloyal to our faith.

There is some danger that elegant and educated minds, perhaps without thought or suspicion of doing any thing adverse to religion, should hastily take up a prejudice against African emancipation, as some wild project, and against its advocates, who, for their zeal are branded as hypocrites and *saints*. But let such minds call into action their own good sense, and they will see, not only the malice, but the vulgarity of the abuse alluded to. To apply Scripture phrases in derision, is as much an offence against the purity of critical taste as it is a sacrilege against piety. The English tongue has no definition of the word *saint*, but, *a holy man, a man devoted to the service of God*, which every Christian virtually binds himself to become, as no scoffer will deny; and which he either ought to become, or to renounce the name of Christ.

It were to be wished that religious writers, in their works both for the educated and uneducated, would avoid that peculiarity of expression, which has acquired the unjust and illiberal name of *cant*. Should any of our fair readers have felt that this want of correctness in the style of a religious work has excited, shall we venture to say, their dislike, to its doctrines, let them remember that the very same meaning, expressed in the pure, exalted, and natural eloquence of Hall, or the plain dignity of Porteus, would engage their admiration, elevate their hearts, and convince their understandings. Instead of being revolted by an awkwardly expressed sentiment, they have only to try it by the touchstone of Bible language, which by the most fastidious philologists, is allowed to be a model of strength, simplicity, and dignity. We have been led into the foregoing remarks from a fervent wish that the polished, the amiable, the sensible, and the pious of our valued countrywomen should enter into this grand question with minds, not only roused by the native sympathies of their character, but armed by solid

judgment, against futile objections, as well as against the more powerful, though not less groundless, species of opposition.

Females of England!—You, who are the favored inheritors of a country irradiated by the purest beams of heavenly truth; blest by freedom so extensive, so perfect, that feeling no fetter, we forget that we are free; and so refined by cultivation, that comforts, gratifications, luxuries, fall in showers around you,—come forth, and engage in the defence of a large class of your fellow-creatures, and of innumerable beings yet unborn, who, sunk in heathen ignorance, are doomed to the bitterest bondage, condemned to interminable labour; and shut out for ever from all the tender charities and comforts of life. You are engaging in no enterprize of extravagant purpose, or of doubtful utility; but in the sober cause of truth, justice, and benevolence. Come forth, then, under the guidance of the three Evangelical Graces, *Faith, Hope, and Charity*! By *Faith*, we do not mean a blind conviction, but a rational belief, grounded on these incontrovertible premises,—that it is and must be the will of the supreme Creator that all his creatures should enjoy those rights, for the possession of which he has equally granted an inclusive charter to all mankind;—that to oppress and injure our fellow-creatures must be contrary to his will—to help and save them agreeable to it;—that to do his will, is our paramount duty on earth;—that the first, the last, the dying command of our Divine Redeemer to his disciples, was universal love towards all men. In full assurance of this FAITH, founded on the rock of divine authority, and with HOPE, anchored on the same immutable basis, in every difficulty that may seem to impede the work, you may firmly “say to this mountain, be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, and it shall be done.” And, when “tongues shall cease, and knowledge vanish away,” that grace, which “never faileth,” and which “beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things”—Charity, “the bond of perfectness” shall finally unite the rescued race of Negroes to those who have been made the favoured instruments of their salvation, in the everlasting kingdom of their common Saviour.

## POETRY OF GEORGE HERBERT.

THAT so few of the poetical race have attained the immortality of standard fame, may be attributed, perhaps, not to deficiency of genius but to want of judgment; that nice criterion which leads to the careful selection of their thoughts, and to the laborious polishing of their style. We do not mean to say that the utmost exertion of this faculty would have produced more Homers, Miltons, and Shakespears, but it would certainly have enlarged that space in the Temple of Fame now occupied by Pope, Thomson, Gray, &c. The poet's ideas, like light troops of fairies, are so nimble, excursive, and averse to control, that it is no easy task to confine them within the limits of correct taste. We lament the more this deficiency in our modern poets, who give to the world all their thoughts as they first arise, all the furniture of their heads *unselected*, all the *moods of their own minds*;—when we observe how it has impeded the popularity of former bards, and occasioned the world to lose many a real poetical gem, because it is entombed in a heap of quaint phraseology and uncorrected style. But for this, a poet of the seventeenth century, the admirable Christian, George Herbert, would have now taken his place with the standard bards. Among his Poems entitled “The Temple, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations, 1667,” there are scattered some passages too valuable to be lost; witness the following little Poem, of which we have only ventured to change a few quaint and low words in the two last stanzas:—

## VIRTUE.

Sweet day!—so cool, so calm, so bright,  
 The bridal of the earth and sky;  
 The dew shall weep thy fall to night;  
     For thou must die!—

Sweet rose!—whose hue, angry and brave,  
 Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye:  
 Thy root is ever in its grave,  
     And thou must die!—



Gay Spring !—so full of sweets and bloom,  
 A casket stored with ev'ry joy ;  
 Thy evening music tolls thy doom ;  
     For thou must die !—

VIRTUE alone, unfading flow'r !  
 Whose root nor time nor death can sever,  
 Though final flames all else devour,  
     Shall live for ever !

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We cannot forbear adding another gem, enriched not with the brilliancy of poetry, but with the higher intrinsic price of moral feeling. The spirit it inculcates, is strongly opposed to that sliding, temporizing sentiment which often hides itself under the mask of honour and honesty. The honesty depicted by Herbert is the honesty of the Christian.

#### CONSTANCY.

Who is the honest man ?  
 He that doth still and strongly good pursue,  
 To God, his neighbour and himself most true :  
     Whom neither force nor fawning can  
 Unpin or wrench from giving all their due.

Whose honesty is not  
 So loose or easy that a ruffling wind  
 Can blow away, or, glittering, look it blind :  
     Who rides his sure and easy trot,  
 While the world now rides by, now lags behind.

Who, when great trials come,  
 Nor seeks, nor shuns them ; but doth calmly stay,  
 Till he the thing and the example weigh ;  
     All being brought into a sum,  
 What place or person calls for, he doth pay.

Whom none can work or woo  
 To use in any thing, a trick or sleight ;  
 For, above all things, he abhors deceit :  
     His words and works and fashion too  
 All of a piece, and all are clear and straight.

Who never melts or thaws  
 At close temptations : when the day is done,  
 His goodness sets not, but in dark can run :  
     The sun to others writeth laws,  
 And is *their* virtue ; virtue is *his* sun.

Who, when he is to treat  
 With sick folks, women, those whom passions sway,  
 Allows for that and keeps his constant way :  
     Whom others faults do not defeat ;  
 But though men fail him, yet his part doth play.

Whom nothing can procure,  
 When the wide world runs bias, from his will  
 To writhe his limbs, and share, not mend the ill.  
     This is the Mark-man, safe and sure,  
 Who still is right, and prays to be so still.



### TO A FRIEND ON HER RETURN FROM THE SEA SHORE.

THEY who have mark'd the blooming rose,  
 From some lov'd features daily fade,  
 And spite of tenderness disclose,  
     Each morning but a fainter shade,  
     Until the anxious eye might view,  
     Alone the lily's sickly hue,  
 Yes, they have felt as we for you.

But oh ! how few the joy have known,  
 To see again the roses blown :  
 To find their very hopes out-done,  
 And all their fears relieved or gone.  
 Such joy is ours, for gracious heaven,  
 Returning health to thee has given ;  
 And we thy friends will gladly give  
 The praise to Him who bade thee live.

How fruitless all thy parents' care !  
 How vain to breathe the ocean air !  
 If He who rules the earth and seas,  
 Nor bless'd the care, nor wing'd the breeze.  
 'Tis the Physician heavenly true,  
 Whose balms have done so much for you.

Sweet friend ! oh ! may thy lengthened days,  
Be all devoted to His praise :  
May every hour in mercy given,  
But fit thee more for Him and heaven !

E. H.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF JOSEPH.

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In almost every point of view in which we can behold the character of Joseph, whether as a son or a brother, as a servant or a ruler, there is something to interest our feelings and attract our admiration.—Independently too of himself, there is much in the history of this Patriarch, whose life was a series of vicissitudes, to improve the attentive reader; and those who, unmoved or unimpressed, can peruse his biography as recorded in the word of God, have attained no very enviable state of stoicism.—Little of Joseph is recorded previously to his Egyptian servitude, but enough to warn the partial parent that he ensures to the object of his preference the envy, if not the hatred, of the rest of his family. From the moment however that Joseph's coat of many colours was exchanged for the habit of a slave, the sacred narrative is so beautifully simple, yet so inimitably pathetic, that it ensures unbounded attention and sympathy.

It might have been reasonably expected that this child of a parent's fondest affection would have been utterly unable to support a state of servitude, and would, in the ungenial society of an idolatrous household, have drooped like the beautiful and tender exotic. But it is not in the power of circumstances long to depress those whose trust is in the God of Israel.

No doubt he keenly felt the separation from his father and Benjamin; but he was not, alien as he seemed, entirely destitute:—he had another parent, whose presence and support made every place a haven of peace.—This friend was his God, who, under every vicissitude, inspired his heart with virtue and content, alike in the house of Potiphar, in an Egyptian dungeon and in the palace of Pharaoh. In



each of these situations we find him distinguished by the same undeviating rectitude and exemplary prudence. This profound genius, accompanied as it was by intuitive and almost unerring policy, by sound judgment, and a calm and temperate mind, fitted him for every circumstance through which Providence conducted him; until in the proud station of second person in the kingdom of Egypt, he was made the honoured instrument of preserving, in the persons of his own family, the lives of God's chosen people, the root from which the Messiah sprang.

His affection to his aged father and to Benjamin, and his free, generous forgiveness of the wrongs received from his brethren, prove the tenderness of his soul, and his greatness of mind is strongly illustrated by the unbounded influence which, till the day of his death, he preserved over the Egyptians. Prosperity, though it often gives birth but to vice, seems only to have increased the virtues of Joseph; and he is undoubtedly one of the wisest and best of men on record.

E. H.

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### FOR THE HUMMING BIRD.

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I hope it is not necessary to apologize for dwelling a little longer on the resolutions of Mr. John Shipman and his fellows, (whoever they may be,) for they are very rich in information, direct or by implication, respecting the present character and effects of West-Indian slavery. Nothing ought to be indifferent to us which concerns so intimately the large and suffering negro population which is under British jurisdiction; and so long as statements are daily reaching us, which make the heart quiver while we read them, we must not lose sight of the subject, or permit our interest in it to relax. It is an obvious resource for indolence and apathy to say, that the statements about slavery are vastly exaggerated, and that all will go on very well if we will but leave the Colonial Legislatures to prosecute their benevolent plans of reform without foreign interference. But I deny that these statements have been in general exaggerated, and appeal in confirmation of them to the valuable

publication of Mr. Bickell;\* I appeal also to the memorable document of Mr. Shipman, to all that he and his brother Missionary, or Missionaries (if indeed there were more than one) have said, and to *all that they have not said*. It is time, too, I should think, to distrust the intentions of the Colonial Legislatures, after the reception they have given to Lord Bathurst's message, and the spirit which it is evident, from the declaration of the Wesleyan Missionaries at Jamaica, pervades that class of men of whom the Colonial Legislatures are composed.

If we wish to learn the *baneful influence of slavery*, we must not confine our attention to the branded shoulders and lacerated backs of the slaves, but should inquire also into its moral influence on the minds of those who are not themselves in personal bondage. I say *personal* bondage, for real freedom—independence and elasticity of soul—is rarely found among those who form part of a system of slavery. Homer's observation taught him that "The day that makes a man a slave takes half his worth away," and our own immortal poet has remarked that "It has been so ordered by nature, that they who invade the liberty of other people, do, in the first instance, sacrifice their own."† When once slavery is admitted into a state, a spirit of despotism, on the one hand, and of timid submission on the other, pervade all ranks of society, and it becomes dangerous to speak the truth. Hence the abuse of English Abolitionists, and the eulogy of persecuting Planters which these Missionaries have had the courage to publish. Hence, too, the libellous apology which is made for those Colonists who have spoken harshly of Missionaries: "that they have had much provocation from the Anti-Colonial Party: that this party has most absurdly blended religion with politics—as if the laws of the King of kings had any connection with human institutions: that they have unjustly interfered with other men's properties; hypocritically assumed the profession of Christian philanthropy; and, whilst claiming to be disciples of the Prince of Peace, done every thing to spread dissension and anarchy; that, in short, their plans are utterly destitute of honesty and justice, and not only without

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\* "West Indies as they are."

† Sic a naturâ comparatum est, ut qui aliorum libertatem occupat, suam ipse primus omnium amittet.

sanction from moral principles, but altogether repugnant to the whole Christian code." Really, when one considers of whom that Anti-Colonial Party (as it is most unfairly called) is composed, the astonishment and grief with which one reads such sentiments from Christian Missionaries, is only equalled by the abhorrence which we feel for a system which could have so perverted their minds. I am not now arguing the abstract question of slavery, but merely wish to shew what is its moral influence on those who fall within the reach of its contagion; and this, if I mistake not, is abundantly illustrated by the foregoing quotations.

In the fifth resolution we have some courteous expressions of gratitude to the magistrates of Jamaica for their general good will, and for not having more frequently opposed the spread of morality and religion among the slaves. Were we to judge only from the document before us, we should imagine that the negroes were rapidly advancing towards civilization and the attainment of Christian knowledge; and we might perhaps be induced, in our ignorance, to expect that the time was near at hand when the planters would declare that their slaves were prepared to enjoy the blessings of liberty. But then we are told that they are of so "brutish a nature," that such an event is very distant, if it be not altogether hopeless; and that their moral culture must, in the mean time, be entrusted to *watchful* planters and *judicious* pastors. Thus the question is argued in a circle: The negroes are slaves, and therefore it is not wise to instruct them; they are ignorant, and therefore it would be madness to make them free; and thus the question will be argued so long as England leaves the business in the hands of the Colonists. Slavery has in itself an evil principle of self-preservation, and we must strike at the root at once; some efficient measure must immediately be adopted, or we shall find two heads issuing from the monstrous carcase for every one we may have succeeded in cutting off.

I cannot conclude my observations upon what has been said by these Missionaries, without just noticing what has been left unsaid by them. You will look in vain through this wordy document of theirs for any specific account of the opportunities for religious instruction, which are actually provided for the slaves: nor is there any attempt at a



reply to the *calumnies* which have been spread abroad respecting the cruel treatment which they experience. These were topics which refused to be "handled decently," and therefore they were, with much judgment, passed over in silence.

I am sorry that you should have occasion to complain of want of assistance in the good work which you have undertaken, and can only repeat the assurance that any little efforts which may be in my power, shall be much at the disposal of those to whom I am so nearly allied. This is not a time at which any exertions, however feeble, can be spared; and when we see the man who first introduced the great subject of slavery into the British Parliament, permitted to retire from his seat in that assembly, without a farewell salutation, we have some reason to tremble for the cause which is so near his heart, not perhaps so much on account of the timidity or weakness of its friends, as the malevolence, activity and power, which are enlisted against it. But though the Senators of England may have declined to present their "mature honours" to the friend of Africa, until a thicker veil has hid him from our sight; yet his name shall be pronounced with gratitude and admiration by men of distant climes, and darker complexion; and in after ages, when the advocates of slavery are lost in the thick darkness of oblivion, the name of Wilberforce shall occupy a distinguished place among those who have done good service to God and to their fellow-men.

I dare not pursue the train of thought to which this topic would lead me, least I should weary the patience of your readers, and do injustice to such a theme, but beg to subscribe myself,

Your very faithful friend and relative,

ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

## MISSIONARY HYMN.

*BY THE LATE REV. JOHN MARRIOTT.*

THOU, whose Almighty word,  
 Chaos and darkness heard,  
     And took their flight,  
 Hear us, we humbly pray !  
 And where the Gospel Day  
 Sheds not its glorious ray,  
     “ Let there be light !”

Thou, who did'st come to bring,  
 On thy redeeming wing,  
     Healing and sight ;  
 Health to the sick in mind,  
 Sight to the inly blind,  
 O ! now to all mankind  
     “ Let there be light !”

Spirit of truth and love,  
 Life-giving, holy, Dove,  
     Speed forth thy flight !  
 Move o'er the water's face,  
 Bearing the lamp of Grace,  
 And in earth's darkest place,  
     “ Let there be light !”

O blessed, and holy,  
 And glorious Trinity—  
     Wisdom, Love, Might,  
 Boundless as ocean's tide,  
 Rolling in fullest pride,  
 Thro' the world far and wide,  
     “ Let there be light !”



## TO THE EDITOR OF THE HUMMING BIRD.

MR. EDITOR,—Observing on the cover of the *Christian Guardian* for the present month, the advertisement respect-

ing your publication, I forthwith ordered it from my bookseller: I have just looked over your little Numbers, and beg leave to congratulate you most sincerely upon their design. You appear to be serving the good cause zealously; I trust your efforts will ultimately be crowned with success; and I am sure that will be a reward more gratifying to your feelings than any applause, however well deserved, your literary merits might draw forth from the critic. Your publication seems to be so ably supported, that I should not, in any manner, have presumed to offer my humble services, did not your announcement on the wrapper appear to hold forth an invitation to correspondents. I very deferentially send for your perusal some lines on the Rapids of St. Lawrence; they will certainly not be found in any respect to answer to your beautiful definition of "*Poetry*;" they merely pretend to be a literal account of the dangerous navigation of the Rapids, as described in Duncan's Travels. I should be happy to correspond with the Editor of the Humming Birds, if he think my occasional contributions likely to be in any way acceptable.

H. P.

*Bedford, April 6th, 1825.*

### THE RAPIDS OF ST. LAWRENCE.

The setting sun was seen with slanting beam  
 To tinge St. Lawrence with a reddening gleam,  
 As o'er the wave the weary god bent down,  
 And cast the shadow of his radiant crown;  
 When, all too late, a bark went hurrying by,  
 And wistfully her men gaze on the sky,  
 For they must pass the Rapids, and the night  
 E'en now is trampling at the gates of light.  
 And with them from the olden world, a son  
 Of bleak, but well-beloved Caledon  
 Was leagued in danger, anxious to explore  
 A track that fancy oft had feigned on shore,  
 That to fond friends hereafter he might tell,  
 (A traveller's joy!) of toils surmounted well,  
 When round the blazing hearth they bend to hear,  
 The tale of one by absence made more dear.

The bark seemed motionless, as if it lay  
 At anchor in some well-defended bay;



But on the coast the tall pines whirling by  
 In quick succession meet the stranger's eye,  
 And then he knows some unseen power impels  
 His vessel onwards ;—the loud tempest swells  
 At distance in fierce anger ;—and its roar  
 Peals like the thunders of a hostile shore,  
 Whose ceaseless batteries never tasting sleep,  
 Stern watch and ward against invaders keep.  
 Each second past they see the white foam clearer,  
 And hear the rush of warring waters nearer ;—  
 And now the spray has reached them, and its wreath  
 Is on their brow,—high heaves the wave beneath ;  
 The restless vessel reels from side to side,  
 And struggles hard to stem the frantic tide ;—  
 Now is its broadside almost landed,—now  
 Down the mad precipice is dashed the prow ;  
 High beats each heart till almost heard to rock,  
 As, breathlessly, they wait the coming shock.—  
 Soon for the stern encounter they prepare,  
 As not unconscious of the risks they dare ;  
 The sails are lowered,—the gaff\* secured,—on high  
 The steersman takes his stand with watchful eye ;  
 Two at each oar, at the expected word,  
 Prepare to strike, but not a hand is stirr'd.—

And now they near the awful precincts, where  
 The untamed wave has scooped itself a lair,  
 Deep in the solid rock, wide boiling o'er  
 From out the caverned sides with deafening roar.—  
 Conflicting streams rage high ; no pause they know,  
 For still the watery squadrons with the glow  
 Of a first onset, charge,—though on their head  
 Time has its leaden weight of ages shed.  
 Kingdoms have risen, flourished and decayed,  
 Since first La Chine poured down its fierce cascade ;  
 And other dynasties may rise, and sway  
 O'er unborn realms, whilst on it speeds its way :  
 The firm earth yields to man, but the vast main  
 Scoffs at his power, a rebel to his reign !  
 Sole of creation's works that rests sublime,  
 Unchanged by art, and unimpaired by time !

But lo ! the breakers' foaming crests are nigh,  
 And now the fragile bark is tossed on high ;  
 " Stretch to your oars !" the quick impatient cry,

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\* A harpoon or hook to steady the boat.

Low bent each rower as the steersman spoke ;—  
 His all of hope hangs trembling on the stroke ;  
 Whelmed in the deep abyss he pulled away,  
 Then victor rose from the tremendous fray !  
 One peril past :—no breathing space is given,  
 On to the eddy's verge the bark is driven,  
 Then thundered forth the steersman's voice again,  
 " Stretch to your oars, and 'quit yourselves like men !"   
 And they did ply their task as those can do,  
 (And only those,) who for LIFE struggle through ;—  
 One effort more !—the weary work is done,  
 The pathway o'er the liquid rocks is won !  
 Smoothly they glide beneath the rising moon,  
 Like gondola through Venice' calm Lagune.  
 The momentary danger, present—gone—  
 Flits, like a dream, when morning light draws on ;  
 As safe in distance borne, they dash the spray  
 Of the wild wave from their drenched limbs away.  
 The boat-men, long familiar with the scene,  
 Calm the bent brow, resume the wonted mien ;  
 In listless mood recline upon the oar,  
 And carelessly survey the well-known shore.  
 Not so the stranger,—'twas the first time he  
 Had faced St. Lawrence' fearful battery,  
 And seen her treasure-house of armoury, where  
 The raging waves their icy bolts prepare.  
 High throbbed his heart with ev'ry grateful feeling,  
 As the big tear down his pale cheek was stealing ;  
 When now, an oar's length from the strand, he cast  
 A Christian's eye upon the perils past.  
 And as he trod the beach, in silence paid  
 His debt of homage for preserving aid.



## ACCOUNT OF THE LATE M. PEYRANI,

*The Moderator of the Vaudois.*

Every one who values the inestimable blessing of  
 Protestantism, must regard with peculiar veneration, gra-  
 titude and sympathy, that antient and suffering church,  
 which may be styled the parent of all the Protestant churches  
 —viz. the Vaudois, or Vallenses, so called from its situation  
 in the vallies of Piedmont. That these Christians did not  
 derive their name from Peter Waldo, the opulent merchant

of Lyons,\* who, in the 13th century, made so noble a resistance to the errors of Popery, is evident from their having existed long before his time, though the Romanists improved the name, easily changed from *Vallenses*, to *Waldenses*, into an argument against their antiquity. An account of the late exemplary moderator of this church, abridged from the Rev. S. W. Gilly's "Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piemont," may be acceptable to our readers.

—The village of Pomaretto discovered itself, and seen, as it was, in its wintry aspect, never did a more dreary spot burst upon the view. It is built upon a declivity, just where the mountains begin to rise, with rocks above and torrents below. There is such a scene of savage disorder in its immediate vicinity, that one would imagine the mountains must have been rent asunder to produce so much nakedness and desolation. The street which we slowly ascended was narrow and dirty; the houses, or rather cabins, small and inconvenient; and poverty, in the strictest sense of the word, stared us in the face at every step we took. In vain did we cast our eyes about, in search of some better looking corner, in which we might descry an habitation fit for the reception of the supreme pastor of the churches of the *Waldenses*. At length we stood before the *presbytery* of M. Peyrani, for by this name the dwellings of the ministers are known; but in external appearance, how inferior to the most indifferent parsonages in England, or to the humblest manse in Scotland! Neither garden nor bower enlivened its appearance, and scarcely did it differ in construction or dimension from the humble cottages by which it was surrounded. The interior was not much better calculated to give us an idea of the *otium cum dignitate*, which usually appertains to the condition of dignitaries in the church; and had we not known it before, we should soon have discovered that additional labour only, distinguishes the appointment of moderator of the Vaudois. We were received at the door by a mild, sensible and modest-looking young man, dressed in faded black, to whom we communicated our wish of being introduced to M. Peyrani. He replied, that his father was very unwell, but would be happy to see any English gentleman, who did him the honor of a visit. We

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\* See Milner's Church History, vol. 3, p. 474.



were conducted up a narrow stair-case, through a very small bed-room, whose size was still further contracted by several book-cases. This led into another bed-room, more amply provided still with shelves and books. The apartment was about fourteen feet square, low, and without any decoration of paint or paper hanging. It was thick with dust, and the only attention to those *munditiæ vitæ*, to which we were in the habit of looking, were the sheets of the bed, than which nothing could be cleaner. At a small fire, where the fuel was supplied in too scanty a portion to impart warmth to the room, and by the side of a table covered with books, parchments and manuscripts, sat a slender, feeble-looking old man, whose whole frame was bowed down by infirmity. A night-cap was on his head, his dress consisted of a very shabby, time-worn, blacksuit, and white worsted stockings, so darned and patched, that it is difficult to say whether any portion of the original hose remained. Over his shoulder was thrown what had once been a cloak, but was now a shred only, and more like the remains of a horse-cloth than part of a clerical dress. This cloak, in the animation of his discourse, frequently fell from his shoulders, and was replaced by his son with a degree of filial tenderness and attention extremely prepossessing.

The sickly looking sufferer, in this humble costume, in this garb of indigence, was the Moderator of the Vaudois; the successor of a line of prelates, whom tradition would extend to the Apostles themselves; the High Priest of a church, which is beyond all shadow of doubt, the parent church of every Protestant community in Europe, and which centuries of persecution have not been able to destroy. It is indeed a vine, which has "stretched her branches to the sea and her boughs to the river;" but while her branches are flourishing, "the wild boar out of the wood doth root up the stem, and the wild beasts of the field devour it." And unless the same Providence which first planted this vine, and made room for it, shall turn again, and look down from heaven, and visit it, it must, it is feared, perish; for nothing short of the divine succours can enable men to bear up against the poverty, humiliations, and deprivations, to which most of the Vaudois clergy are exposed to this hour.

M. Peyrani was upwards of seventy-one years of age at the time we saw him; the whole of his income did not ex-

ceed 1000 francs, or about forty pounds a year, and with this pittance he had been obliged to meet the demands of a family, the calls of charity, the incidental expences of his situation as Moderator, and the additional wants of age, sickness, and infirmity.

The welcome which we received from our venerable host, was expressed with all the warmth and sincerity of one, whose kindly feelings had not yet been chilled by years or sufferings: and the manner in which it was delivered, displayed a knowledge of the world and a fine tact of good breeding, which are not looked for in Alpine solitudes, or in the dusty study of a recluse. We were predisposed to respect his virtues and piety, and had been given to understand that he was a man of the first literary acquirements; but we did not expect to find the tone and manners of one, whose brows would do honour to the mitre of any diocese in Europe: nor did we know that he, who was now drooping in a state of the veriest penury, had been, during the French domination, one of the twenty-five members of the provisional government of Piemont. Such a reverse could never have been discovered from his complaints, for there was nothing of querulousness in his observations, nor did he once express himself with the least degree of bitterness upon the subject of his own wrongs or those of his community.

Our conversation was held generally in French; sometimes we addressed him in English, which he understood, but did not speak: but when I engrossed his discourse to myself we spoke in Latin, as being the language in which we could not mistake each other. Nothing could be more choice and classical than his selection of words, and I was not more surprised by his fluency of diction, than by the extraordinary felicity with which he applied whole sentences from ancient poets, and even prose authors, to convey his sentiments. One or two of these I remember. In reply to an observation made by me, "that if the state of the Vaudois church were sufficiently known, the English government might probably be induced to restore the pensions which were formerly given to the clergy, and withheld since the year 1797, he clasped his hands together, and thus expressed his hope that he might live long enough to see it:

"*Oh mihi tam longæ maneat pars vitæ spiritus.*"

M. Peyrani spoke with so much rapidity and his thoughts followed each other in such quick succession, that he never suffered himself to be at a loss for words. If the Latin term did not immediately occur to him, he made no pause, but instantly supplied its place by a French or Italian phrase. This animation of manner had such an effect upon his whole frame, that very soon after we began to converse with him, the wrinkles seemed to fall from his brow, a hectic colour succeeded to the pallidness of his countenance, and the feeble and stooping figure which first stood before us, elevated itself by degrees, and acquired new strength and energy. In fact, while he was favoring me with a short history of himself, I might have forgotten that he had exceeded the usual limits of man's short span; and I must repeat, that is impossible to admire sufficiently the Christian character of the individual, or of the church which he represented, when I recollect the meek resignation with which he submitted to his hard fate, and the forbearance he exhibited, whenever his remarks led him to talk of the vexatious and oppressive proceedings which have never ceased to mark the line of conduct pursued by the Sardinian government, in regard to the churches of the Waldenses.

M. Peyrani's book-shelves were loaded with more than they could well bear; and when I noticed the number of the volumes which lay scattered about the room, or were disposed in order, wherever a place could be found for them, he told me, that if he were now in possession of all that once were his, the whole of his own and the adjoining house would be insufficient to contain them. He said he had bought a great many himself, but the principal portion of his library was the accumulation of his father and grandfather, and of more distant ancestors; and he expressed much regret that he could no longer display the folios and curious old manuscripts that had been handed down to him. I asked what had become of them. "They have been sold," he replied, with considerable emotion; for he had been compelled to part with them from time to time, to purchase clothes, and even food, for himself and family.

Upon my enquiring whether there had not been, formerly, bishops in the Vaudois church, properly so called, he answered, "Yes, and I should now be styled



bishop, for my office is virtually episcopal; but it would be absurd to retain the empty title, when we are too poor to support the dignity." He immediately afterwards declared, that he did not desire a large income, and would not wish for more than 3000 francs a year; but that in the best times which he had enjoyed, his means were inadequate to his situation; and that among other contingent expences, his correspondence with foreign protestants was a heavy tax upon his purse.

I must not omit to notice the evident satisfaction M. Peyrani felt in explaining how closely the doctrines of the Vaudois church assimilated to those of the church of England. He pointed to the works of Tillotson, Barrow and Taylor, which still enriched his bookcase, and declared that every time he read them, he was more and more gratified by the light which these English divines had thrown upon truths, for their adherence to which his poor brethren had been so often obliged to conceal themselves in their mountain fastnesses. "But remember," said the old man, with conscious and becoming pride, "Remember, that you are indebted to us for your emancipation from papal thralldom. We led the way, we stood in the front rank, and against us the first thunderbolts of Rome were fulminated. The baying of the blood-hounds of the Inquisition was heard in our valleys before you knew its name. They hunted down some of our ancestors, and pursued others from glen to glen, and over rock and mountain, till they obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries. A few of these wanderers penetrated as far as Provence and Languedoc, and from them were derived the Albigenses, or heretics of Albi. The province of Guienne afforded shelter to the persecuted Albigenses. Guienne was then in your possession. From an English province our doctrines found their way into England itself, and your Wickliffe preached nothing more than what had been advanced by the ministers of our valleys, four hundred years before his time. Whence," continued my aged informant, with increased animation, "came your term *Lollards*, but from a Waldensian pastor, Walter Lollard, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century?"

Upon a question as to the learning and acquirements of

the Vaudois clergy, M. Peyrani lamented that, not being able to finish their education at home, the youth who were intended for holy orders were obliged to submit to the inconvenience and expence of going to the college of Lausanne, in Switzerland, but he said that they returned in general well stored with scholastic and useful information. His own son, he said, would go there shortly, if he could raise the funds necessary to support the charges of so distant a journey.

It was with extreme regret we witnessed the approach of the hour which told us we must take leave of the venerable Peyrani. The good-humour, cheerfulness, and resignation of the old man, his perfect recollection of events and conversations which took place years ago, his profound erudition and general information, lent a deep and peculiar interest to his discourse. The little window of the room opened upon the wild mountain scenery of Pomaretto, the roar of the distant torrents was heard through the casement, and the impression of the whole scene was much greater from the contrast between the elevated character of the noble old man, and the circumstances in which he was placed. Poverty within and desolation without, formed a dark and striking back-ground to the portrait of the philosophic minister, whose lips teemed with eloquence, and whose mind was stored with all the riches of the most intellectual society.

Before we parted, I looked several times earnestly round the room, that I might carry away with me every possible recollection of the chamber in which Rodolphe Peyrani was likely to finish his days: the ordinary furniture, and the prints which hung upon the walls, were all objects of interest.

As M. Peyrani followed us feebly down stairs, he showed us the door of an apartment which had never been opened, he told us, since the day on which his brother had been carried out of it to be consigned to the grave. I asked what brother, and the answer gave me a momentary shock. It was Ferdinand Peyrani, the pastor of Pramol. It was like hearing the knell of a dear friend. Ferdinand Peyrani was the first person who interested me in the history of the Vau-

dois : it was his letter, addressed to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which directed my attention to them, and occasioned this excursion to their Alpine retreats. He was one of those pastors to whom I felt so anxious to be introduced, and this was the first news of his being no more. His death was hastened by the scurvy, a disorder increased by poverty and want.

At the door of his humble presbytery the aged Moderator wrung our hands, and said farewell with every symptom of regret at parting. I think it is Johnson who says, "that we can rarely see any man, and part with him under the belief that we are never to meet again, without some emotion." I am sure nobody could take leave as we did, of M. Peyrani, with the certainty of seeing him no more, without being deeply affected. His son accompanied us to the edge of the torrent, and there we said adieu to him.

Such was our visit to the successor of the bishops of the purest church in Italy, whose necessities were such that we felt bound, by a sacred sense of duty, to run the hazard of wounding those feelings of pride, which every man of sensibility must retain, even amid the most urgent poverty, by pressing upon his acceptance a heart-offering for the purchase of a few of those comforts, which his age and infirmities required. I have had many struggles, before I could make up my mind as to the propriety of stating this circumstance, and nothing could have induced me to do it, but the persuasion that it will put the case in the strongest light, and shew at once the deplorable situation to which many of these excellent pastors are reduced. We could not have presumed to proffer, nor would the venerable Moderator have condescended to accept, the assistance of private individuals like ourselves, if it had not been a very timely succour : and certainly the circumstance never could have appeared in print, but with the object of drawing attention to the wants of a people who have been too much overlooked by those who have the means of aiding them.

Who knows but, that as the flood of time rolls on, some successor of the primate of England may be reduced to the same condition ; that the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury may no longer be filled by a mitred prelate, that the func-



tions and arduous duties may outlive the well appointed dignity of the sacred office, and that some humble pastor, like Rodolphe Peyrani, with the empty title of bishop, may be obliged to the compassion of strangers for temporary relief. I am only imagining a fatal recurrence of what may happen again. The visible and episcopal Church of England was once dwindled down to a few faithful adherents of Charles the Second, who formed his little court, and more than shared his need. May Heaven avert a second such blow, and may the honoured members of the English hierarchy continue to exert themselves, as they have hitherto done, to preserve the remnant of a church, from which their own pure Establishment derives most of its doctrines!

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Reader, the sufferings of Rodolphe Peyrani are at an end! He died about three months after our interview with him. His spirit could no longer bear up against a complication of maladies and sorrows; and now, all that I remember of him is literally like a dream that is past, or a tale that is told. His death was communicated to me in a letter from one of my Vaudois friends, M. Bert, the pastor of La Torre. Its simple eulogy does honour both to the writer, and to him of whom it was written.

“ Dans la supposition que vous n’avez par entretenir de relation avec d’autres personnes de ce pays, c’est à moi un triste devoir de vous annoncer que nous avons perdu M. Peyrani, Modérateur, depuis le fin d’Avril : C’est dans son gense une perte irréparable.”

“ Under the supposition that you have no intercourse with other persons in this country, it becomes my melancholy duty to inform you that we lost M. Peyrani, the Moderator, about the end of April. This, of its kind, is an irreparable loss.”

The father is happily gone to his rest, but it is painful to speak of his son, of that excellent young man whom we were all so disposed to esteem. He is now studying, preparatory to taking orders, at Lausanne, and existing upon a pittance which is not enough for the necessaries of life. I heard of him lately. He was invited to the house of an

English family, but his garb was so indifferent that he could not accept the invitation until a fellow-student had the kindness to lend him his clothes for the day !

An anecdote in illustration of the talents of the Moderator Peyrani, of his useful application of them, and the obscurity in which they were buried, must conclude my melancholy narrative.

*Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res augusta domi.*

A few years ago, a catholic curé of Geneva wrote a pamphlet in defence of the adoration of saints. It was much admired, had great sale, and was thought by the friends of the curé to be unanswerable. The Protestants of Geneva were burning to see a reply to this able tract, but none appeared, to the disappointment and mortification of every good Lutheran and Calvinist. Just at the crisis of its popularity, Mr. Lowther, the author of "Brief Observations on the present state of the Waldenses," happened to be on his visit to the Valleys, and in an interview with M. Peyrani, expressed his regret that no answer had been made to this redoubtable pamphlet. The Moderator drew some papers from his desk, and showed Mr. Lowther that he himself had drawn up a reply.

"But why have you not published it?" was asked.

"Because I have not the means. I cannot print it at my own expence, and I know of nobody who will undertake it."

Mr. Lowther begged, and obtained consent to take charge of the MS, and send it to the press.

It was printed, had a rapid run, and was so admirably well written, was so convincing, so keen and cutting, that the Catholic Polemic bought up all the remaining unsold pamphlets of his own out of shame.

"Lettre de Ferrari à M. Cellerier," was the title of the first pamphlet, and "Réponse à la Lettre de M. Ferrari, Curé du Grand Saccone, par un Protestant," was the title of the second.

LINEs

*Occasioned by reading the three first numbers of the Humming Bird.*

Oh ! might one spark of that celestial fire  
Which kindled Cowper's soul, my breast inspire !  
Would I could learn the magic of his art,  
To reason clearly, yet to touch the heart !  
Yes ! for the sake of the poor suff'ring slave,  
I covet talents I shall never have ;  
And my heart yearns an active part to take,  
With those who seek the negro's chain to break.

Britain ! I love thee, free and happy isle,  
How brilliant art thou in thy Maker's smile !  
Land of my sires ! sweet home of infancy !  
Land, where I hope my humble grave will be !  
Dear native land ! impatiently I bear,  
That thou the brand of infamy should'st wear ;  
That whilst thy sons are free as ocean's waves,  
Thou hast in bonds *eight hundred thousand slaves* !

I count it little that my country's name,  
Has reached the highest pinnacle of fame.  
My pride is not that we with wealth are crown'd,  
Our richest blessing is the Gospel's sound.  
And shall we name the name of Christ our Lord,  
While we despise the precepts of his word ?  
Dare we to say we give to God our heart,  
Yet act a heathen's, an Egyptian's part ?

Ye inconsistent partisans of state,  
Whose boast is liberty, emancipate !  
Emancipate the negro from your yoke,  
Nor longer dare Jehovah to provoke.  
Here, if the veriest straw or feather lay  
In Freedom's path, ye'd thrust it far away !  
There, in rich colonies we call our own,  
Our fellow-subjects in vile bondage groan !

In those plantations the degraded slave  
Is born in sorrow—sorrows to the grave.  
There wounded spirits sigh the hours away,  
And hearts are broken—for they cannot pray :  
There 'midst the sugar cane and coffee tree,  
Are sights and sounds of deepest misery !  
Well might the prophet publish in our street,  
“Sweet ye make bitter—bitter ye make sweet.”



There men and women are like cattle driven—  
 There ev'ry tie of tenderness is riven—  
 There 'neath the lashing whip and galling chain,  
 The injur'd negro toils and sweats in vain.  
 If, on a life so wretched hope should smile,  
 If wife or children should his woes beguile,  
 If in his cot at morn these comforts shone,  
 'The evening comes, and wife and child are gone!

My fellow-Christians! say, could ye behold  
 Those scenes whose horrors cannot half be told?  
 Whene'er ye taste West-Indian luxuries,  
 Think on the wretch who bleeds for them and dies.  
 Think on the years and ages that have fled,  
 Since Afric's sons were first in bondage led;  
 And know, that till ye break the injurious chain,  
 The blackest guilt on Britain will remain!

Talk not of justice to the tyrant band,  
 Who buy and sell with sacrilegious hand.  
 Shall Christians' gold become the tyrant's meed,  
 The prize bestow'd for many a cruel deed?  
 Shame on thee, Britain! angels o'er thee weep!  
 Thy sons the gains of basest plunder reap!  
 Boast of their rights to keep what Satan gave,  
 And hold as slaves whom Jesus died to save.

Oh! where's the spirit Granville Sharp possess'd,  
 Or where the warmth which glow'd in Clarkson's breast?  
 Where Babington's?—where Wilberforce's zeal?  
 Live there not any who like these can feel?  
 None who will labour to remove the rod,  
 And save the negro, while he serves his God?  
 Rouse thee, my country! from thy slumbers wake!  
 Rise, bid thy children the dire bondage break!

A holy zeal should glow in ev'ry breast,—  
 Christians! be firm, your efforts must be bless'd.  
 Jehovah—He who dwells in yonder sky,  
 Beholds your labours with approving eye.  
 To Him, while ev'ry lawful means we try,  
 To Him we look—on Him alone rely.  
 Secure, His blessing will the work attend,  
 And crown our labours with a joyful end.

PAUL FLETCHER.

*Holme Farm, April, 1825.*

THE  
**Humming Bird ;**

No. 8.]

JULY, 1825.

[Vol. I.

ACTUAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIAL SLAVES.

*Continued from No. 3, p. 84.*

LEGAL RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE.

As we do not justly consider and appreciate the blessings of liberty in detail, because they are showering upon us every moment of our lives so constantly, that like the air which blows upon us, their reviving and supporting influence is unperceived ; so though we feel a horror for Slavery in a general sense, we are not sufficiently impressed by its particular hardships. It is our purpose and our business to give a true picture of this dark subject—and we therefore proceed in a faithful account of the actual condition of the West Indian Slaves, resting our facts upon the authority of Mr. Stephen's able and comprehensive work. We form an idea, from the term Slave, of a person under entire subjection to the will of another, but this gives no more an adequate idea of Negro Slavery than a single outline does of the colour and expression of the finished figure. In all other systems of Slavery there has been some little acknowledgement that the Slave was still a human being, though a degraded one; but African Slavery is founded upon the assumption that a Negro is a brute. This is openly asserted in the preamble of an Act of the British Colony of Bermuda, passed in the year 1730, (see Privy Council Report, part 3, Tit. Bermuda, Appendix,) which Act grants *impunity* to the murderers of Slaves. "Whereas Negroes, Indians, Mulattoes, and other Slaves, &c. &c. are brought to these your Majesty's settlements in America, and consequently purchased by the inhabitants thereof; they being, (*for the brutishness of their nature,*) no otherwise valued or esteemed amongst us than as our goods and chattels, or other personal

estates." Mr. Reeves, also, in the Preface to his Digest of the Colonial Slave Laws annexed to the Privy Council Reports, has clearly distinguished this fundamental principle of all the Colonial Codes. "The leading idea," he remarks, "in the Negro system of jurisprudence, is that which was first in the minds of those most interested in its formation; namely, that Negroes were *property*." A Negro Slave, therefore, has no rational existence, no personality; he is not a *man*, but a *thing*; and upon this principle, with little restriction, the Colonial Laws still rest. The origin of West Indian Slavery had nothing to do with *laws*. The African Negroes were found to be convenient instruments for the cultivation of the produce of the Western Islands; and the men who gained possession of these lands, seized and stole them as a savage would run away with a hatchet which he found in his way!

The British Parliament, though, to our disgrace, it encouraged, recognized, and regulated the commerce in Slaves, never *enacted* that these wretched foreigners, on their arrival in a Colony where *British law and liberty are established*, shall be sold into, and perpetually retained in Slavery, and that the same state shall attach to their offspring, though born under the allegiance of the king of England. Thus did Great Britain withhold her protection from her enslaved subjects, while the Colonial Law-givers recognize the original terrible principle, arising from custom alone, whose single, comprehensive, sweeping idea is, "*the Slave is the absolute property of his master*."—The clear deduction from which is, "*a man may do what he will with his own*." This conclusion, in plain terms, is the argument which has so lamentably perverted many minds, viz. that the abolition of Slavery would be a glaring injustice to the masters; that property is a sacred deposit, and the laws of England ought to guard the possessions of all its subjects; totally forgetting that the Slave has either natural or civil rights, and still proceeding on the premises that he is not a person, not a human being, but a horse or an ass, or a plough or an axe! So true it is, that every argument for the perpetuation of Slavery must, inevitably, however it may be ornamented by eloquence, and drest in a mask of justice, deny the rationality of the Africans, and put their existence as men, completely out of the question. And this is the sentiment of



BRITAIN! of her who places first on the list of all her glorious vantages, the names of heroes, statesmen, poets, orators, senators, who have devoted their high talents, and sacrificed themselves, in the cause of freedom! the meanest of whose sons, if the rod of oppression should touch but a hair of his head, would feel the national spirit on fire within him, and prove, as well as assert, that his liberty and his life were equally dear to him! Yet this same nation quietly pays a million annually, in protecting sugar duties for the support of Slavery; proving, doubtless, that in the breast of the Briton reign two ruling passions—the love of liberty, and the love of luxury; and that if one of these will bear “*no brother near the throne*,” luxury, as far as it regards himself, would certainly be sacrificed to freedom; but as far as it regards his fellow-men, the love of luxury would be victorious.

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The English lawyer, who considers that the law of the mother country is the general substratum of the Colonial Codes, (for surely it is the plainest principle of equity that her subjects abroad should share her protection with those at home,) must be astonished at the slender and doubtful foundation on which the extreme authority of the Slave-owner has been so long suffered to stand. And especially, as the very same Colonial Assemblies, which have rested their Slave system upon the loose basis of custom and popular opinion, have even passed declaratory laws, affirming, correspondently to the sense of Westminster Hall, that the law of England is in force in the Colonies.\*

At length, the Parliament and Executive Government of England, having, for near a century and a half, committed the fate of the slave population of their Colonies entirely to the Colonial Assemblies, began to inquire of those Assemblies what their laws actually were. This was done in 1788, the time when Wilberforce, Clarkson, and the rest of those unwearied philanthropists who so gloriously advocated the Negro cause, were in the midst of their exertion for the abolition.

The Colonial legislators, unable to produce any satis-

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\* See Act of the Leeward Charibbee Islands, of 1705.

factory laws of their own on a subject which so imperiously called for legislation, boldly maintained that the protection given by our laws to British subjects, or at least, that which they afforded to English Slaves, while such existed here, belonged to the enslaved Negroes. They distinctly asserted that the English law of *villienage* was that which regulated the authority of the Master and the legal protection of the Slave. This representation is sufficiently exposed by the following facts. The English lord, in the feudal times, could not delegate to any one his own power of arbitrary correction. If his slave was to be whipped, he must whip him himself. The West Indian Planter delegates this power to managers, overseers, subordinate agents, lessees; in short, whoever has the superintendence of a Negro's labours, has the right of whipping him at discretion.

The English law punished murder and mutilation as severely when the slave as when a free-man was the sufferer. But in some of our Colonies, at the time above specified, murder, if perpetrated on a slave, only subjected the murderer to a small fine. And as to mutilation, even the late meliorating laws have, for the most part, treated such enormity, however deliberate and wanton, as mere misdemeanors, if committed on a Slave: thus the defenceless Negro may have his ears cut off (a practice known to exist) and the savage master is only guilty of misdemeanor; but if the same injury be done to a white man, the law of the very same islands deem it felony!

The legislators of Grenada, in their answer to the inquiries of the Privy Council, speak of the difficulty of putting an effectual stop to cases of gross and wanton cruelty towards slaves, as none but white persons can give evidence, and they talk solemnly of the *danger* of admitting the testimony of Slaves against the life and fortune of a free person! How difficult it is, for the justest laws, were such enacted, to be executed with regard to Slaves; or, in other words, how impossible is the attempt to meliorate such a state of inveterate and horrid subjection as West Indian Slavery, the following fact witnessed by Mr. Stephen will shew.

In 1786, Mr. H., a merchant of Basseterre, in St. Christopher, was indicted for "inhumanly, immoderately, wantonly,

cruelly, and without provocation, &c. gagging, beating, wounding, and bruising a negro child, called Billy, of the age of six years, the property of him, the said H. &c.”—The conduct of this man, in domestic life, was known to be harsh, and his neighbours had often been disturbed by the cries of this little victim and of his sister, a child a year or two older. The master, to prevent their cries from being heard during his merciless beatings, cut out two small portions of a wooden hoop, which he forced into their mouths and tied with strings behind their heads; and after thus gagging them, without any provocation, (as he alledged none in his defence,) he beat them most inhumanly, as the marks on their bodies plainly shewed. They continued their cries, which, though inarticulate from the effects of the gagging, alarmed the neighbours; a humane constable entered the house, and, shocked by the appearance of the children, took them before a magistrate.

We, in this country, can scarcely imagine a stronger case for legal investigation. To rescue these victims and to punish their tyrant, seems to us as obvious as to snatch an infant from the grasp of a tiger. Not so in the West Indies!—These devoted children were the slaves of their *master*; and the absolute power of a master to punish his slaves, except by death or mutilation, had never been questioned in any of the islands. The magistrate, who was a justice of the peace, was perplexed, and he called to his assistance two more magistrates; they were all eminent lawyers, men of intelligence and liberality. They consulted Mr. Stephen, and determined upon a novel precedent, that the master should be prosecuted. The children were consigned to the care of the deputy Provost-Marshal, the keeper of the prison, and examined by two surgeons. Among other injuries there was found such a contusion on the shoulder of the little boy, that it was not without exact examination that it was pronounced not dislocated. The bruises about the head and upper part of the body of both children were numerous and shocking; the wool on their heads was, in some places, stripped from the scalp; and the edges of the hoop with which they had been gagged, had cut into their cheeks on each side of their mouths. The surgeons testified that they must have been beaten with a rope, or some other obtuse instrument.



The master freely admitted himself to be the author of these cruelties, but with indignant defiance, challenged the authority of the justices to interfere between *master and slave*; he was supported by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, indignant, like himself, at so new and dangerous an interference of the police. The Deputy Marshal was threatened for taking away the children, and the magistrates themselves menaced by the master, for thus, in the common course of humanity, *dispossessing him of his property*!—After repeated trials, a special jury, after a long consultation, fined the master *forty shillings*, and the indictment for the girl was never brought to a trial. The master, instead of being dishonoured, was elevated into the character of a suffering patriot, the champion and martyr of the sacred rights of slave-owners! He had also dared to bring an action against the Deputy-Marshall, but the controversy had occasioned so much animosity in the island, that some of the more respectable of the community prevailed on this defender of cruelty to desist.

This case was represented by the colonists as a proof of legal correction of cruelty, though when thus fairly stated, it so glaringly exhibits the triumph of oppression. In the island itself, it was considered, and with reason, as fatal to every hope of repressing, by law, the cruelty of slave masters.

The tenacity of the colonists in maintaining their own rights of absolute dominion over their victims is further shown by the following fact. The governor of Barbadoes, in answer to a question of the privy council, replied, “In Barbadoes, the power of masters over their slaves, is at present *unlimited* by law, except by a small fine on the person who wantonly kills his slave.” In 1801, the assembly of this old colony, actually quarrelled with their governor for recommending an improvement of this infamous law of punishing the murder of a slave by a penalty of £15, treating the suggestion as *an insult*, and telling him “*that the House understood its interests, and would assert its rights.*” To this hour, it may be doubted, whether slave murder be punishable by death in Barbadoes, though their legislature was, with difficulty, persuaded to make an act to that purpose in 1805: for the old law was not expressly

repealed, and the new one says, "if any person *wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and without provocation*, kill and murder any slave, &c,—he shall suffer death, being duly convicted by the evidence of one or more *white* persons, &c."—This law, so vaguely defining slave-murder, and thus making it difficult to say what circumstances would suffice to make it a capital crime, and limiting the witnesses to *white* persons, was passed after many cruel and horrible murders of slaves had been perpetrated in Barbadoes, and the escape of the perpetrators had been a subject of reproach in England. Yet still, if only whites are to be witnesses, a hundred murders may safely be committed under the new act, and the murderer has an apology ready made for him, on the ground of *just provocation*.

Horrible as is the tremendous power of one human being over another, which we have thus faithfully traced, it extends still further. Previously to the execution of a Slave, who has been condemned to death by the civil magistrate for his crimes, he is appraised, as any article of furniture would be, and his value, not exceeding a limited sum, is paid to his master out of the public treasury. (See the printed Acts of the islands.) Thus, so inveterate is his bondage, that even justice cannot punish his crimes without buying him of his owner. He is bought for life and sold for death! The alledged reason for this horrible excess of appropriation, is that the slave-masters, if not indemnified for the loss of their property, would screen their slaves and not give them up to public justice. Thus does Colonial Law sheath the sword over the head of the master, by not forcing him to resign the offender to his punishment, while it draws it in two-edged vengeance on the Slave! \*

This vast, we might almost say, this infinite extent of the master's power over the slave, might strike the mind with horror, if it were exemplified only in a few scattered instances, or even if it had occurred only once on the earth; but when we reflect how great a number of our fellow-creatures have been, and are the helpless and devoted objects

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\* Were the master to lose the value of his Slave, if he commits crimes worthy of death, would it not be a powerful motive to train him in good moral habits?

of it, no words in the compass of language can describe its enormity. Not a few men, not a few families, but whole nations have been and are its victims. *Seventy-four thousand* Slaves, as appears from the account transmitted previously to the abolition, by the merchants of Liverpool to the Privy Council, were *annually* exported from Africa by the British, French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese; *thirty-eight thousand* of which England had to her share every year! Besides these Slaves exported for the West Indies alone, vast numbers are also sent from Africa to the Barbary States, Constantinople, Persia, and Goa. Hence it has been calculated that this diabolical traffic has annually drained Africa of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants! Thus does EUROPE, in her triumphant march of power, blazing in the splendor of knowledge and science, rolling on the down of luxury and refinement; with the BIBLE pressed to her heart, and the CROSS upon her standard, drive her conquering chariot over the neck of AFRICA; and in all the freedom of absolute tyranny doom her sons, by myriads, to toil for her luxuries in everlasting bondage, as her beasts of burden—treading them to the earth as if they were swarms of black ants! While JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, and REASON, and RELIGION, labour, and argue, and supplicate, to rescue them *in vain*! Why? because they are the *property* of those superior beings called *White Men*!

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### THE REFUGE.

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The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it and is safe.”—Prov. xviii. 10.

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There is a rest, a refuge, and a tower,  
 Where faith may dwell in sorrow's darkest hour;  
 But ere she reaches this serene abode,  
 The soul must travel a tremendous road;  
 The gate is narrow—self must be denied,  
 Passion subdued, and pride be crucified.  
 Then through humiliation's vale she goes,  
 Trembling and watchful 'mid a host of foes,  
 But Faith's bright lamp relumes the dang'rous way,  
 And gilds the fortress with perpetual day;  
 Fierce conflicts force the toiling traveller there,  
 And the door opens to prevailing prayer.



No more in self she dares th' unequal fight,  
 But trusts the contest to celestial might;  
 Strong in his power, and fix'd in his repose,  
 From grace to grace, from strength to strength she goes ;  
 Till from corruption's hated dross refin'd,  
 The spirit leaves th' encumbering clay behind,  
 Springs to its native clime, its lov'd abode,  
 And finds a plenitude of bliss in God.

C——.

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### THOUGHTS ON FRIENDSHIP.

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“ A faithful friend is the medicine of life.”

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IF there be, in the language, a term of higher import than that of Friendship, there is scarcely one more hackneyed, or more prostituted. That the associations of folly, the combinations of villainy, the confederacies of politicians, the junctions of the thoughtless, the dissipated and the gay, should assume that sacred name, is ever to be regretted. Mutual esteem, founded on mutual good qualities, seems to be the basis of all that is worth denominating friendship. The nobler the characters, and the higher the aims of those between whom this sacred league is formed, the firmer foundation is laid for that superstructure of enjoyment and usefulness which it comprehends. The heart that continues narrowed by that gross selfishness which seeks its own ease, accommodation and enjoyment, as its grand object and end, is incapable of friendship: that narrow, degrading feeling, must give way to the expansion, the benevolent emotion of delighting in another's happiness, and of tasting a purer pleasure in the effort to promote it, than in the accustomed habit of self-indulgence. This is the first step. It seems requisite that the grand principles of action, the chief aims of life should be similar in order to give stability to friendship. It is affection founded on respect; those nice gradations of character, those fine shades of difference which mark the individuality, and constitute the beauty of each mind, may so harmonize and blend, as to augment the power and heighten the utility of the combination. As there will always be difference enough to require forbearance and indulgence, the more general the harmony of character, the more uniform will be the friendship. Perfect confidence seems one of the necessary ingredients of this union: there

must be no "fair disguises;" where the desire of improvement is sincere, a willingness to confess, and be told of, faults ought to be mutual; but here all the delicacy and all the tenderness of affection will be wanted. It is much to be regretted, that the sentiment of esteem founded on respect, mingles so little with the ties of consanguinity; a husband and wife, a mother and daughter, sisters and brothers, sharing the pleasure of confidence, with the aims of constant improvement, perhaps enjoy and exhibit human affection in its highest degree. The natural affinities, the familiar intercourse of such connections, when regulated by politeness and respect, afford opportunities for the solace, and the aids of friendship, which persons more remote cannot enjoy: why is it that they so seldom taste its sweets? "An enemy hath done this;" that enemy who entered Eden is busied in unparadisising every domestic circle, or the household hearth would afford the finest instances of friendship. How seldom is marriage founded on esteem? Young men would laugh at the idea; where passion, excited by personal allurements, is the predominating motive, the frequent consequence is disgust; or where interest unites, indifference, cares, pleasures or business commonly fill up the scene; but where there are the wants of the heart, and a heart to feel its wants, time will weigh all in the balance, and all will be found wanting, but those qualities which can win and fix esteem. The happiest union that perhaps ever took place, was founded on these qualities; Mr. & Mrs. Fletcher had higher motives in view than selfish gratification; they sought the glory of their Lord and master, and their union was crowned with the approbation of Him who sanctioned friendship, and who honored marriage, though he was too exalted to need either. The regard of this great Being for human feeling, his encouragement of human sympathy, and compassion for human infirmity, was manifested by his sending his disciples forth "two and two": from an affinity so sanctified might be expected the happiest results, and were our friendships more formed with a view to His glory, whose we are, and whom we ought to serve, and less with a view to temporal gratification, what blessings might we not expect? The alloys of poor humanity would not so often cause estrangements and separations, but aids and blessings, from the great Head, would enable the imperfect members to keep "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

The calm scenes, the quiet walks, the pleasant circumstances of life, are perhaps most favorable for the formation of friendships; but it is in adversity their strength is tried and their durability fixed. Great trials call forth feelings and passions which were not known to exist till the trial called them forth: then it is, that the tenderness, the wisdom, and the moral power of a friend is put to the test: the sick and the well, the prosperous and the unfortunate, the isolated being and the one surrounded with family connections, ought each to consider the situation from which objects are viewed, or the moral harmony will be endangered: but where the mind is expanded with religious benevolence, and the attachment sincere, the power to solace on the one hand, and the willingness to be solaced on the other, will prove an additional bond of union. Not a few exalted, but gentle minds, have owed their usefulness, as well as their happiness, to the fostering care of friendship: who knows for how many of the valuable works of Dr. Watts, the world is indebted to the excellent Abneys? By their munificence his amiable mind was freed from all the petty cares and sorrows of a narrow income; his valetudinary maladies were mitigated, and his elevated soul was left at liberty to pourtray that Heaven which he is gone to enjoy. Zimmermann, when lost to the world and to himself, just trembling on the brink of insanity, owed the recovery of his mind to the persevering watchfulness, the unwearied assiduity of female tenderness: and but for a Mrs. Unwin, the valuable productions of the inimitable Cowper, might have remained an unformed chaos, and instead of giving new life and light to the world, would probably have overwhelmed the celestial sparks that gave them birth. For want of such discriminating wisdom, such fostering tenderness, many a valuable, many a superior mind, it is to be feared, has sunk into hopeless inanity. Bereaved by death of early associates, wounded by disappointments, checked, tortured, it may be, by those who should succour, that ardor and feeling which in early youth promised so much, recoil and prey upon themselves; and all that tide of emotion which the gentle charities of domestic life are so sweetly calculated to call forth and expand, preys upon the possessor; imagination is set to work with all these materials, every little evil is magnified, till the mind becomes the dark abode of "Gorgons, Hydras and chimeras dire." Happy,



thrice happy those, who amidst the felicities of life, can so far realise what they themselves should be without them, as to interpose the succour, which cannot be solicited, and thus mingle in the services of angels, who do not disdain to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation. The highest instance of tenderness to suffering humanity that could be felt, the most impressive lesson that could be given, was afforded just before that awful moment when the sun grew dark, and the vail of the temple was rent. That Divine Being whom these awful phenomena announced, hanging between heaven and earth, under all those excruciating tortures which an infuriated multitude could inflict, had leisure even then, for the contemplation of maternal anguish; he saw the agonising conflict, he saw the last cherished hope expire, he saw the threatening, the overwhelming desolation, and while the last, last look fed on expiring life, transferred the hopeless mourner to one most like himself, with these emphatic words, "Woman, behold thy son!" This tenderness transcends all human tenderness, as much as the character transcends all human characters; but it is imitable, and if of the ministration of a cup of cold water, he hath said, "Forasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done unto me," what will be the recompense of those, who have driven away the demons of darkness and despair from the soul of oppressed sensibility, raised the sinking flame of benevolence, the expiring fires of genius; and called into action those nameless numerous charities, which enrich the individual, in proportion as they benefit the species?

O————.

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### THE MANCHINEEL TREE.

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In one of his letters from Barbadoes to his friend in England, Dr. Pinckard makes the following remarks on this vegetable phenomenon.—"Near the sea we were protected, in our morning walk, from the great force of the sun by the shade of trees, whose leaves and trunk very much resembled the common pear-tree of England; but whose fruit was, in form, a correct likeness of the apple. We knew not that it was forbidden, but had enough of

caution to avoid tasting it. However, I gathered a small branch, bearing fruit and leaves, and put it into my pocket as a specimen, from which we might ascertain what tree it was. Soon afterwards we met a negro, and upon our shewing it to him, and asking its name, he instantly exclaimed with alarm, "Ah! Massa, dat poison! dat no good for whyaam—dat bad manchineel, Massa." Finding that I had fostered a serpent, I directly threw away every leaf, and every apple; but I discovered that, like other insidious foes, manchineel had quickly diffused its poison, and I afterwards smarted for my curiosity. Either my handkerchief or my gloves had imbibed the offensive particles, and from having incautiously used them, my lips and face burnt for many hours after, with all the scorplings of cantharidistical acrimony; also from their having reached the tongue and throat, I was thrown into a copious salivation, and my mouth and throat were much swoln, and throbbed with fiery heat throughout the morning."



## PRESENT HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following facts, taken from the Sierra Leone Royal Gazette of Nov. 20th, 1824, exhibit, in a fearful light, the state of the slave-trade, under the protection of *most Christian* kings. *The Diana*, with a *Royal passport*, was found to admeasure only 66 tons, 52-94ths English measurement, and therefore authorised to take at the rate of five to each ton. The surface of the men's slave-room is only 480 feet, and two feet seven inches in height; and that of the women, 103 feet surface, and *three feet eleven inches* high; yet on board this vessel, there were actually shipped, at Badagry, for the passage to the Brazils, 156 human victims, besides her crew, which were eighteen in number.

*The two Brazilian Friends*.—In this vessel, the surface of the platform for the men is 615 feet, and the height *two feet six inches*; that for the women 148 feet, and *three feet ten inches* in height. On board this vessel were shipped at Badagry, for the Brazils, 260 Africans.

*The Arizo*.—The surface of the men's room in this

vessel is 861 feet, three feet two inches high ; that of the women 215 feet, height the same as the men's. This vessel contained 465 slaves.

In these three vessels were thus stowed 881 slaves—at the rate of eleven to every four tons, besides the crews and stores. As 712 of the slaves were adults, supposing the children to be either kept on deck, or confined to the long boat, still only a little more than  $3\frac{1}{4}$  square feet was allowed for each man or woman, a space in which, we should suppose, no human being could long exist. The number of deaths and the emaciated state of the survivors proved this to be the case.

The above Gazette proceeds as follows. "The French slave-trade has lately most considerably increased in the rivers Bonny and Old Calabar. Several new vessels have arrived, and many laden with full cargoes of human victims have left under the white flag, and manned by Frenchmen, although the capital embarked is ostensibly Spanish. In order that our readers may judge of the barbarity and want of feeling evinced by these subjects of an enlightened nation, which publicly disavows such horrible and infamous conduct, we desire to make known, that *Le Louis*, commanded by one *Oiseau*, on completing her cargo of slaves in the Old Calabar, a few weeks since, the Captain, without the slightest spark of humanity, thrust the whole of these unfortunate beings between decks (a height of only three feet), and closed the hatches for the night! When morning made its appearance fifty of the poor sufferers had paid the debt of nature, owing to the confined, diseased, and putrid atmosphere they were condemned to respire!! The wretch coolly ordered the bodies of these miserable victims of his total want of human feeling, to be thrown into the river, and immediately proceeded on shore to complete his execrable cargo by fresh purchases of his fellow-creatures. To detail all the information we have received relative to the enormities committed by these dealers in human flesh, who feel they are protected by the nation they claim, and the flag they hoist, would horrify any but slave-dealers, who seem callous to every feeling which ennoble mankind: suffice it to say, they are heart-rending, and would disgrace the most unenlightened savage."



## VOYAGE OF THE BLIND.\*

[We are glad to give our readers the following poem, from the pen of a poet, who, like Cowper, has devoted his talents to the service of the Giver.]

“ It was that fatal and perfidious bark,  
Built in the eclipse, and rigg’d with curses dark.”

MILTON.

O’ER Africa the morning broke,  
And many a negro land reveal’d,  
From Europe’s eye and Europe’s yoke,  
In Nature’s inmost heart conceal’d ;  
Here roll’d the Nile, his glitt’ring train  
From Ethiopia to the main ;  
And Niger there uncoil’d his length,  
Who hides his fountain and his strength  
Among the realms of noon :  
Casting away their robes of night,  
Forth stood in nakedness of light,  
The mountains of the moon.

Hush’d were the howlings of the wild ;  
The leopard in his den lay prone ;  
Man, while creation round him smil’d,  
Was sad or savage,—man alone :  
Down in the dungeons of Algiers,  
The Christian captive woke in tears ;  
Caffraria’s lean, marauding race  
Prowl’d forth on pillage or the chase ;  
In Lybian solitude,  
The Arabian horseman scour’d along ;  
The caravan’s obstreperous throng  
Their dusty march pursued.

But woe grew frantic in the west ;  
A wily rover of the tide  
Had mark’d the hour of Afric’s rest,  
To snatch her children from her side :  
At early dawn to prospering gales,  
The eager seamen stretch their sails ;  
The anchor rises from its sleep

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\* See No. 1, p. 28.

Beneath the rocking of the deep ;  
 Impatient from the shore  
 A vessel steals ;—she steals away,  
 Mute as the lion with his prey ;  
 —A human prey she bore.

Curst was her trade, and contraband,  
 Wherefore that keel by guilty stealth  
 Fled with the darkness from the strand,  
 Laden with living bales of wealth :  
 Fair to the eye her streamers played  
 With undulating light and shade ;  
 White from her prow the gurgling foam  
 Flew backward tow'rd's the negro's home,  
 Like his unheeded sighs ;  
 Sooner that melting foam shall reach  
 His inland home, than yonder beach  
 Again salute his eyes.

Tongue hath not language to unfold  
 The secrets of the space between  
 That vessel's flanks,—whose dungeon-hold  
 Hides what the sun hath never seen ;  
 Three hundred writhing prisoners there  
 Breathe one mephitic blast of air  
 From lip to lip ;—like flame suppress,  
 It bursts from ev'ry tortured breast  
 With dreary groans and strong ;  
 Lock'd side to side, they feel by starts  
 The beating of each other's hearts,  
 —Their breaking, too, ere long.

Light o'er the blue untroubled sea,  
 Fancy might deem that vessel held  
 Her voyage to eternity,  
 By one unchanging breeze impell'd :  
 Eternity is in the sky,  
 Whose span of distance mocks the eye ;  
 Eternity upon the main,  
 The horizon there is sought in vain ;  
 Eternity below  
 Appears in heaven's reflected face ;  
 And on, through everlasting space,  
 The unbounded billows flow.

Yet while his wandering bark career'd,  
 The master knew, with stern delight,

That full for port her helm was steer'd  
 With aim unerring, day and night.  
 Pirate ! that port thou ne'er shalt hail ;  
 Thine eye in search of it shall fail :  
 But lo ! thy slaves expire beneath ;  
 Haste, bring the wretches forth to breathe ;  
 Brought forth—away they spring,  
 And headlong in the whelming tide,  
 Rescued from thee, their sorrows hide  
 Beneath the halcyon's wing.

There came an angel of eclipse,  
 Who haunts at times the Atlantic flood,  
 And smites with blindness, on their ships,  
 The captives and the men of blood :  
*Here*, in the hold, the blight began,  
 From eye to eye contagion ran ;  
 Sight, as with burning brands, was quench'd ;  
 None from the fiery trial blench'd,  
 But panting for release,  
 They call'd on Death, who, close behind,  
 Summon'd the plague, to lead the blind  
 From agony to peace.

'That pestilence no power could check ;  
 Unseen its withering arrows flew ;  
 It walk'd in silence on the deck,  
 And smote from stem to stern the crew :  
 As glow-worms dwindle in the shade,  
 As lamps in charnel-houses fade,  
 From every orb, with vision fired,  
 In flitting sparks the light retired :  
 The sufferers saw it go ;  
 And o'er the ship, the sea, the skies,  
 Pursued it with their failing eyes,  
 Till all was black below.

A murmur swell'd along the gale ;  
 All rose, and held their breath to hear ;  
 All look'd, but none could spy a sail,  
 And yet they knew a sail was near ;  
 " Help ! help !" our beckoning sailors cried ;  
 " Help ! help !" a hundred tongues replied :  
 Then hideous clamour rent the air,  
 Questions and answers of despair :  
 Few words the mystery clear'd ;  
 The plague had found that second bark,



Where every eye but his was dark  
Whose hand the vessel steer'd.

He, wild with panic; turn'd away,  
And thence his shrieking comrades bore;  
From either ship the winds convey  
Farewells, that soon are heard no more:  
A calm of horror hush'd the waves:  
Behold them!—merchant, seamen, slaves,  
The blind, the dying, and the dead,  
All help, all hope, for ever fled,  
Unseen, yet face to face!  
Woe past, woe present, woe to come,  
Held for a while each victim dumb,  
— Impaled upon his place.

It is not in the blood of man  
To crouch ingloriously to fate;  
Nature will struggle while she can;  
Misfortune makes her children great;  
The head which lightning hath laid low,  
Is hallow'd by the noble blow;  
The wretch who yields a felon's breath,  
Emerges from the cloud of death,  
A spirit on the storm:  
But virtue, perishing unknown,  
Watch'd by the eye of Heaven alone,  
Is earth's last earthly form.

What were the scenes on board that bark?  
The tragedy which none beheld?  
When (as the deluge bore the ark,)  
By power invisible impell'd,  
The keel went blindfold through the surge,  
Where stream might drift or whirlwind urge:  
Plague, famine, thirst, their numbers slew,  
And frenzy seized the hardier few  
Who yet were spared to try  
How everlasting are the pangs,  
When life upon a moment hangs,  
And death stands mocking by.

Imagination's daring glance  
May pierce that veil of mystery,  
As in the rapture of a trance,  
Things which no eye hath seen to see;  
And hear by fits along the gales,  
Screams, maniac laughter, hollow wails:

—They stand, they lie, above, beneath,  
 Groans of unpitied anguish breathe,  
 Tears unavailing shed ;  
 Each, in abstraction of despair,  
 Seems to himself a hermit there,  
 Alive among the dead.

Yet respite,—respite from his woes,  
 Even here, the conscious sufferer feels ;  
 Worn down by torture to repose,  
 Slumber the vanish'd world reveals :  
 Ah ! then the eyes, extinct in night,  
 Again behold the blessed light ;  
 Ah ! then the frame of rack'd disease  
 Lays its delighted limbs at ease ;  
 Swift to his own dear land  
 The unfetter'd slave with shouts returns ;  
 Hard by, his dreaming tyrant burns  
 At sight of Cuba's strand.

To blank reality they wake,  
 In darkness opens every eye :  
 Peace comes ;—the negro's heart-strings break,  
 To him 'tis more than life to die ;  
 How feels, how fares the man of blood ?  
 In endless exile on the flood,  
 Rapt, as though fiends his vessel steer'd,  
 Things which he once believed and fear'd,  
 —Then scorn'd as idle names,—  
 Death, judgment, conscience, hell conspire,  
 With thronging images of fire,  
 To light up guilt in flames.

Who cried for mercy in that hour,  
 And found it on the desert sea ?  
 Who to the utmost grasp of power,  
 Wrestled with life's last enemy ?  
 Who, Marius-like, defying fate,  
 (Marius on fallen Carthage,) sate ?  
 Who, through a hurricane of fears,  
 Clung to the hopes of future years ?  
 And who, with heart unquail'd,  
 Look'd from Time's trembling precipice  
 Down on Eternity's abyss,  
 Till brain and footing fail'd ?

Is there among this crew not One,  
 One whom a widow'd mother bare,  
 Who mourns far off her only son,  
 And pours for him her soul in prayer?  
 Even now,—when o'er his soften'd thought  
 Remembrance of her love is brought,  
 To soothe death's agony, and dart  
 A throb of comfort through his heart,—  
 Even now a mystic knell  
 Sounds through *her* pulse ;—she lifts her eye,  
 Sees a pale spirit passing by,  
 And hears *his* voice—"farewell."

Mother and son shall meet no more :  
 —The floating tomb of its own dead,  
 That ship shall never reach a shore ;  
 But far from track of seamen led,  
 The sun shall watch it day by day,  
 Careering on its lonely way ;  
 Month after month, the moon shine pale  
 On falling mast and riven sail ;  
 The stars, from year to year,  
 Mark the bulged flank, and sunken deck,  
 Till not an atom of the wreck  
 On ocean's face appear.

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### THE WORD "LADY."

The following is supposed to be the etymology of the word *Lady*. It was at first Leafdian, from Leaf or Laf, which signifies a *loaf of bread*, and D'ian *to serve*. It was afterwards corrupted to Lafdy, and at length to *Lady*. So that it appears the original meaning of the term implies *one who distributes bread*.

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### DEFINITION OF THE WORD "NEGRO."

A creature treated like a brute because he is *black*, by greater brutes who happen to be *white*.—(*From the Patent Pocket Dictionary.*)



## THE CHRISTIAN'S GOLDEN RULE.

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“ That mercy I to others shew,  
That mercy shew to me.”——POPE.

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“ Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise.” The conciseness, the simplicity, the sublimity of this precept must strike every thinking mind, as a most beautiful and compendious rule of human duty. It is so complete, and yet so plain that it seems impossible it should be mistaken, and yet it is so contrary to a narrow, partial, worldly self-interest, that few persons, it is to be feared, dare to take it for their guide. We are, in idea, to place ourselves in the situation, and under the circumstances of the person we have to deal with, and then to judge according to the rules of truth and justice, how we should wish to be dealt with. Now let us see how this applies to the grand subject to which the public mind is now so much awake. Britain has been in as rude, wild, and uncivilized a state, as the greatest part of Africa is now in: suppose it for a moment still to be so, and Africa to enjoy all the benefits of civilization, all the advantages of arts and science, and above all the illumination of that blessed religion whose distinguishing precept is, “ Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye to them likewise,” and also the example of its author, whose grand object it was to bid the oppressed “ Go free”. We are living quietly in our woods, erecting our huts, nursing our children, preparing our food. Now we are astonished with the sight of these superior, these enlightened Africans, (of whom it is possible we may have heard,) approaching our coasts in their magnificent floating castles; they draw near, they land, we know not for what benignant purposes of mercy these superior intelligences are come. We wait the event. Alas! horror-struck, we see them pursuing our women, our children, seizing our fathers, our brothers, firing our habitations in order to secure the inmates, and dragging the screaming, terrified victims on board their prison ships, where the iron enters into their flesh, and they hear only their own howlings and the curses of these fiends. As soon as a sufficient number is obtained, they are hurried off to a distant country; many die in the passage, some throw themselves overboard, those who live are sold in a public market for SLAVES, and branded as beasts! Now what think we of this? They are our fathers, brothers, wives, and children who are gone! Britons! these are the dealings of Britons in the nineteenth century!—With the gospel of Christ in our hands, with the motto at the head of our paper sounding in our ears!—What is to be done? Could we feast on sugar which our wives and children had cultivated with the

cart-whip over their heads, and the blood streaming from their backs? But what saith that gospel you hold in your hands, "He hath made of one blood all that dwell on the face of the earth."—It seems that abstinence from West India sugar is the only means left us of unbinding the heavy burthens, and bidding the oppressed go free: inefficient as this mean may appear to some minds, if general and persevered in, it must be effectual. We have the pleasure to assure our readers that the consumption of East India sugar has increased within six months from 100 bags  $\text{£}$  day to nearly 500! which is equal to the consumption for 1,176,000 persons at half a pound each,  $\text{£}$  week. Let it go on in this proportion for two years and we shall see Slavery die a natural death.\*

O.

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### THE WISH.

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Be mine a broken, contrite heart,  
Which God will not despise;  
That meekness which devoid of art,  
On heaven alone relies.

A soul to dwell on things divine,  
To love the sacred page;  
Oh! Jesus, grant that these be mine,  
From youth to latest age.

Fit me, my God, to dwell with thee,  
And may an angel come,  
Whenever death shall summon me  
To guide to heaven my home.

My God! my Friend! thy will is best;  
For thankfulness I pray,  
But yet I long for heavenly rest,  
Nor wish for tresses grey.

The sooner, sweeter will it be,  
To leave this house of clay;  
But thou canst make earth heaven to me,  
For peace of mind I pray.

E. H.

## ON THEME WRITING.

As the judgment of man is a faculty continually rising towards a maturity which experience and exertion only can give, it appears to us that in proportion as the mind is habituated to think and reason, it will possess judgment in a stronger or weaker degree. Of what avail is it to acquire historical or biographical knowledge, if we do not draw from it rules by which to judge the conduct of others, and for a purpose infinitely more important—to regulate our own? Or of what use is it to remember the date of remarkable events, and the manner of their accomplishment, if we do not reflect on their causes and effects; if we do not trace the hand of the omnipotent God over-ruling every human event for wise and gracious purposes, and making the crimes of the wicked as well as the virtues of the just, subservient to the fulfilment of his decrees?

The mind may wade through ponderous volumes, and emerge from them with but little accession of wisdom, unless reflection accompany the labour. Theme-writing, by forcing the mind to exertion, by obliging it to contemplate the theoretical branches of literature, by teaching us to deduce events from causes, and to trace their effects, seems well calculated to improve and strengthen the judgment.

It will also tend towards the establishment of a good taste, and the acquisition of a good style. Once accustomed to decide for ourselves, we no longer blindly follow as oracles the opinions of others. We learn to sift them, to try them by the standard of truth and reason, and consequently we are enabled to reject the evil while we reserve the good for our own. We shall also discover the imperfections of our compositions, and endeavour to correct them. One great point, however, should be first established, the importance of which is most considerable. Where are we to fix the standard of truth and consistency, or of taste and elegance? We would aver that in the former, the word of God, and in the latter, the works of God, are the only guides by which to judge of perfection. If asked to prove this we would say, does not an accurate knowledge of man's fallen



nature, as depicted in the scriptures, enable us to perceive more clearly the motives which excite mankind to action, and what is most likely to influence them to good or evil, than if we were to determine merely by the appearances which the world presents to an inexperienced observer? From the scriptures we learn in what morality and right consist, from the very Spirit of Truth himself. In the works of Art nothing is lovely but as it is a representation of Nature. The labours of those Artists, whose canvass or marble seems to breathe, survive in the memory of distant ages; and the finest colouring of the Poet charms only while he is true to nature. Or if we revert to the sciences, they are all derived from the same source, and are but a furtherance of Creation's powers.

If we accustom ourselves to judge by these standards, we shall in time come to a decision most necessary to our usefulness and happiness, that of rejecting every action and sentiment which, however beautifully clothed, is not founded on religious truth. Boileau says most justly, "Le vrai seul est beau," and the sooner we know this for ourselves the better. In conclusion we will observe, that Theme-writing, in as much as it accustoms the mind to contemplation, definition, and comparison, must be productive of improvement, particularly to the young, who are usually averse to reflection; and we press upon all who are anxious to possess judgment, penetration, and independance of mind, Theme-writing as a pursuit from which innumerable advantages will accrue, and which is at once pleasing and profitable.

E. H.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editors cannot forbear expressing their grateful and cheering sense of the continued kindness of their near Relative, ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ whose last communication, they regret, arrived too late for insertion this month. They trust that his example of zeal and fidelity to the cause of true freedom, will inspire others to exertion, and that the *smallest effort*, even the *hum* of our little "Bird," will not be allowed to fail.

THE  
**Humming Bird ;**

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No. 9.]

AUGUST, 1825.

[Vol. I.

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TO THE EDITORS OF THE HUMMING BIRD.

I SEND you a conversation, partly authentic and partly imaginary, between Martin Luther and Peter Paul Verger, who had been appointed in the year 1530, Nuncio to Ferdinand king of the Romans, by Clement the VII. and was still in Germany in the year 1535, after the elevation of Paul the III. to the papal chair, when this interview is supposed to have taken place. I beg to refer such of your readers as wish for more particular information, to the first book of Father Paul's history of the Council of Trent, where they will find the substance of the following conversation, and much information respecting the methods which have usually been resorted to by the enslavers of mankind, to frustrate the exertions of those who desire to set their fellow-creatures free from every chain of mental or corporeal bondage.

I am, &c.

ΔΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

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DIALOGUE BETWEEN LUTHER AND VERGER.

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VERGER.—I have been drawn aside, Master Luther, as far as Wirtemburgh, from my direct road into Italy, by the opinion which I had been led to form of your piety and learning, and feel myself much obliged to my friend the Governor for having given me this opportunity of making your acquaintance.

LUTHER.—I am sorry that your Excellency should have turned out of your way to see so humble and unworthy a

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person as myself, and fear you will be disappointed in your expectations from me.

V.—It was not simply a view to my personal gratification and benefit which brought me hither, but I felt anxious to tell you that his Holiness and the Sacred College in general entertain the highest possible respect for your character, and extremely lament the loss they have sustained of one who might be a means of much good, if he would employ his talents in the service of God and of the Apostolic See, the interests of which are inseparable.

L.—I must be so plain as to tell you that I care not what is thought of me by the Bishop and Cardinals of Rome. I do not fear their hatred, nor do I value their love. The few talents with which I have been entrusted, shall be devoted to the service of God from whom they were received; and should I be enabled to devote them to Him with success, and “return his own with usury,” I shall still have no merit for the church to make a gain of, but must confess myself an unprofitable servant. With regard to that inseparable connexion of which you spake, between the service of God and the Pope, I am at a loss to imagine how it can exist, unless it be as light and darkness are, in some sense, allied to each other.

V.—I beg, brother Martin, that you will not suffer yourself to be carried away by the feelings which the treatment you have experienced may, very naturally, have excited, for I can assure you that the Pope and Cardinals perceive their error, and would make every effort to restore so worthy a son to the bosom of the Church.

L.—I forgive their injuries and insults from my heart, and trust that I am not influenced by passion in what I say, but I should be glad to learn how long they have thought so favorably of me, for the harsh conduct, not only of the Cardinal Cajetan, but of Leo, Adrian, and Clement, is still fresh in my recollection.

V.—All men blame the Cardinal Cajetan, and I can assure you that the severity with which you were proceeded against by the Court of Rome, was principally owing to the instigations of Cardinal Soderini, whose influence in the palace is much less with the present Pope than it was with his predecessors.

L.—Aye, I can perfectly well understand that the good people at Rome are at length convinced that they hunted



the boar too close, and that they would have escaped many a wound, and been to the full as sure of their game, if they had kept at a more prudent distance. But the hearts of all men are in the hands of God, and I shall never cease to thank him for having permitted those men to act as they did. I was a poor ignorant Monk, having but little knowledge of the way of salvation by faith in Christ Jesus, and possessing only just light enough to perceive the enormous abuse of indulgences, when, some twenty years ago, I first engaged in that controversy. To my shame I confess, that when I saw what a storm was gathering over my head, I would have been silent, if my adversaries would have been so too; but the publications of the Master of the Sacred Palace, the arrogance of Cajetan, and the rigour of the Pope, put me on my defence, cut off my retreat, and forced me upon the discovery of many other errors and abuses, even less tolerable than those I had exposed before. It was not I who sought out these things; I was goaded on until I found them before my eyes, and such matters are not safe in the keeping of my conscience.

V.—I have no wish to enter upon those doctrinal questions which have troubled your mind, for I am no theologian, my only object is to convince you, by plain reasoning, that it would be much to your advantage to connect yourself once more with the Head of the Church. Only consider, that in the eighteen years during which your views have been promulged, they have produced an infinity of sects, which all hate each other, and have excited treasons without end, which have entailed suffering and ruin on numberless individuals. Can the cause of so much distress and confusion be of God? You must indeed think very well of yourself, and set a high value on these new notions of yours, to imagine that it can be right to publish them at such cost to the peace and welfare of Christendom.

L.—The candid avowal of ignorance in theological matters which your Excellency has been pleased to make, is abundantly confirmed by the arguments you have adopted. Who would call my sentiments a novelty, who did not suppose that Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and the Holy Fathers of the Church, lived in the same secular magnificence and luxury as the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Bishops do now? And who would charge me with having been the cause of the late disturbances in Germany, but one

who knew so little of his Bible as to be ignorant that the ordinary effect of the preaching of the Gospel is, to excite commotions and divisions, even among the members of the same household? The Gospel always hardens and enrages those whom it fails to convert.

V.—I do not mean to dispute the truth of what you say, but even if your doctrines are correct and important, would it not be better gradually to prepare men's minds for their reception, instead of causing all this disturbance?

L.—There you touch upon the master sin of the Romanists. They are always for governing the Church on the principles of worldly policy, just as if it had been a temporal state. This is that wisdom which St. Paul says is foolishness before God: on the contrary, despising all the worldly maxims which are held in so much respect at Rome, relying on the promises of God, and entrusting Him with the care of his own Church, is what men call folly, but with God it is the only true wisdom.

V.—We certainly are not yet so wise at Rome as to set the world in a blaze, for the sake of some doctrinal speculations or impracticable measures of reform, and I cannot help thinking, brother Martin, that even if your conscience forced you to abandon the faith in which you were born, and in the profession of which you were satisfied to live for thirty-five years, there was no reason why you might not have kept your knowledge to yourself.

L.—Was I to see the world lost in darkness, and refuse to communicate to others the light of that glorious Gospel which had shone into my own heart?

V.—It would have been more charitable not to have disturbed the world about matters which were not essential. You might have let people serve God in the quiet manner to which they have been so long accustomed, and then all this trouble would have been saved; but things have come to such a pass, that some remedy must be applied, and that without delay.

L.—And pray what remedy is thought of?

V.—The Pope has resolved to take measures for calling a council at Mantua, where all the learned men in Europe will assemble, to set forth the truth authoritatively, to the confusion of restless innovators.

L.—What good do you expect from a council, constituted, as it will be, of fallible men, the greater part of

whom will be tutored from the Vatican? Will Germany be satisfied with the decisions of Italian priests?

V.—We must look to God to bless our pious undertaking for his church, but there is no man on whom its success depends more materially than yourself, Master Luther; if you will be present there, and act with candour and meekness, you will both promote the peace of the Church, and oblige his holiness the Pope, who is a prince of singular generosity, and knows how to distinguish men of merit.

L.—I cannot make the Council useful to the Church, that depends on those who have the power of granting freedom of debate to its members, that the Spirit of God may preside over its deliberations, and the word of God be received as the only standard of truth. When I see such a Council sitting, free from the intrusion of private interests and court intrigues, you shall soon find me present in the spirit of sincerity and christian love, not to oblige the Pope or any other man, but to serve my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, and to procure the peace and freedom of the Church of which He only is the present and living head.

V.—It will give me much pleasure to meet you at Mantua, and I am sure his Holiness has every wish to frame the Council so as shall best subserve the objects for which it will be assembled.

L.—I have no hopes from the Council, for the anger of God does not appear to have been turned away by any real conversion from the hypocrisy which has so long influenced the conduct of those in power. The wrath of God is hanging over us, and while this is the case, there is no error so absurd and monstrous, that may not be expected from the consultations of these learned men, who think themselves wise, but whose wisdom it will be God's pleasure to confound—He will send them a strong delusion, that they may believe and propagate a lie.

V.—I hope your fears are unfounded, brother Martin, and really think, that if you were better acquainted with the state of things at Rome, you would form a more charitable judgment of those who have the direction of affairs there.

L.—I have been at Rome, and would not for a thousand florins have missed the instruction I obtained there.

V.—I wish you had stayed there long enough to make your merit known to those who could reward it, and I



suspect you might have found a shorter road to distinction and usefulness than the one you are now pursuing. Take a hint from what happened to Æneas Sylvius—he thought, like you, that he had some new doctrines which it was of great importance the world should receive, but with all his toil he never got further than a Canonry of Trent, until he relinquished his peculiarities, and then he became a Bishop, after that a Cardinal, and ended with being Pope under the name of Pius II. Bessarion of Nice too, trod nearly the same course, and from being a poor Caloyer of Trebisonde, became a distinguished member of the Sacred College, and was within a very little of reaching the chair of St. Peter.

L.—I was at Rome long enough to learn that there is nothing to be got there which is consistent with the ministration of the Gospel of Christ. What are Æneas Sylvius and Bessarion to me? I care nothing for the vain honours for which they spent their strength. But though I do not seek preferment for myself, what Erasmus said of me the other day in jest is perfectly true, that “Poor and humble as Luther is, he has caused the advancement of many.” Your Excellency knows full well that only last May I had a good hand in procuring Cardinal’s hats for the Archbishop of Capua and the Bishop of Rochester, if his Majesty of England has obliged the latter to wear his hat on his shoulders, that was no fault of mine.\*

V.—I am sorry, brother Martin, that I am obliged to take my leave of you without having induced you to adopt a more reasonable view of these subjects. Consider that the sentiments for the sake of which you sacrifice all your prospects of promotion, may, after all, be erroneous, and I hope you will not set up your individual judgment against the universal voice of the Church.

L.—I told your Excellency from the first that you would be disappointed in me. I am as convinced that the doctrines I teach are true, as if I saw them with my eyes. They are all my hope and all my consolation; and it is far more likely that you, and the Pope your master, will embrace them, than that I shall, for one moment, relinquish their profession. I pray God to guide your Excellency to the acknowledgment of the truth!

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\* Fisher, bishop of Rochester was created a Cardinal May 22nd, 1535, and lost his head in the June following.

## TO WILBERFORCE.

THE rudest of the tribes of earth,  
 Amongst its untaught race,  
 Will boast of one of nobler birth,  
 Its glory and its grace:—  
 A crowned conqueror from the fight,  
 A minstrel in his robe of light !

But Albion, through each rolling age,  
 What brilliant names shall be  
 Impress'd upon thy storied page  
 In deathless memory !—  
 For many a master-mind sublime,  
 Hast thou to stem the tide of time.

But valour's laurel-wreath is dyed  
 In crimson ; and the crown  
 Sometimes bestowed on mental pride,  
 Were better trampled down :  
 But there is one unsullied name,  
 The white-cliffed isle may proudly claim.

Others have lit the torch of war,  
 And fired a world to fight ;  
 And blazed awhile, an angry star,  
 Most ominously bright,  
 Raising with ill aspect the flood,  
 The spring-tide of a nation's blood.

And some in science' paths have trod,  
 And scripture light disclaimed,  
 Till they forgot the eternal God,  
 Who earth's fair fabric framed ;  
 Or, to unholy themes have given  
 A harp that might have breathed of heaven.

But THOU, with influence pure and calm,  
 Liv'dst blessing and to bless ;  
 And as a fountain by the palm  
 In the parched wilderness,  
 Even so bursts the refreshing stream  
 Of charity where thou hast been.

And Wilberforce ! till time decline,  
 Thy sainted name shall be

Emblazoned in the royal line  
Of Mercy's dynasty ;  
The watch-word that shall aye unite,  
All hearts and hands in holy fight ;  
The keystone of the glorious arch,  
Whose comprehensive span,  
Shall compass in its mighty march  
This tenement of man ;  
And o'er earth's five broad belts shall spread  
A covert for the outcast's head.

The conqueror falls—and some rehearse  
The splendours of his fame ;  
And some in deeper accents curse,  
The tyrant's hated name ;  
And with the pageant of a day,  
His short-lived memory fades away.

The star of genius sets—its hour  
Of passing brightness gone,  
Brief as the evanescent shower  
That gilds the brow of morn,  
And cold and faithless, melts before  
The heat and toil of day come o'er.

The poet wears his splendid gem,  
Forgetful 'tis a loan ;  
Too seldom is his diadem  
Bent to his Maker's throne :  
O think, who're dazzled by its pride,  
How gifted bards have lived and died !

But Wilberforce! when thou art low,  
Above thy honoured tomb,  
The deep blue amaranth may show  
Its ever vernal bloom ;  
For no indignant hand shall tear,  
The blossoms memory planteth there.

But o'er thy consecrated bier,  
A grateful world shall bend ;  
For then shall dusky Afric's tear  
Flow for her first born friend ;  
Whilst Europe's millions weeping press,  
The grave of Wilberforce to bless.

H. P.



## THE DOVE AND THE ANT.

*From La Fontaine.*

Il faut autant qu'on obliger tout le monde ;  
On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi.

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“Despise not small things.”

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A dove had clos'd her busy wing,  
To drink beside a limpid spring,  
When, leaning o'er the water's side,  
An ant plunged headlong in the tide ;  
Striving in vain her limbs to free,  
She struggles in the boundless sea.  
The gentle dove, with timely aid,  
Cropp'd, with her beak, a grassy blade,  
And threw it down, a friendly boat !  
Behold our emmet safely float,  
And gain the shore !—when, bare of shoe,  
A needy hunter near them drew.  
The bird of Venus when he spies,  
He bends his bow with sparkling eyes,  
And sees, e'en now, and hails his lot,  
The sav'ry morsel in his pot.—  
But ere the fatal shaft he drew,  
The grateful ant to succour flew ;  
And gliding swiftly near the foe,  
Stung, sharp and deep, his naked toe.  
He turns, the dove perceives the snare ;  
She mounts aloft, secure in air ;  
And with her bears, on pinions gay,  
Our hunter's supper far away.

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REMARKS ON THE YELLOW FEVER OF  
THE WEST.

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OF all the disorders “flesh is heir to” none are more afflictive, either in their immediate or remote consequences, than what are called fevers. For while most of our other bodily maladies have in general their sphere of action confined to one individual, it is the property of the class of fevers to propagate themselves by the peculiar laws of contagion

and infection. Among all the nations surrounding her, none, however, have suffered less in this respect than England, since she was last visited by the plague, (which is but a modification of fever), in the year 1665. None, therefore, owe to the Supreme Arbiter of all things, who "creates good and evil," "who rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm," higher strains of acknowledgment and gratitude for negative good and positive blessings conferred without measure or number, at his hands. What, may we be allowed to ask here, can exceed the awful effects of an epidemic, which, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, mows down, with an unsparing and irresistible sweep, whole families, towns, and cities, depopulating nations, assailing often instantaneously even the most robust and healthy, and consigning them, in a few hours, to their graves, and that not seldom without previous consciousness of their danger? Whether, therefore, viewed in a private, civil, or political sense, these occurrences are of incalculable importance; but there is yet a sense in which all this weight of interest is lost sight of, and becomes unimportant; it is that which results from its relation to the concerns of every individual in the state which awaits him, when, on quitting *this*, he is about to be introduced into *another* mode of existence. But not to pursue this painful view of our subject, further than to excite the sympathy of our readers in behalf of the slave-population of the Western hemisphere, who are among the greatest sufferers from this cause, we proceed to give an outline of the history of this disorder.

The most tremendous ravages are made from time to time, not only in all the colonial departments of the West Indies, but in North America and on the shores of the Mediterranean, and especially in Spain, by a disorder, the very name of which spreads dismay amongst their inhabitants. This is the fever which, little, if at all, less formidable than the plague, is termed "the Yellow Fever." The first account of it on record in the British colonies in the West Indies, is that of Barbadoes in 1647, and in North America in 1693, at Boston, whither it was carried from Martinique, by the fleet under Admiral Wheeler. In Europe its first appearance was at Lisbon, in 1723. From these periods it continued to make its appearance in all these regions, but at long intervals, particularly in North America and Europe.

But in 1793 a new era of its prevalence commenced, for since that time it has been infinitely more frequent and fatal in the West Indies and North America. This increased prevalence did not commence in Europe till the year 1800, when it appeared at Cadiz in all its horrors, after an interval of 36 years. Since that time it has visited that place four times, and has spread thence to the other sea-port towns in the south of Spain, at short intervals. Among other places in this line of coast, it has visited Gibraltar, first in 1804, when more than one third of the garrison and population were carried off; and several times since, but with little loss, on account of the preventive measures since adopted. It is remarkable that this pestilential epidemic has never shewn itself except in tropical climates, or at those seasons, in temperate climates, in which the atmospheric heat ascends to the tropical height. This has probably been one of the chief causes of the general disbelief of its infectious nature. But not to mention the establishment of it by evidence, as a matter of fact, it may be remarked, that in this respect it bears a close analogy to the true plague, which has never been known to exist but under one particular range of atmospheric heat, though lower than that of the yellow fever. For it is only in temperate climates that it has ever prevailed, having never been known between the tropics, or within the polar circles. It even disappears in temperate climates during the solstitial heats, which equal the tropics, as is well known in Lower Egypt; and in the North of Europe it becomes extinct in winter. These remarks apply to the *more violent form* in which it occasionally appears. A *milder form* of this fever is at all times more or less endemic in the West India Islands. *This*, under ordinary circumstances, is believed by many of the best medical judges not to be contagious; but becomes so when engendered and fostered by corrupted human effluvia. Under the circumstances of foul air, occasionally created by crowding, filth, long privations, hardships, and defective ventilation, it is more particularly incident to ships in time of war. It *then* becomes intensely virulent and contagious, propagating and extending itself like a pestilential epidemic.

A tropical sun, with long draught, combined with *marshy exhalations*, appears to be the most efficient *cause* in giving to this disease its desolating activity. It is the



Europeans lately arrived in the West India Islands, who are most liable to its attacks, the vigour and high excitability of whose constitutions render them the most frequent victims to its destructiveness; and hence the havoc we so often hear of among the troops and sea-men sent out to recruit our armies and navy. The people of colour and long-residents are far less liable to it. There is something peculiar in the constitutions of the natives of a cold latitude, which renders them more susceptible of fever in the warmer climates than either the natives, or those who have been assimilated to it by long residence. Accordingly we find that the same exposure to the several exciting causes, will produce fever in a stranger, while the native or old inhabitant escapes it; and the symptoms will be ten-fold more severe in the one than the other, were both attacked. The heat of the body of new-comers in the West Indies has been found to be between three and four degrees of Farenheit's thermometer above that of the natives, and to this source may be fairly attributed, in part, the higher susceptibility of new-comers to be disordered by the change of climate and its accidents. Although this fever, technically termed a *remittent*, (i. e. one which has intervals of abatement, but no distinct intermissions), exhibits an extreme degree of diversity in its symptoms, arising probably from the subjects of its attack being unaccustomed to the climate; it notwithstanding betrays certain characteristics which apply to no other epidemic; the more remarkable of which are, first, the gradually deepening *yellow* tint of the skin of the whole surface of the person, whence its distinguishing epithet; and secondly, the vomiting of a dark-colored fluid, like coffee grounds, ominously called "the black vomit." Without entering more minutely into the details of this subject, we add only a remark or two on the means of *escaping this disorder*. The plethoric and robust being the subjects most liable to it, all such on their approach to the warmer latitudes, ought to be bled in proportion to their strength, following up this step by a regular course of medicinal discipline, which requires the discretionary judgment of a medical friend to adapt it to the circumstances of each individual. The utmost temperance in diet is requisite, with every proper precaution against exposure to the sun in the middle of the day, and to the cool air of the night, until he becomes habituated to the climate. The effects of temperance as a *pre-*

servative are strikingly demonstrated by Dr. Chisholme, who observes, that while the yellow fever raged at the island of Grenada, the utility of this was remarkably illustrated by the almost total exemption of the French inhabitants from the disease, whose mode of living, compared with that of English, is temperate and regular in an uncommon degree. Every European, in changing his own climate for a warm one, should, if possible, avoid arriving in his new situation during the rainy season of the year. This, with some small variation, commences in the month of August and terminates in October. He should choose, if possible, an elevated station, in a dry, open, airy part, remote from woods, stagnant waters, or marshy grounds. Most of the towns in the West Indies, as well as the factories on the coast of Africa, are, for the convenience of trade, situated on low grounds, either contiguous to the sea, or on the banks of a large river. Swamps and marshes, therefore, exist in their neighbourhood, and when acted upon by a powerful sun, particularly after heavy rains, they send forth noxious vapours and exhalations, which prove a never-failing source of intermittent and remittent fevers, fluxes, &c. to all, especially to Europeans lately arrived. These situations should therefore be avoided as much as possible by persons of this description, and when visited, they should retire early in the evening to a more elevated situation, or sleep on board a vessel, in an open road, or healthy harbour. Where such a situation is unavoidable, the highest apartment in the house should be chosen to sleep in, with a small stove and fire in it; excluding the air, on the unhealthy side, as much as possible. Tobacco may be smoked freely and about half an ounce of the compound tincture of bark be taken morning and evening. Retiring early to rest and rising early in the morning, gentle exercise in the morning after the use of a cold bath, or shower bath, wearing cotton or flannel next to the skin, strictly avoiding damp clothes, and changing them quickly if wet, should be observed. The slightest indisposition requires prompt and judicious attention.

HUMANITAS.

## PROPOSAL OF A PLAN

*For the speedy, easy, and effectual termination of the present question relative to African Slavery,*

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Being a very plain, straight-forward man, I feel an inveterate antipathy to controversy of any kind, which appears to me like a vast forest, wherein men are perpetually wandering and bewildering themselves, and getting into paths so intricate and dark that they lose *sight of heaven*, and cannot even look at their *compass*, even if they had remembered to take it with them. For my own part, I have erected my dwelling upon high ground, whence I can see all the roads diverging every way, in obvious distinct lines; I can take the direction of the skies at all times, and refer to the sun for my daily guide. It is very astonishing to me that every body else does not do the same, for if there is a spot upon earth, wherein we can see every thing we do, and every step we take, in *the clearest point of view*, that spot is England;—which nobody will deny—And on this point, if on none other, we Britons are all in unity of opinion.

Yet having been deeply interested in the fate of the negroes, whose wrongs one could not help seeing in a most glaring light, unless one were entombed in the very heart of the earth, I have read much about this cause, and I think I perfectly understand the arguments on both sides, with their deductions, which I thus arrange in my own peculiar short but certain method.—

|                                                                 |                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Advocate for black men,                                         | RELIGION.                                        |
| Advocate for white men,                                         | INTEREST.                                        |
| Argument in favor of black men,                                 | <i>Justice and humanity.</i>                     |
| Argument against black men,                                     | { <i>Custom, and the right of appropriation.</i> |
| Inevitable deduction from the argument of justice and humanity, | { <i>Abolition of Slavery.</i>                   |
| Inevitable deduction from the argument of custom and property,  | { <i>Everlasting Slavery.</i>                    |



Now, as these two points must, unless the whole science of mathematical demonstration be destroyed, diverge from each other, for ever and ever; it follows that one must be allowed to proceed and the other must be annihilated,—or the people of this country must go on eternally in contradiction, absurdity, and inconsistency, allowing, in full force, the arguments of the black men's pleader, on every other subject, but virtually rendering them of no more strength than the thread of a spider, (which is sixteen thousand millions of times weaker than a single hair!\*) when opposed to those of the white men's pleader; whose plea of custom and property is twisted and twined and strengthened with a thousand cables, for the purpose of binding whole nations and generations. And, I confess, I see not the least probability of this all-powerful advocate losing his cause, as I fear he has, with very few exceptions, gained all he ever undertook. And as he is now, as well as his opponent, stating his argument with every variety of illustration that his great powers can suggest. But things cannot go on so.—We shall lose for ever all character of consistency. Britannia will be caricatured with the head of a Janus—peace on one face and war on the other—an olive branch in one hand, emblematical of peace and love to all the world, and grasping a heavy chain in the other, while her lion will appear no longer couchant, but stretching his rampant paw over the shoulder of a black man. All this *must*, at all events, be prevented.—And there is but one way.—One party, it is very certain, must give up the contest. Religion and slavery can never exist in the same nation. My plan is, therefore, to conclude the contest directly by a speedy, summary process, and thus restore ourselves to a fair and equitable claim to the character of a consistent people, a people who scorn to act directly contrary to their principles; but who are ever ready to evince to all the nations round, their unalterable determination to unite their practice most truly and inviolably with their professions. The process I mean is, (for if slavery is to exist still, there is not, nor can be, any other possible mode of action) to abolish Christianity altogether; to restore the heathen temples, and as we shall

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\* See Kirby and Spence's Entomology

continue to immolate millions of negroes on the altars of interest, we may, with a very safe conscience, sacrifice a few hecatombs to the Gods.

TIMOTHY TOUCHSTONE.

*Straight-way House.*

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### ANIMALCULES.

[*Scoresby's Voyage to Greenland.*]

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IN the yellowish green sea, having in patches and streaks the appearance of an admixture of flowers of sulphur or mustard, whenever the ship passed through any of this peculiar water, the patch or streak was divided, and did not again unite; from which circumstance it appeared that the colouring was superficial. Suspecting it to be of an animal nature, a quantity of the yellowish green water was procured, and, on examination by the microscope, was found to contain animalcules in immense numbers. The larger proportion of these consisting of a transparent substance of a lemon-yellow colour and globular form, appeared to possess very little power of motion; but a part, amounting perhaps, to a fifth of the whole, were in continual action. Some of these being seen advancing by a slightly waving motion, at the rate of 1-180th of an inch in a second, and others spinning round with considerable celerity, gave great interest and liveliness to the examination. But the progressive motion of the most active, however distinct and rapid it might appear under a high magnifying power, was, in reality, extremely slow; for it did not exceed an inch in three minutes. At this rate they would require 151 days to travel a nautical mile. The condor, it is generally believed, could fly round the globe at the equator, assisted by a favorable gale, in about a week; these animalcules, in still water, could not accomplish the same distance in less than 8,935 years.

Few circumstances among the minuter works of creation have struck me with so much surprise as the appearance of these animalcules, occurring in such myriads, in a sea perpetually covered with ice,—exposed to an average temper-

ature fifteen degrees below the freezing point,—and subject to be frozen, on some occasions at least, during every month of the year.

The vastness of their numbers, and their exceeding minuteness, are circumstances discovered in the examination of these animalcules of uncommon interest. In a drop of water, examined by a power of 28,224 (magnified superficies) there were fifty in number, on an average, in each square of the micrometer glass, of 1-840th of an inch in diameter, and as the drop occupied a circle on a plate of glass containing 529 of these squares, there must have been in this single drop of water, taken out of the yellowish green sea in a place by no means the most discoloured, about 26,450 animalcules. Hence, reckoning only sixty drops to a dram, there would be a number in a gallon of water, exceeding by one half of the population of the whole globe! It gives a powerful conception of the minuteness and wonders of creation, when we think of more than 26,000 animals living, obtaining subsistence, and moving perfectly at their ease, without annoyance to each other, in a single drop of water!

The diameter of the largest of these animalcules was only the 1-2,000th of an inch, and many only the 1-4,000th. The army which Bonaparte led into Russia in 1812, estimated at 500,000 men, would have extended in a double row, or two men abreast, with 2 feet 3 inches space for each couple of men, a distance of  $106\frac{1}{2}$  English miles: the same number of these animalcules arranged in a similar manner in two rows, but touching each other, would only require 5 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A whale requires a sea, an ocean to sport in; about a hundred and fifty millions of these animalcules, would have abundant room in a tumbler of water.

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## THE SLAVE TRADE.

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There are, gloomy ocean! a brotherless clan,  
Who traverse thy banishing waves,



The poor disinherited outcasts of man,  
 Whom avarice coins into slaves !  
 From the homes of their kindred, their forefathers' graves,  
 Love, friendship, and conjugal bliss,  
 They are dragg'd on the hoary abyss ;  
 The shark hears their shrieks, and ascending to day,  
 Demands of the spoiler his share of the prey.

Then joy to the tempest that whelms them beneath,  
 And makes their destruction its sport ;  
 But woe to the winds that propitiously breathe,  
 And waft them in safety to port.  
 Where the vultures and vampires of mammon resort,  
 Where Europe exultingly drains  
 Her life blood from Africa's veins ;  
 Where the image of God is accounted as base,  
 And the image of Cæsar set up in its place !

The hour is approaching—a terrible hour !  
 And vengeance is bending her bow ;  
 Already the clouds of the hurricane low'r,  
 And rock-rending whirlwinds blow ;  
 Back rolls the huge ocean—hell opens below ;  
 The floods return headlong—they sweep  
 The slave-cultured lands to the deep ;  
 In a moment entombed in the terrible void,  
 By their Maker himself, in his anger destroyed.

Shall this be the fate of the cane-planted isles,  
 More lovely than clouds in the west,  
 When the sun in the ocean descending in smiles,  
 Sinks softly and sweetly to rest ?  
 No !—Father of Mercy ! befriend the opprest—  
 At the smile of thy Gospel of peace,  
 May the sorrows of Africa cease,  
 And the slave and his master devoutly unite  
 To walk in thy freedom and dwell in thy light.

MONTGOMERY.

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## ON THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS OF MEXICO.

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OF all the extensive regions of America, lately subject  
 to the crown of Spain, Mexico has been considered of the

greatest importance, both in respect of its geographical situation, and of its immense territorial wealth. The great value of its metallic produce has been usually regarded as the chief reason of the preference manifested for Mexico, but the variety, the abundance, and the importance of its agricultural productions ought not to be overlooked. It appears, indeed, to be the uniform testimony of those, who from a sufficiently long residence in Mexico, have been enabled to make accurate observations of the face of the country, that it is capable of producing all the fruits which can be found in the various climates and countries of the globe. This remark, however extraordinary it may seem at first view, will appear by no means incredible, if we consider the extent and situation of the country, and especially the various elevations of its soil. The two following citations will illustrate this.

“The advantages afforded by this vast empire, from the wealth of its natural productions, the fertility of its soil, the facility which a man possesses there of choosing, with thermometer in hand, *in the space of a few square leagues, the temperature or climate* which he believes the most favorable to his age, his physical constitution, or to the species of cultivation to which he is most attached, appear to be most unrivalled.” *Taylor’s Selections from Humboldt, p. 2.*

“The valley of Toluca is 8,530 feet, the valley of Tenochtitlau 7460 feet, the valley of Actopan 6,450 feet, and the valley of Istla 3,300 feet above the level of the sea. They differ as much in their climate as in their elevation, each being adapted to a different species of cultivation. The last, which is the least elevated, admits of the growth of the sugar cane; the third is adapted for that of cotton; the second for the cultivation of European grain; and the first for agave plantations. *Vide Humboldt, Political Essay, vol. 1, p. 56.*

Maize, or Indian corn, which to the natives is the most important of any aliment known, is most advantageously cultivated from the lowest and warmest regions up to the height of 9000 feet above the level of the ocean. Its increase in favorable years and in proper situations has been ascer-

tained to be from 300 to 400 times the quantity of seed sown. The average is stated to be from 130 to 150 to one. It is used for food in a variety of ways; the green ear is boiled, and in that state is not unlike green peas. When ripe it is converted into flour for bread. Though a great quantity of other grain is now cultivated in Mexico, maize must still be regarded as the principal food of the people, as well as of the greater part of domestic animals. When compared with European grain, however, maize has the disadvantage of containing in a greater bulk a smaller quantity of nutritive substance. It is therefore pleasing to reflect that the old continent, as if anxious to compensate for the work of devastation which her sons have carried on in the new world, has contributed of the more useful productions of her own soil, among which wheat must occupy the first rank, and that Cortez himself, the introducer of European mischiefs, was in this respect the conveyer of European benefits. A negro slave of that adventurer found a few grains of wheat among some rice, which being sown, and the produce sown again, it has happily become general. And such appears to be the adaptation of some parts of this country with respect to soil and climate, to the growth of this grain, that not only has the increase been found to be very abundant, but the quality also very superior. The Mexican wheat has been compared to the finest grain of Andalusia. It is very large, very white, and very nutritive, especially in farms where it is artificially watered.\* “The increase of wheat in most parts of Europe is calculated to be about five for one, on the average of different countries, but in Mexico, at the proper elevation, it generally yields from thirty to forty for one, and at Cholula it has exceeded seventy or eighty for one. In Zelaya, a cultivator took at random from a field of wheat, forty plants, and Humboldt found from forty to seventy stalks from each plant. The grains were counted, and were found in different ears to be from 120 to 160.” *See Sup. to Encyc. Britt. art. Mexico.*

Potatoes are much cultivated in Mexico, even on the

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\* The system of irrigation seems to be of the utmost consequence in Mexico, as the long continued droughts are a great impediment to the cultivation of wheat, and frequently destroy the hopes of the cultivator.



highest inhabited lands, and are of so much the greater importance, as they do not require any great humidity of soil. They are preserved by the Mexicans as by the Peruvians, for years, by first exposing them to the frost and then drying them in the sun. They grow to a very large size; some of them were found by Humboldt to measure from 12 to 13 inches in diameter, and to have a very superior flavor. The banana and the manioc or cassava are also extensively cultivated, and are abundantly productive as well as highly beneficial.

Of those productions that furnish the *beverages* of man in this interesting country, the most important is the maguey or agave, a species of cactus or opuntia. "The plants are set about five feet asunder, in rows. When the head of the plant throws forth the bundle of central leaves, they are cut off, and a hole is scooped in the stalk, which is covered with the leaves. In this hollow the plant seems to deposit all the juice, which without the excision would go to form the flowers. It is a real vegetable spring, running for two or three months, and which may be emptied twice or thrice in a day. The plants are very productive, a single one will yield 150 quarts of honey (for so in this state it is called) annually. It is placed in a situation to ferment, an operation which takes place in a few days, when it becomes fit to drink, and is called *pulque*. It is said in its taste to resemble cider, but has a most disgusting smell which, for a long time, prevents Europeans from tasting it. When accustomed to it, however, people become very fond of it, and account it healthy and nutritive. The cultivation of the plant which produces this liquor is of vast importance, both to the public revenue and to the comfort of individuals. It pays a duty on its introduction into the cities, and in the year 1793 the amount of the tax produced at the gates of the cities of Mexico, Toluca, and Puebla, amounted to near £200,000 sterling. By distillation of pulque, a very intoxicating kind of brandy is produced. The plant from which the pulque is made has other valuable purposes to which it is adapted. It is used in making ropes, and even paper; it furnishes the inhabitants with a thread called pita; its juice is used as a caustic to wounds; and its prickles serve the Indians for needles and pins. *Supplement to Encyclopedia Britannica.*

The following observations are full of interest. "The Indian cultivator is poor, but he is *free*. His state is even preferable to that of the peasantry in a great part of the north of Europe. There are neither *corvées* nor villenage in New Spain; and the number of slaves is *next to nothing*. Sugar is chiefly the produce of free hands. There the principal objects of agriculture are not the productions to which European luxury has assigned a variable and arbitrary value, but cereal gramina, nutritive roots, and the agave the vine of the Indians. The appearance of the country proclaims to the traveller that the soil nourishes him who cultivates it, and that the true prosperity of the Mexican people neither depends on the accidents of foreign commerce nor on the unsettled politics of Europe. *Taylor's Selections*, p. 57.



## TO THE EDITORS OF THE HUMMING BIRD

FAIR LADIES,

IN looking over a respectable periodical work of the year 1774, I met with a speech of a free Negro, addressed to the revolted Slaves of a Colony in the West Indies, which is so replete with truth, common sense, and philanthropy, that I feel sure you will recognise him as an old acquaintance, though in a sable garb, and will think the speech worthy of a place in your valuable miscellany, as affording a striking proof that our African brethren are not behind us either in the vigour of their intellect, the quickness of their perception, or the warmth of their feelings. O shame to a *christian* country to keep such men in bondage!

With the greatest respect,

I remain yours,

A CONSTANT READER.

*July 20th, 1825.*

## THE SPEECH OF MOSES BON SAAM,

A FREE NEGRO,

*To the revolted Slaves in a considerable Colony of the  
West Indies.*

DEAR FELLOWS IN ARMS AND BROTHERS IN ADVERSITY,

Had your sufferings been less painful, I might have enjoyed my own ease in an exemption from danger; but in vain did my courage, once exerted in defence of a master, redeem me from the name of Slave; I found no blessing in freedom, because no longer partaker of your misery. While I was formerly one of your number, and but a wretch amongst wretches, I wanted sentiments to reflect with justice on our wrongs; but I have since been taught your wretchedness by sixteen years of liberty—years not spent in ease and luxury, like the lives of our oppressors, but laborious diligence in pursuit of their capacity and arts, to know and make known, that education and accident, not difference of genius, have been the cause of this superiority that bids a white man despise and trample on a black one. In what consists the advantage of these proud spoilers, but superior happiness? They are not wiser by nature, but more exercised in art than we are. Not braver, but more crafty, and assist their anger by discipline; have rules and modes in war, which actuate the most numerous bodies of white people; while we, acting, though resolutely, yet not dependently, divide and lose our firmness, like a river, strong and terrible whilst moving within its banks, but breaking them down, and spreading its streams, is tame, weak, and muddy. As soon as I could read, I discovered in the holiest of all books, the fountain of white men's religion, with amazement and prophetic joy, that the very man from whom they had the name given to me of Moses, had been the happy deliverer of a nation from just such a slavery as you have groaned under: innumerable thousands of his captive countrymen all unknowing their own rights, and forced, like you, to labour for ungrateful masters. Will our task-masters object against the lawfulness of our revolt, that our forefathers were Slaves? Will they urge that they have paid a price, and therefore claim us as their property?



Grant them the life of a first unhappy captive to repay this claim; but did they also buy his race? Must his children's children be transmitted to slavery? Perish so shameful a pretension! Let them recollect how soon the profits of our forefather's toils repaid them. Let them tell us, if they dare see truth, whether all the pomp, pride, and wantonness of their prosperity, is not the purchase of our sweat, our tears, and our distresses.

Indulge me, dear friends, your permission to stop here and weep; I know it is a weakness, but it shall possess me but a moment: I will recover my voice, and go on to enumerate your miseries. Alas! it is not possible. It is too terrible a task! I have neither patience nor breath enough to find names for your sorrows. Would to heaven I could as easily banish them from my memory, as I can forbear to disgrace you by their description! But fancy will not suffer me to forget them; imagination, officious to torment me, invades even my sleep with them. But I have done with the horrors of the subject. Let us think then no more upon what we have suffered: let us resolve to suffer no longer. In the present case we have nothing to fear, we continue on the defensive. Let us repress malice and cruelty, and rather strive to support our new liberty, than revenge our past slavery. While we train and confirm our forces to discipline and exercise, we shall grow stronger by our skill: perhaps more is possible but it ought not to be attempted. We understand and accept God's bounty: let us cultivate law as well as land, and by submitting to government become too generous for slavery. As long as the enemy shall attempt to dislodge us, let them find us too strong for their anger; but if they leave us in possession of one lot, let them acknowledge us too kind for their cruelty. They must always want the cattle which we can never be deprived of but in traffic, and we may receive in exchange a thousand things for our ease, which will be for their benefit to sell us. Be of comfort, therefore, my friends, and hope all things from patience. Be not too hasty; content yourselves to be thought weak for a while, till you have secured and deepened your foundation: the building will rise stronger and more beautiful. You have heard talk of the Dutch, those rivals in riches and power to the greatest princes. What were these a hundred years past but white slaves to a monarch,

who now calls them his brothers! Keep this example in your eye, and assure yourselves your enemy will embrace you in spite of your colour, when they see destruction in your anger, but ease and security in your friendship.



### “FORTY DAYS RAIN AFTER ST. SWITHIN.”

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“Now, if on Swithin’s feast the welkin lowers,  
And every penthouse streams with hasty showers,  
Twice twenty days shall clouds their fleeces drain,  
And wash the pavements with incessant rain.  
Let no such vulgar tales debase thy mind;  
Nor Paul nor Swithin rule the clouds or wind.”

GAY.

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Mr. Howard, in his “Climate of London,” has attempted the following explanation of this very popular superstition:—

“The opinion of the people on subjects connected with natural history, is commonly founded, in some degree, on fact or experience; though in this case, vague and inconsistent conclusions are too frequently drawn from real premises. The notion commonly entertained on this subject, if put strictly to the test of experience, *at any one station* in this part of the island, will be found fallacious. To do justice to popular observation, I may now state, that in a majority of our summers, a showery period, which, with some latitude as to time and local circumstances, may be admitted to constitute daily rain for forty days, does come on about the time indicated by this tradition; not that any long space before is often so dry as to mark distinctly its commencement,

“The tradition, it seems, took its origin from the following circumstances. Swithin or Swithum, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 868, desired that he might be buried in the open church-yard, and not in the chancel of the Minster, as was usual with other Bishops. This request was complied with; but the Monks, on his being canonized, considered it disgraceful for the saint to be in a public cemetery, resolved to remove his body into the choir, which was to

have been done with solemn procession on the 15th of July; it rained, however, so violently for forty days together at this season, that the design was abandoned. Now without entering into the case of their Bishop, who was probably a man of sense, and wished to set the example of a more wholesome, as well as a more humble mode of resigning the perishable clay to the destructive elements, I may observe, that the fact of the hindrance of the ceremony by the cause related, is sufficiently authenticated by tradition, and the tradition is so far valuable as it proves that the summers in this southern part of our island, were subject a thousand years ago to occasional heavy rains in the same way as at present."

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### HORRORS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

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A celebrated French moralist well observes, that he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of blood; and Dr. Franklin very properly sub-joins, that had he taken in all the consequences of the Slave Trade, he might have seen the sugar not merely spotted but dyed scarlet in grain.

The Abbé Raynal computes that at the time of his writing, 9,000,000 of slaves had been consumed by the Europeans; add 1,000,000 at least since, for it is about ten years, says Mr. Cooper who published letters on this subject in 1787. Recollecting then that for one slave procured, ten at least are slaughtered, that a fifth die in the passage, and a third in the seasoning, and the unexaggerated computation will turn out, that the infernal voracity of European avarice has been glutted with the murder of 180,000,000 of our fellow-creatures. The traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures, not only proves that in some persons, mercantile cupidity is insatiable, but also that it is generally unaccompanied by remorse. This monstrous "Colossal crime" has not been perpetrated with impunity; not only its prosecution, but its effects, have in some measure called down upon us the powers and the judgments of Heaven.

By foreign wealth are British morals changed,  
And Afric's sons, and India's smile avenged.

MRS. BARBAULD.



## ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR.

ABSTINENCE from the consumption of sugar grown by slaves having become so popular a measure of the friends of those oppressed people, and it being an argument so plain and obvious to every capacity, we have great pleasure in extracting the following striking and unanswerable statement from the "*Second report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions.*"

"It is not, however, merely by the interference of Parliament, in the internal legislation of the Colonies, that the mitigation and final extinction of slavery may be effected. The abolition of the West-Indian monopoly would tend, perhaps, even more certainly to that end.

"That monopoly is at present supported, first, by a bounty of upwards of six shillings per cwt. on the export of refined sugar, and which necessarily raises the price, not only of all such sugar exported, but of all the sugar consumed at home, to the extent of the bounty; and secondly, a protecting duty of ten shillings a cwt. more on East-Indian, than on West-Indian sugar: thus favoring sugar grown by slave labour, in preference to that grown by free labour, to the extent of about 50 per cent. on the cost of the article, and tending to exclude the latter from our consumption, and to force us to consume the former. On coffee also, the West Indies have a protection of 28s. a cwt. Now, to say nothing at present of the degree in which prices are raised by the operation of the protecting duty, the cost of the West Indian monopoly, arising from the sugar bounty alone, may be estimated at about £1,200,000 annually. And it is this large sum, (in addition to whatever enhancement of price may be produced by the protecting duty,) paid by the people of this country to the growers of sugar, over and above what that sugar would otherwise cost, which does in fact chiefly maintain unimpaired and unreformed the wretched system of colonial bondage. The people of England are therefore the real upholders of Negro Slavery. Without their large contribution to its support, it could not fail to be rapidly mitigated, and eventually extinguished.

It is absolutely vain, therefore, to be hoping to abolish Slavery, or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches or the force of mere parliamentary resolutions, or of royal recommendations, we shall be able to abate this evil, while we are extending to it such solid marks of our favor, and thus affording to it its great and principal means of support.

“It is calculated that there are in the West Indies about 1800 sugar plantations; among the proprietors of which the twelve hundred thousand pounds which the people of this country are forced to pay for their sugars, over and above what the same sugars would cost them if the trade were free, is of course divided; making, on the average, about £700 sterling annually to each proprietor; and this independently of the advantage, whatever it be, which he derives from the protecting duty. Now if it were proposed in Parliament to give to each of these 1800 West-Indian proprietors, pensions, varying in their amount from £500 to £5000 a year, according to the quantity of sugar which each might extract, by means of the cart-whip, from the labour of his slaves; and forming a total aggregate of one million two hundred thousand pounds, what reception would such a proposition meet with? Would it be tolerated for a single moment? And yet, wherein does the actual state of things differ substantially from the case which has been supposed, except that, in this last, the transaction would stand forth to the public view in all its flagrancy, while, in the other, it is more concealed from observation; and that, in the one case, the money would be paid by the people into the Exchequer, before it went into the pockets of the sugar planters; and that, in the other, it is paid to them through the grocers in the price of their sugars. The payment is not the less real on that account.”

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### THE NORTH CAPE.

[*Acerbe's Travels in Sweden.*]

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THE North Cape is an enormous rock, which projecting far into the ocean, and being exposed to all the fury of the waves, and the outrage of tempests, crumbles every year

more and more into ruins. Here every thing is solitary, every thing is sterile, every thing sad and despondent. The shadowy forest no longer adorns the brow of the mountain; the singing of the birds which enlivened even the woods of Lapland, is no longer heard in this scene of desolation; the ruggedness of the dark grey rock is not covered by a single shrub; the only music is the hoarse murmuring of the waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge masses that oppose them. The northern sun, creeping at midnight at the distance of five diameters along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines in the picture presented to the astonished spectator. The incessant cares and pursuits of anxious mortals are recollected as a dream; the various forms and energies of animal nature are forgotten; the earth is contemplated only in its elements, and as constituting a part of the solar system.

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### QUICKNESS OF NEGRO INTELLECT.

“I have sometimes heard slaves convey much strong meaning in a narrow compass: I have been surprised by such figurative expressions, and (notwithstanding their ignorance of abstract terms) such pointed sentences, as would have reflected no disgrace on poets and philosophers. One instance recurs to my memory, of so significant a turn of expression in a common labouring Negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the conversation of white people, as is alone, I think, sufficient to demonstrate that Negroes have minds very capable of observation. It was a servant who had brought me a letter, and while I was preparing an answer, had, through weariness and fatigue, fallen asleep on the floor; as soon as the papers were ready I directed him to be awakened; but this was no easy matter. When the Negro who attempted to awake him, exclaimed in the usual jargon, “*You no hear Massa call you?*” that is, don’t you hear your master call you? “*Sleep,*” replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning composedly to his slumbers, “*Sleep hab no Massa,*” (Sleep has no master.)”—(*Bryan Edwards’ History of the West Indies.*)



## ON HUMAN LABOUR.

THE animal exertion, or actual strength of an individual, varies according to the climate. A man will perform double the work in a temperate climate that he will do in a climate nearer the equator, under the scorching heat of the sun. It also varies exceedingly in the different races of mankind, as well as in the constitution and habits of the individual. The European far exceeds the savage of Van Dieman's Land or America, in energy and exertion. Regnier found by means of his dunanomiter that the strength of a savage of Van Dieman's Land was nearly as the number 30, of Timor as 51, of a Frenchman as 69, and of an Englishman as 71.

But the usual method of computing the efforts of human labour is, from the weight which a man can raise to a given height in a given time. The product of the weight, by the height, and time, denoting the actual performance.

Engineers now assume that a man will raise a weight of ten pounds to the height of ten feet every second, and continue that exertion for ten hours a day, consequently 3,600,000 will be the daily performance.

But this estimate seems to have been taken under the most favorable circumstances, and greatly exceeds what generally obtains.

It has been found that a man can ascend a stair, 90 feet high in two minutes, and supposing his body to be 150 pounds, the animal exertion would be 6·750 per minute, or 4,050,000 if continued for ten hours.

But it is impossible to continue this exertion for more than a few minutes, and if a man were to ascend a stair for ten hours, the ascent would scarcely exceed 15 feet per minute. So that although a man in ten hours could easily walk thirty miles on a level road, yet in ascending a stair or ladder could scarcely reach the height of two miles.

## TO OUR CORRESPONDENTS.

It is with a sentiment of heart-felt pleasure, we would wish to say *gratitude*, that we acknowledge the kind communications of our friends, we may now call them *old* friends. "*A cause like ours is its own sacrament*;" and we humbly, yet confidently presume, that they who have hitherto supported our small effort, which without their aid, must have sunk into the grave with other numerous unavailing good intentions, will feel themselves bound to us by their own persevering zeal. Thus feeling the necessity of confederate forces to preserve the line of our little detachment, we still most earnestly solicit *extended alliances*, and as we vigorously continue our steady march, may we not hope that other friends will step forth now and then with kind supplies? It has much gratified us that our numbers have been called for in that city of cultivation and liberality, the Scottish metropolis—and we beg most respectfully to observe, that any scattered ears from her abundantly cultivated fields of literature will be received by us with high gratification.

The remark of our kind friend H. P. on the alteration we presumed to make, (he will understand this allusion) evinces the spirit of true candour and liberality. We accept, with most sincere thanks, his generous offer of supplying us with subjects in the department which he particularizes, and refer to his own taste for the selection. As he pleases to designate himself the *lion's provider*, the lion, (might we dare to assume that royal character) will shew as warm a sense of his benefits, as one of his race did to the benefactor who extracted the thorn from his foot. Every friend who lends us a helping hand draws a thorn from our foot. We particularly thank H. P. for his correction of an error in No. 1, and extract that passage from his letter.

"I take the liberty to remark upon a sentence in your first number, which appears to contain a numerical error. In page 30, you say 'The Europeans import annually 80,000 of this devoted race, which amounts to a fourteenth of the population of England'—fourteen times 80,000, (1120,000,) is less than the population of our metropolis. The error probably arose from the writer, in his calculation, inadvertently reckoning the 800,000 of our colonial slaves, instead of the 80,000 annually carried off from Africa."

Mr. Stephen's valuable work has already furnished us with matter in our articles on "the actual condition of the slaves," and will further highly assist us. The idea of H. P. relative to a sketch of St. Domingo, the first rising of the

negroes, and a biographical memoir of Toussaint, exactly coincides with our own—and we shall be most thankful for any materials for that purpose. “The Propagateur Haytien” has not yet reached us—we should be gratified by some extracts from it. *African intellect* is a subject of high moment; and we thank our friend the “Constant Reader,” for calling attention to that point.

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### NOTICE.

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WE are sorry to inform our readers that after the Music to the “Humming Bird” was printed, some errors were discovered, the correction of which necessitates us to postpone its insertion till next month.



THE  
SLAVE COLONIES

OF  
GREAT BRITAIN;

OR  
A Picture of Negro Slavery

drawn  
By the Colonists themselves;

---

BEING  
AN ABSTRACT OF THE VARIOUS PAPERS RECENTLY LAID  
BEFORE PARLIAMENT ON THAT SUBJECT.

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*" Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee."*

LUKE XIX. 22.

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SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND HENDERSON,  
GOUGH SQUARE,

FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF  
SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS;

AND SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY;  
AND J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

1826.



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# THE SLAVE COLONIES,

&c. &c.

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**DURING** the session of 1824, a number of papers were moved for in the House of Commons on the subject of Colonial Slavery. A few of these were presented and printed in the same session; but by far the most important were not produced till the following session, and were not printed and in the hands of Members till near its close, when it was too late to make any but a very partial use of them. As these papers are very voluminous, it has been judged advisable to form an abstract of them, with a view both to the convenience of Members of Parliament, and to the information of the public at large. A few observations and notes will be added, for the purpose of explanation, and in the hope of thereby rendering the abstract more intelligible and useful.

The following are the titles of the various papers which this analysis is intended to embrace. In order to avoid confusion, and promote brevity, a distinguishing letter is prefixed to each, which will be employed to designate it, whenever a reference to it becomes necessary.

- A.—Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, in explanation of the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government for the melioration of the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's possessions in the West Indies and on the continent of South America (in continuation of the Papers presented in 1824). 1825.
- B.—Additional Papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command, in explanation, &c. (in continuation of the Papers presented this session). 1825.
- C.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies; Demolition of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes. Ordered to be printed 16th March, 1825, and numbered 113.
- D.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies; Demolition of the Methodist Chapel in Barbadoes. Ordered to be printed 21st March 1825, and numbered 127.
- E.—Papers relating to the Manumission, Government, and Population of Slaves in the West Indies, 1822—1824. Ordered to be printed 1st March 1825, and numbered 66.

- F.—Further Papers relating to Slaves in the West Indies ; Information respecting Lecesne and Escoffery. Ordered to be printed 4th March 1825, and numbered 74.
- G.—Honduras : Letter from Captain R. Maclean. Ordered to be printed 18th June 1824, and numbered 439.
- H.—Slave Population, West Indies. Ordered to be printed 14th June 1824, and numbered 424.
- I.—Slave Population, West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. Ordered to be printed 1st July 1825, and numbered 512.
- K.—Population of the Mauritius. Ordered to be printed 30th May 1825, and numbered 361.
- L.—Slaves in Tortola. Ordered to be printed 25th April 1825, and numbered 1235.
- M.—Slaves in Tortola : Case of the Donna Paula. Ordered to be printed 18th June 1824, and numbered 441.

In the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society will be found a copy of the Instructions transmitted to the Governors of the different West-India Colonies by Earl Bathurst, respecting the reforms in the system of colonial slavery which his Majesty's Ministers were desirous of introducing ; together with the substance of the Order in Council for improving the condition of the slaves in Trinidad, in which Order those instructions were for the most part embodied. Soon after that Order was promulgated in Trinidad, Lord Bathurst, in July 1824, transmitted a copy of it to the different local governments in the West Indies, accompanied by letters recommending its adoption. The general tenor of these letters will be sufficiently understood by the following copy of one of them, which was addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, and from which the others do not materially vary. It is as follows :—

“ I have the honour of enclosing to your Grace a copy of the Order in Council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves in Trinidad : and I have also to notify to you his Majesty's appointment of two Bishops ; the one for Jamaica, and the other for the Leeward Islands ; to whom are to be entrusted the controul of the Clergy of the Church of England within their respective dioceses, and the duty of reporting upon the state of the ecclesiastical establishments, particularly as it relates to the slave population ; and upon the best means of diffusing the benefits of religious instruction to that part of the community. Your Grace must, indeed, have been long informed of both these measures ; but my reason for calling your attention to them at this moment, is for the purpose of enabling you to bring more completely under the consideration of the Legislature, at their ensuing meeting, the whole of the measures which his Majesty's Government have in contemplation for the melioration of the state of the slave population.

“ His Majesty's Government have been anxious to prove the deep interest which they feel in the encouragement of the religious and moral instruction of the Negroes, by at once taking upon themselves



the whole charge of placing the clergy of the West Indies under episcopal controul ; and they have further directed, that a given sum shall be forthwith placed at the disposal of the Bishops, for the purpose of providing for the more immediate supply of persons in holy orders within their respective dioceses ; and his Majesty confidently expects to receive every assistance from the Assembly, to promote the establishment of a system so calculated to produce the most beneficial effects on the morals and habits of the slave population.

“ With respect to the Order in Council for meliorating the condition of the slaves in Trinidad, similar provisions to those which are contained in that Order will be extended to Demerara and Essequibo, St. Lucia, the Cape, and the Mauritius, with such modifications as may be necessary to adapt them to the Dutch and French laws, which are respectively in force in those possessions.

“ The Assembly of Jamaica shewed their anxiety for the improvement of the condition of the slaves, by many of the provisions of their Consolidation Act, passed in 1816 ; and it is impossible to believe, that, consistently with the spirit which then animated them, they will now refuse to go further. On attentively considering the provisions of the Order in Council, they will not fail to perceive much which practice has already established in Jamaica, and which requires little more than the formal sanction of a law to complete\*. In comparing it with the provisions of their own Act, they will observe, that, upon the principle of those provisions, many of the suggested alterations must be considered as improvements ; and by incorporating in their statutes those additional provisions of the Order, which as yet are not to be found in their Consolidation Act, they will lay the foundation for such a system of gradual improvement of the condition of the slave population, as will prove equally honourable to the Assembly, and beneficial to those for whose advantage it appears to be more immediately intended.

“ Your Grace will readily anticipate the serious extent of the disappointment which his Majesty's Government will experience, if, unfortunately for their best interests, as well as for the cause of humanity, the Assembly of Jamaica shall reject the substance of these regulations, which they must be aware have received the sanction of Parliament, and the general approbation of the country.” (A. p. 6.)

We shall now proceed to state the effect which has resulted in the colonies from the various recommendations of his Majesty's Government, as far as it is to be deduced from the papers recently laid before Parliament ; combining with that information the substance of such communications from the colonies on collateral topics, as may bear materially on the main subject of the present publication,—the Progress of Colonial Reform. The colonies will be taken separately, and in their alphabetical order.

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\* Lord Bathurst, we fear, has been led to think far too favourably, both of the law and the practice of Jamaica.

## I. ANTIGUA.

The only information obtained from this island is to be found in a dispatch of Mr. President Athill, addressed to Earl Bathurst, dated Sept. 3, 1824, and is as follows:—

“The Committee, to form the Bill for consolidating the laws respecting the slave population into one Act, have not proceeded with as much industry as might have been expected from the importance of the subject. Since I received your Lordship’s letter, I have called the attention of the chairman to the subject; and I hope that will be more completely done by the consideration of the dispatch itself, when laid before the Assembly, at their meeting, on the 9th of this month.” (A. p. 102.)

The want of industry in the Colonial Assembly, of which the President complained on the 3d of September 1824, does not appear to have been remedied by the subsequent communication to them of Lord Bathurst’s dispatch. No further report of progress appears to have been since made to his Majesty’s Government.

## II. BAHAMAS.

The Legislature of the Bahamas has given us a useful specimen of the kind and degree of improvement to be expected, when it is left to the colonists themselves to reform their slave code. In the Bahamas, from their peculiar circumstances, but more especially from the unproductiveness of their soil, and the total absence of all sugar culture, the treatment of the slaves has been practically less severe than in most of the other slave colonies. The slaves have been less worked and better fed; and their numbers have consequently increased, at the rate of about two per cent. per annum, or probably at a still higher rate. In January 1824, the Bahama Legislature proceeded, in compliance with the recommendations of his Majesty’s Government, to pass Acts to amend their slave laws, and to improve the condition of the free People of Colour. It will be only necessary to advert to the provisions of these Acts, in order to judge how far this colony has advanced in the career of amelioration.

In some of his Majesty’s colonies, free Blacks and Persons of Colour have been long admitted to give testimony in courts of justice against Whites; but in the colony of the Bahamas it was not until the year 1824 that a person of any description, not White, was admitted to this privilege. Free Blacks and People of Colour are now allowed to give evidence in courts of justice, in all civil or criminal cases affecting White persons. But it is under the guard of the most jealous restrictions that even this privilege is conceded to them: none are permitted to enjoy it fully, who have not been *born*

*free*, and who have not been born Creoles—that is to say, who are not natives of the West Indies—and who have not resided at least five years in the Bahamas. Thus a Mulatto born in England, for example, whatever may be his acquirements, his station in life, or the respectability of his character, is excluded from giving evidence, in all cases affecting the White persons who form the petty oligarchy of the Bahamas.—But the next clause contains a further extension of this liberal system. All *Creole* Negroes or Mulattoes, who, though not born free, yet have been manumitted since their birth, and have actually enjoyed freedom for five years, and who profess the Christian Religion, shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges in this respect of Persons of Colour born free in the Bahamas; except that they shall not be allowed to give evidence of any treason, felony, or other offence committed previous to their emancipation. But from these rights and privileges all “Negroes, Mulattoes, and other Persons of Colour, being natives of Africa, or of any of the islands contiguous thereto,” are to be absolutely excluded; while all who are not Creoles—that is, natives of the West Indies—are virtually excluded from them. We presume that this extraordinary Act has not received his Majesty’s sanction. (A. p. 20.)

The new Consolidated Slave Law contains seventy-eight clauses. (A. pp. 21—37.) We shall briefly advert to such of them as require observation.

§ 2. The allowance of provisions given to slaves is to be equal to twenty-one pints of wheat flour per week\*.

§ 3. All manumissions of slaves incapable of labour are made void, and the master is bound, under a penalty of ten pounds for every failure, to provide for such slave †.

§ 6. Slaves being husband and wife; or reputed husband or wife, and their child or reputed child being under fourteen years of age, when belonging to the same owner, are not to be sold separately; and the same rule is to be observed in the case of testamentary bequests‡.

\* This is more than double the allowance in the Leeward Islands, where the labour is far more severe than in the Bahamas.

† Lord Bathurst justly objects to this clause, which, he argues, may become the source of great abuses. “If the slave,” his Lordship remarks, “possesses, or can find, the means of purchasing his own freedom, there is no danger of his becoming a burden to society.” Besides, “it may at any time become a question, whether the manumission of a slave is not void in consequence of his owner having been induced to grant it by his incapacity to labour; and a class of persons may therefore arise, respecting whom, and respecting whose descendants, it may always remain a question whether they are free men or slaves.” His Lordship refers them to the Trinidad Order in Council, which sufficiently guards against all the probable evil arising from improper manumissions, by requiring of the owner, in the case of his *voluntary* manumission, either of infant children, or of infirm and aged slaves, a bond to be entered into, for the maintenance of the infant till the age of fourteen, and of the aged and infirm during life. (A. pp. 39 and 136.)

‡ The provisions of the Spanish and Portuguese laws require, not only that husbands, wives, and children of a certain age, belonging to the same owner,



§ 9. "All masters or owners, or, in their absence, their overseers, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to instruct their slaves in the Christian religion; and shall do their endeavour to fit them for baptism: and, as soon as conveniently may be, shall cause to be baptised all such slaves as they can make sensible of a Deity and of the Christian faith\*."

§§ 10—13. These clauses are intended for the encouragement and due celebration of marriage between slaves, and between slaves and free People of Colour. Such marriages cannot be celebrated without the consent of the owner in writing; which consent there is no provision for compelling the owner to grant, or to assign an adequate reason for not granting. Marriages so celebrated are declared to be good, valid, and binding, to all intents and purposes in the law whatsoever, "saving always the just right of ownership, which in no case whatever shall be in any wise hurt, prejudiced, straitened, or otherwise affected thereby," and "provided that the marital power and authority to be thus acquired by the husband over the wife, shall in no such case impugn, diminish, or interfere with, the rights or authority of the owner, in any manner whatsoever†."

§§ 14, 15. The wilful mutilation of a slave is made liable to be punished by a fine, not exceeding 100*l.* (currency), and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months; and the court *may* free the slave so mutilated from slavery.—No court of justice shall sentence a slave to be mutilated or maimed.

§ 16. A person killing a slave "wilfully, and with malice aforethought," shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

§ 17. A person wantonly or cruelly treating a slave, is liable to be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court.

§ 18. "In order to restrain arbitrary punishment," "no slave shall receive more than twenty lashes at any one time, or for any one offence, unless the owner or employer of such slave, or supervisor of the workhouse, or keeper of the gaol, be present;" and these persons are restricted from inflicting more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence: "nor shall any female slave above the age of

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should not be separated by sale or bequest, but that, when they belong to different but neighbouring owners, an arrangement should always be made to prevent their being separated, by obliging the owner, either of the wife or the husband, to become the purchaser of the other, on reasonable terms.

\* We have here a specimen of the ordinary provisions of West-Indian Legislatures for the religious instruction of the slaves, whenever they have condescended, out of deference to public feeling in this country, to notice the subject at all; viz. an enactment without penalty or sanction of any kind, without any specification of time or place, without any provision of means of instruction, or of instructors—an enactment, in short, intended for effect in England, but which must be a dead letter in the West Indies.

† What may be the exact import of this proviso we are unable even to guess. Whether it leaves to the husband any connubial rights whatever; and whether it conveys any means of redress against the master, or any other free person, violating those rights; are points which remain involved in a happy obscurity.

twelve be punished otherwise than in private"—all under a penalty of 10*l.* (currency) for every offence\*.

§ 19. This clause recognises the right of owners to send their slaves to gaol, and authorises the marshal or gaoler to keep them there, without any limitation as to time.

§ 20. The practice of fixing iron collars, with projecting bars or hooks, round the necks of slaves, or loading their bodies or limbs with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, *beyond what is necessary for securing their persons* (a somewhat indefinite measure of punishment!), is forbidden, under a penalty of 50*l.* (currency.)

§§ 28—39. All slaves who have been in the island two years, and who shall run away, and be absent for more than ten days and not exceeding six months, may suffer any punishment that *two justices* may inflict, not extending to life or limb. If absent more than six months, they may be transported for life, or suffer any other punishment the *two justices* may inflict, not extending to life or limb. Slaves harbouring run-away slaves may be punished in like manner; and free persons doing so, on conviction in the general court, may be punished by fine and imprisonment. All persons taking up run-aways, shall have certain rewards. Slaves shall receive for each rebellious slave they kill, 5*l.*; and for each they take alive, 10*l.* and a blue coat with a red cross†.

§ 40. After a run-away slave committed to gaol shall have been advertised for twelve calendar months, if no person shall claim him, he may be sold by public outcry; and the surplus, after paying the

\* Lord Bathurst (A. p. 39) very justly objects to arming the supervisor of a workhouse, or the keeper of a gaol, with the power of inflicting "on a slave a punishment as severe as could be inflicted by his owner," because "such power cannot be placed in the hands of such officers without a danger of its being much abused." But might not this just remark have extended much farther? Is there, then, no similar danger of abuse from arming an owner or employer with such a power? or from arming all other persons with a power of inflicting twenty lashes—of the cart-whip to wit—at their discretion? In Jamaica, forty years ago, an owner or overseer was allowed to inflict only thirty-nine lashes, and all other persons only ten; but the ameliorating law of the Bahamas has now only arrived at the limit of thirty-nine for the owner, and twenty for all other persons. In the Trinidad Order in Council, no punishment exceeding three lashes is allowed, without certain important formalities; and, with all these formalities, the utmost extent to which a master can go is twenty-five. In the Bahamas, however, for any offence, or for no offence, without record and without witnesses, at the caprice of a driver, twenty lashes, and at the caprice of an owner or employer, thirty-nine lashes, of the cart-whip—every stroke of which may leave a deep incision—may be inflicted on any slave, male or female, the latter being whipt in private!!

† The extent and the jealous minuteness of the provisions respecting run-aways, form a curious contrast to the brevity, and the absence of all penalty and sanction, which mark the single clause about religion. And then let the frightful severity of these enactments be considered. *Two justices* may inflict any punishment short of life and limb—even the unsparing torture of 500 or 1000 lashes, if the wretched sufferer can live through it; for there seems to be no other limit.

prison fees and charges, “shall be paid into the public treasure, to be applied towards defraying the expenses of the government\*.”

§ 42. Slaves escaping from gaol before trial, and being taken, on proof of identity before two justices, may receive fifty lashes.

§ 47. Any slave having concealed in his or her house, or possession, any fire-arms, gunpowder, slugs, or ball, and convicted before two justices, shall be punished by whipping, at their discretion—(no limit to its extent).

§ 48. Any slave *offering* violence, by striking or *otherwise*, to any White person, shall be punished, at the discretion of *two justices*, with *any punishment short of life or limb*.

§§ 49, 51. Slaves mixing poison, with intent to give, or actually giving it, though no death ensue; and stealing or killing cattle, sheep, horse, mule, or ass; may be punished with death.

§ 50. To a slave “fraudulently” possessed of from five to twenty-eight pounds of beef, mutton, veal, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, two justices may give thirty-nine lashes; if more than twenty-eight pounds, they may inflict *any punishment not extending to life or limb*.

§§ 52—54. A slave aiding a slave to depart from the Bahama islands, shall suffer transportation, or any other punishment, not extending to life and limb. A free Negro, or Person of Colour, doing so, shall be subject to transportation; and, if afterwards found at large, to death, without benefit of clergy. A White doing so, shall forfeit 100*l.*, and be imprisoned, for not more than twelve months†.

§§ 57, 58. Slaves vending spirituous liquors, or playing at dice or cards, or guilty of any other kind of gaming, shall be publicly whipped, by the order of any two justices.

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\* After all that has been said and written on the subject, it has been re-enacted as a law, in the reformed slave code of the Bahamas, that a Negro or Mulatto, who shall have been committed to gaol as a run-away, after having been confined and worked there for twelve months, shall, without any proof of his being a slave, and against the fair presumption of his being a freeman, have this additional cruel and irreparable wrong inflicted upon him, of being sold into perpetual bondage. Lord Bathurst makes an objection to this part of the law respecting run-aways. The following are the terms he uses, (A. p. 39): “It is necessary,” he says, “that some provision should be made for ascertaining whether the person is really a slave. The non-claim for twelve months raises at least a presumption that he is not a slave; and if he asserts himself to be free, it is in justice necessary that he should be secured from being sold into slavery, without sufficient proof that he is a slave.” But is it not also necessary, in justice, that a person thus situated should be assumed to be free, and dealt with as free, until the contrary is proved?

† Lord Bathurst is struck with the gross inequality of these punishments, (A. p. 39.) “Since the superiority of rank and education,” he observes, “which belongs to the White inhabitant, is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is an injustice in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment.” This admirable principle of law would go to abrogate, and ought to abrogate, more than one half of the whole frame of colonial legislation, which proceeds universally on the very opposite principle to that so well laid down by his Lordship, aggravating both crimes and punishments in proportion to the inferiority in rank and education of the criminal.



§§ 59—63. Slaves accused of crimes subject to death without benefit of clergy, are to be tried by the general court, in the same way as Whites or free persons. Those accused of clerigiable felonies, are to be tried by a court composed of two justices and five jurors, and *are not to be allowed any right of peremptory challenge of a juror, or any right of exception to the form of indictment.*

§ 64. Slaves giving false evidence, shall suffer the same punishment which the person, “on whose trial the false evidence was given, would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer,” “AND such other punishment as the justices shall award, *not extending to life and limb\*.*”

§ 69. Slaves receiving sentence of death or transportation, shall be appraised and valued. “But, if it shall appear that the owner of any such slave had treated him or her with inhumanity, and that necessity or hard usage might have driven such slave to the commission of the offence of which he or she shall have been convicted; then no valuation shall be made, nor certificate granted, and the owner shall not be entitled to receive any allowance whatever for such slave from the public †.”

§ 73. All free Negroes, or Persons of Colour, who have been slaves, shall, for all offences under the degree of felony, be tried as slaves are directed to be tried, and the evidence of slaves shall be admitted against them †.

§ 74. Inferior offences on the part of slaves may be summarily punished, by two justices, to the extent of fifty lashes.

Such is the attempt made by the Bahama Legislature, in the year 1824, to improve the condition of their slaves. Who could have believed it possible, prior to the fact, that, after the Resolutions passed in Parliament, after the Instructions issued by his Majesty's Secretary of State, after all that has been said and written on the subject of slavery, men, calling themselves Englishmen, could have been found so lost to all sense of propriety as to frame such an Act (an Act worthy of the most barbarous age), and to present it for the delibe-

\* His Lordship also objects to this clause, which, however, forms a part of almost every West-Indian code. “By this clause,” he remarks, “the operation of the law against the crime of perjury committed by a slave, whose ignorance is an extenuation of his guilt, is much more severe than against others, for whose guilt no such extenuation can be presumed.” Happy would it be for the slaves, if this principle had its just application universally!

† It is difficult to conceive how such an enactment as this should have found its way into any code of law. Is it possible for any man to read, without amazement and horror, that, though the convicted slave should be proved to have been driven to the commission of his crime by necessity or hard usage on the part of his master—a master possessing absolute and uncontrouled power—yet that the law does not order his sentence of condemnation to be reversed, but leaves him to be executed, or transported, as the case may be; while the only punishment inflicted on the real criminal is, that he does not receive the value of the murdered slave?

‡ Lord Bathurst objects to this clause, which marks so very strongly the disposition of the White legislators of the Bahamas to degrade the free People of Colour. “Any enactment,” he says, “cannot but be objectionable which deprives any free class of men of the benefits of trial by jury.” (A. p. 40.)

rate approbation of his Majesty? It is due to Lord Bathurst to observe, that his estimate of this legislative act is not to be measured by the terms he applies to particular clauses of it. In the letter which contains his specific objections, he adds the following general caveat against being supposed to approve what he does not specifically condemn. "With respect to the other provisions of this Act, and to the important omissions in it, I have only to refer you to my circular dispatches of last year, and to the Order in Council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves in Trinidad \*, by a comparison with which you will be fully enabled to judge how far this Act may consist with, and in what respects it will fail to carry into effect, the wishes of his Majesty's Government."

In the first section of the Act now reviewed, a number of former Acts, respecting slaves and free Persons of Colour, are suspended. From the operation of this suspending enactment, however, one clause of one of these Acts, passed in 1784, is excepted. This clause is not recited in the Act which thus distinguishes it from all the others, by continuing it while they are suspended; but Lord Bathurst has happily discovered its purport. It is a clause which condemns any Negro, Mulatto, or Indian, who assaults a White person with a dangerous weapon, (except a slave in defence of his owner's person or property,) to suffer death; and if the assault is committed by direction of the owner, it then renders the owner answerable by law, as he ought;—and it also condemns any Negro, &c. *who is otherwise abusive to any White person*, to be punished by a fine of not more than 15*l.*, or by corporal punishment. Such is the law specially selected from the mass by the White legislators of the Bahamas, to be maintained in all its savage rigour, for the purpose of upholding the despotism of colour. The following is Lord Bathurst's comment on this curious exception, this smuggled act of legislation: "The injustice of these enactments is so manifest, that, when the attention of the legislature is called to them, I assure myself they will not be desirous to continue them in force."

His Lordship, however, judged far too favourably of the disposition of that legislature. On receiving his observations, they transmitted a long message to the Governor, General Grant, complaining grievously of the wish expressed by Lord Bathurst for their adoption of the principles of the Trinidad Order in Council, the provisions of which they vehemently impugn as unjust and injurious; and, with a gravity which would be quite ludicrous, if the happiness of thousands were not implicated in the result, they proceed to argue that it is infinitely better for all parties that the Negro should be left to the voluntary and unforced kindness of his master, than to be protected by law. For, protect him, they say, by law—in the enjoyment of his property, for example—and from that moment, that property, "instead of a bond of union between him and his master, would become 'a barrier

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\* See the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society for these important documents; Appendix, pp. 71—104.

of inextinguishable hate.” In short, “ a strong sense of the great impolicy and absolute danger of making any further innovations at present in the slave system of the colony, *and a decided conviction of the correctness of the principles on which they are now acting,*” compel them to refuse to alter their legislation. (A. p. 48.) This is at least a bold and frank defiance, on the part of the petty Parliament of the Bahamas, of the King, Lords, and Commons of England.

It would be wrong to close the abstract of these proceedings without advertg to the various communications of the Governor. In transmitting the Act which we have so fully abstracted, he observes to Lord Bathurst, that “ it improves the condition of slaves very considerably.” (A. p. 19.) What, then, must that condition have been previously? He adds, “ Having stated what has been done by the legislature *in favour* of the free coloured and slave population,” (we have seen what that is,) “ I conclude with observing, that I am not of opinion there exists, among the generality of the inhabitants of the community, any disposition to oppose the immediate wishes of Government, on the subject in question, *from any spiteful principle*, but, on the contrary, they will hereafter be found to go farther than they have done when the matter becomes less novel to them.” (*ibid.*) Again: he assures Lord Bathurst, that he does not believe there exists among them “ any *innate* disposition to oppose the wishes of Government,” but that their reluctance proceeds from fear; and he has thought it best not to confute their objections, though that would have been easy, as more, he thinks, will be gained by “ allowing time for cool reflection, than by appearing over anxious here, before it was known what may have been done by the other colonies.” (p. 41.) His speech to them at the close of the session is in the same style: “ Although nothing has been done this session, I nevertheless entertain the expectation, that, when the measures come to be less novel, you will be found duly to appreciate the position which his Majesty’s Ministers have assumed,” &c....“ I cannot acquiesce in your arguments or conclusions; but I shall refrain from entering upon any argumentative discussion, as I conceive nothing is more likely to create and keep alive irritation in one class of persons, and excitement in another, than the giving unnecessary publicity to the various speculative opinions which are likely to be formed on a subject of such extent.” (A. p. 49.)

General Grant does not believe that there is the smallest room for apprehending any insubordinate feeling or disposition among the slaves. (A. p. 37.)

### III. BARBADOES.

The Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, lately published, adverts at some length to the legislative reforms attempted at Barbadoes, and points out some of the topics which had so divided the opinions of the Council and Assembly as to prevent the adoption of



a new consolidated and ameliorated Slave Act, which had occupied two years of anxious deliberation on the part of the legislators of this oldest slave colony of the British Crown. This measure has at length passed into a law; so that we have now a fair opportunity of ascertaining what, in their judgment, are the best means of so reforming their slave code as to meet the wishes of the mother country, and to satisfy the demands of humanity and justice. We proceed to analyze the new law.

§ 1. The preamble sets out with declaring, that “many circumstances, arising out of the present state of the slave population, render it necessary that the laws enacted by the *prudence* and *wisdom* of our forefathers, for their government, “should be revised;” and they therefore repeal no fewer than sixteen statutes on the subject, framed at different times from 1688 to 1818.

§§ 2—4. Slaves accused of capital crimes are to be tried by three justices, and twelve freeholders of the parish where the crime was committed. If the jury are unanimous in convicting, and the sentence be death, the execution shall take place not less than forty-eight hours after passing the sentence; and if the owner or overseer of the slave be the prosecutor, then a solicitor is to be engaged for the accused, and a clerk is to be appointed to take minutes of the trial, which are to be filed in the Crown-office of the island. If, when a slave is condemned to death or transportation, the owner, &c., shall desire to appeal (the slave himself has no right of appeal), the execution shall be stayed for ten days, that such owner may have time to apply to the Governor for a writ of error; and the judgment of the Court of Error, which shall have power either to affirm or reverse the sentence, shall be final; such court having power also to award costs against persons who may be deemed obstinate and vexatious for moving a writ of error without good cause.

§§ 5—8 contain minute regulations of police, about taking up slaves going abroad without leave, or found with any offensive weapon; and about permitting them to beat drums, or blow horns or shells, or use any instruments of dancing; or to dance, except in the mill-yard, and before nine at night; or to have their funerals after seven at night; or to have music or singing at such funerals. The Governor is empowered to forbid, by proclamation, all dances of slaves; and to employ the militia in searching the Negro-houses for run-aways, or for mischievous weapons.

§ 9. Every owner, who does not furnish every year his slaves with “decent clothing, according to the custom of the island,” shall, on proof thereof, pay twenty shillings for each slave who shall not have been decently clothed within the year; half to be paid to the informer, and half to the treasury of the island\*.

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\* This is a most whimsical enactment; for it leaves the slave still unclothed for the year, after the fine shall have been paid. And then, what is the fine for such an offence? It is equal to thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling. Now, if this fine is intended to operate as a punishment, we may assume it to be at least double the value of that “decent clothing, according to the custom

§§ 10—18. These clauses regulate the apprehension and imprisonment of run-away slaves till claimed by their owners. If not claimed in three months, the provost-marshal is empowered to sell them: the proceeds, after paying their expenses, to be paid into the treasury. *Until sold, the run-aways are to be kept at work in the chain gang.* Persons claiming to be free are to be advertised as such for three months; and if at the end of that time their freedom is not proved, the Governor and Council are empowered to hear and to determine the matter, and either to sell them as slaves or send them off the island. For persons committed as run-aways, but claiming to be free, the provost-marshal *may* take bail in 100*l*. The keepers of the cage, or of prisons, misconducting themselves, or being guilty of any crime, misdemeanour, or offence, in their office, shall be punished with imprisonment, not exceeding one month, and fine, not exceeding five pounds\*.

§ 18. Slaves confined in the cage, or in gaol, shall be employed in gangs, on the streets and highways, or public works in and around Bridgetown, *secured by fetters* †, under the superintendence of a proper person, who shall be answerable for their safety.

§ 19. Inquests of coroners on the bodies of slaves, are to be transmitted, with all the evidence, to the Governor, and to be recorded in the Crown-office.

§ 20. Any justice of the peace may call out a guard of twenty men, armed, to apprehend run-away slaves; and if any such slaves are killed, in consequence of their resisting the authority of this guard, the guard shall not be punished for the same, either criminally or otherwise.

§ 21. Any owner, &c. permitting a slave to go at large for the purpose of supporting himself, or paying hire for himself, or following any trade or business, for his own advantage or that of his owner or any other person, shall forfeit 5*l*.; the *onus probandi* resting on the party complained of. This most cruel and oppressive enactment is not to extend to a slave regularly *settled* in any house, and carrying on trade for the benefit of his owner, if licensed half-yearly.

§ 23. *Any* person may apprehend any slave having in his possession “any sugar-canes, sugar, rum, cotton, ginger, aloes, plate,

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of the island,” which an owner is expected to give. If we are wrong in this assumption, and the “decent clothing” of a Negro would cost more than thirteen shillings and four-pence sterling in the year, then the owner will gain, even if he pay the fine: of course he will gain still more by merely running the risk of being made to pay it, by means of a conviction consequent on the complaint of his slaves.

\* This law, bad as it is, is an improvement of the old law. It empowers the Governor and Council to examine his claim, before a man claiming to be free shall be sold as a slave. But even if he should not be proved to be a slave, he must still be banished; and in the mean time he must work in the chain gang. It seems to evince a most extraordinary confidence in the keepers of cages and prisons, or a great tenderness for their crimes, to limit their punishment to 5*l*. fine and one month's imprisonment, for any malversation in their office, even, it may be, for starving or mutilating one of their prisoners, or whipping one of the chain-gang to death.

† No exception is made of persons claiming to be free.

wrought or cast iron, lead, copper, pewter, brass, tin, or *other article or thing, of what nature or kind soever*, without a note descriptive of the same; who, on conviction before any justice of the peace, shall be whipped, at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. And if any slave shall plant cotton, ginger, or aloes, it can only be reaped under the inspection of some White person, and sold or disposed of by the same\*.

§§ 25, 26. Any White, free person, or slave, buying of a slave stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, shall be punished as the actual stealer would be. And if stolen goods are found in the possession of any White or free person, or slave, *although it cannot be proved that it was with the knowledge of their being stolen*, yet such person, if a White or free person, shall be proceeded against as receivers of stolen goods are proceeded against in England, and shall be taken and deemed and punished as accessory to the felony after the fact; and, if a slave, shall, on conviction before *any* justice of the peace, be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes †.

§ 27. "Any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of *insolent language or gestures to or OF any White person*; or of *swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches*; or of *drunkenness*; or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fireworks; or of cock-fighting or gaming; or of *riding on a faster gait than a walk*, or of *driving upon a faster gait than a gentle trot*, on any road, street, or lane of the island; or of cruelly whipping, beating, or ill-using any horse, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of *negligently driving any waggon, cart, carriage, &c.*; or of *ANY disorderly conduct or misbehaviour*; shall, on conviction before *any* justice of the peace, be whipped, at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes; but the punishment of pregnant women shall be commuted to imprisonment ‡."

§§ 28—30. Any person screening a slave, guilty of any of the above offences, from punishment, shall forfeit not less than 5*l.* nor more than 25*l.* A like punishment, with the addition of a month's imprisonment in the common gaol, is assigned to all who permit

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\* This amounts to a virtual prohibition of the culture even of cotton, ginger, and aloes; the only articles, it would appear, except provisions, which slaves are allowed to plant. This is the way in which Negro industry is encouraged in Barbadoes. See also § 21.

† The injustice of these enactments is so obvious as to need no comment.

‡ There is something irresistibly but most appallingly ludicrous in this specimen of colonial legislation. What should we say to an Act which should condemn all men, women, and children (pregnant women scarcely excepted), at the discretion of *any* of his Majesty's justices of the peace, to thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip, or the cat-o'-nine tails, on the bare breech, if they quarrelled, or used any insolent language or gesture, or swore, or spoke obscenely, or were drunk, or fought cocks, or gamed, or rode faster than a walk, or drove faster than a gentle trot, or were guilty of *any* disorderly conduct or misbehaviour? How admirably would the effect of Mr. Martin's Act be aided if the Barbadoes law were transferred to England, and thirty-nine lashes could be inflicted on every one who should whip, beat, or ill-use any horse, mare, gelding, mule, ass, or other cattle! The tender feeling of the Barbadians for the brute creation goes far beyond even his.



gaming to be carried on by slaves on their plantations; the penalty being doubled on each succeeding offence. Constables, under a penalty of 5*l.* and imprisonment for fourteen days, are not to permit slaves to game, or to assemble at huxters' shops, or dram shops, or any unlawful meetings\*.

§§ 32—40. Slaves wilfully striking or assaulting any White person shall suffer, for the first offence, not more than six months' imprisonment and thirty-nine lashes; for the second, transportation for life, or imprisonment and hard labour, at the discretion of the court. Slaves who "shall strike, or *offer*, or *dare* to strike, or use *any* violence towards their master or mistress, shall, for the first offence, suffer death without benefit of clergy, transportation, or such other punishment as the court may think fit to inflict; and for the second, *death without benefit of clergy*. Slaves guilty of treason or rebellion, or who shall plan, excite, raise, or *in any way* promote mutiny or rebellion, or *any thing that shall have a tendency* thereto, or prepare arms or offensive weapons; or hold any council for, or *compass or imagine* for, the purpose of rebellion; or commit any murder, rape, forgery, felony, or robbery; or wilfully set fire to any house, out-house, canes, cane-trash, cane-tops, cane-stalks, pea-trees, cotton, wood, or piles of lumber; or break into any house, by night or day, and steal thence above the value of forty shillings; or compass and imagine the death of any person or persons whomsoever, and declare the same by some overt act; or steal any live stock, or feathered stock, above forty shillings' value; shall, for every such offence, suffer death without benefit of clergy, transportation, or such other punishment as the Court shall inflict. Slaves committing any crime not here specified, which, if committed by a White or free person, would be deemed felony by the laws of Great Britain; or wantonly and wilfully killing, by poison or in any other manner, any cattle, horse, mare, mule, ass, sheep, or hog; or who shall pretend to supernatural powers, or shall use obeah for malicious purposes; or shall prepare poison, or cause it to be taken; shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper. Slaves stealing, or attempting to steal, under the value of forty shillings, any cane-trash, cane-tops, cane-stalks, pea-trees, cotton, wood, fruit, goods or chattels, or any ground provisions, shall suffer corporal punishment, imprisonment, and hard labour, at the discretion of *any one justice*; but if the slave was urged to the crime by his owner not giving him sufficient food, the punishment shall be proportionably lessened, and the master be subject to a fine of 50*l.*; or, if he cannot afford to feed his slave, the slave shall be taken possession of by the treasurer, and let to hire for the benefit of the

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\* The surprise we cannot but feel at witnessing the intense indignation of the Barbadians against every thing which borders on indecorum in the untutored slave, will not be lessened, if we should have derived our estimate of their own moral conduct from the account given of it by their Agent and Advocate, Mr. Jordan, in his pamphlet against the Registry Bill in 1816.

owner. Slaves sentenced to death or transportation shall be valued, and the value, not exceeding 100*l.*, paid to the owner \*.

§ 41. The practice of divination, or fortune-telling, shall be punished in a slave by whipping, imprisonment, and working in the chain gang, at the discretion of *any one* justice; in a White or free person, by a fine of 10*l.*†

§§ 42, 43. Any person wilfully or maliciously killing or murdering, or causing to be killed or murdered, any slave, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. But “if any person shall unfortunately kill by accident the slave of another, he shall only be liable to an action at law for the value of the slave:” or if any slave shall be killed while committing, or attempting to commit, *any* robbery, theft, burglary, or arson, or in the *attempt* to maim or *injure* any White person, the person killing any such slave shall not be punished for the same, either criminally or otherwise ‡.

§ 44. “Whereas it is highly expedient to restrain owners and others, having the government and direction of slaves, from indiscriminately, wantonly, and cruelly exercising the power they possess over slaves; and as the cruelty of punishment by flogging necessarily depends much more on the *manner of inflicting it* than upon the number of stripes: *it is therefore most conducive to the ends of humanity*” [not to limit the number of lashes, but] “to trust to the discretion and good feelings of the justices before whom complaints shall be made:” it is enacted, that if any person commits, or causes to be committed, any wanton act of cruelty towards any slave, or shall wantonly, maliciously, and cruelly whip, beat, or bruise any slave, such person, on conviction before two justices, may be fined not more than 25*l.* (about 17*l.* sterling): and if the accuser cannot prove his complaint, yet if the marks of the cruelty appear on the person of the slave, and the slave makes a particular, consistent, and probable statement of the cruel punishment, then the accused shall be considered guilty, unless he shall prove, either by his own oath, or the oath of some credible witness, that the punishment was not inflicted by him, or with his knowledge: and if any slave make a complaint, which shall appear to be frivolous, vexatious, or unfounded, then the justices may give him thirty-nine stripes. Any person maiming, mutilating, or dismembering a slave, may, on conviction at the grand sessions, be punished by fine and imprisonment [no minimum is fixed], or either, as the court shall think fit; and if the maiming, &c. shall have been done by the

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\* The obstinate maintenance of these Draconian laws by the Assembly, in despite of the remonstrances of the Council, sufficiently indicates the popular feeling of Barbadoes. The lust of multiplying capital crimes and felonies seems to have suffered no abatement among them.

† How forcibly, in this and a variety of similar instances, does Lord Bathurst’s remark, quoted above, apply! (see notes page 11.)

‡ The Barbadians have fought a stout battle for the privilege of extinguishing Negro life since Lord Seaforth first proposed to make the murder of a slave felony, instead of being liable only to a fine of 15*l.*; even now, to extort protection to Negro life seems like wringing from them drops of blood.

owner, then the slave shall be taken possession of by the treasurer of the island, and forthwith *sold* [not made free, but sold] to some person of good and humane repute, for the best price that can be obtained for him, and the proceeds *paid over to the owner* or his creditors. For a second offence, the whole of his property in land and slaves shall be vested in trustees, to be managed for his benefit or that of his creditors, or to be sold, as the case may be, and paid to him or to his creditors; and he shall be declared incapable of holding the possession, or having any controul, management, or direction whatsoever over slaves.

§ 45. All punishments by whipping, whether by order of the magistrates, or by owners, &c. shall be inflicted with the like instrument used in his Majesty's navy and army, except by owners who may use a milder instrument. When female slaves are punished by whipping, the same shall be inflicted on the shoulders, in a *decent* manner, without any *unnecessary* exposure of the body of such female slaves; but pregnant women are to be punished in no other way but by confinement. The penalty for acting in violation of this clause is 5*l.*

§ 46. Any person fixing an iron collar round the neck of a slave, or fixing chains, weights, or irons of any kind on his body or limbs, shall be punished by fine and imprisonment. Owners, however, may confine *refractory* or run-away slaves in iron or wooden stocks, or by other means of security; or may send them to labour in the chain-gang for six months at a time; provided it is made to appear, *by the oath of the owner or some other witness*, that the improper conduct of the slave was not caused by want of food or clothing, or cruel treatment.

§ 47. Any slave who shall *hear any other slave speak any words* TENDING to mutiny or rebellion, or shall know of his having gunpowder or arms in his possession for purposes of rebellion, and shall not immediately disclose the same, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court may think fit.

§ 48. Any slave giving information which shall lead to the discovery of plots, &c. and shall cause the conviction of the accused, shall be purchased by the treasurer and made free, and receive an annuity of 10*l.* and be sent where he pleases\*.

§ 49. If any White or free person shall sell or give to any slave gunpowder or arms, or any poison or noxious drug or thing, they shall be fined, on conviction by two justices, not more than 50*l.* And if the offence cannot be otherwise proved, then the declaration of the slave is to be evidence, and the party accused shall be deemed guilty, unless he clear himself by his own oath or that of some credible witness. And if the offender knew that the things sold or given were for illegal purposes, then, on conviction before the grand court, he shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, or transportation.

§ 50. Every slave who, in the case of invasion or rebellion, shall

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\* What a temptation is here given to the fabrication of plots, and to perjury! We shall hereafter meet with proofs of this.



by any means kill or destroy one or more of the enemy or rebels, shall be rewarded at the public expense, or made free, if his cost shall not exceed 100*l.*

§ 54. Any slave running away or absenting himself, or misbehaving himself to his owner, &c., and the owner not choosing himself to punish such slave, complaint may be made to a justice, who may order the slave to be whipped at his discretion, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or to be worked for six months in the chain-gang.

§ 60. "And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act the evidence of slaves shall, as heretofore, be taken and received, in all cases *against each other.*" The evidence of slaves having a certificate of competency from the clergyman of the parish, shall be received in all cases which do not concern their owners, or affect the life of a White person. But if any White or free person shall associate with a slave in cock-fighting, gaming, getting drunk, &c.; or *shall live with any slave as man or wife*, then the evidence of any slave shall be received against such person\*. Slaves giving false evidence are to be punished *as the person would be on whose trial the false evidence was given.*

§§ 64, 65. Hanging by the neck shall be the only mode of executing slaves. All slaves sentenced to imprisonment "shall and may be worked in chain-gangs."

Such is the Act of which Mr. Moe, the Speaker of the Assembly, had such exalted conceptions, that he gave it as his opinion that the "two branches of the Legislature would *splendidly* close their labours, by forwarding that great work, completed, to the Executive; and, in the night-fall of their existence, to have given life to this Act would endear their remembrance to posterity." (B. p. 29.) What an extraordinary perversion of all just reasoning and just feeling is implied in such a sentiment, even if we make the feeblest allowance for the horrors and abominations of the various Acts which this *splendid* Act, the fruit of so "many tedious hours," has superseded! Of course such an Act never can be sanctioned by the King. It is an outrage upon him even to offer it to his approval. And let it also be kept in mind, not only what this Act does, but what it omits to do. It does not remove any of the obstructions to the manumission of slaves, not even the tax of 50*l.*; nor does it enable slaves to purchase their freedom. It does not cause slaves to cease to be chattels, or prevent their being sold at the discretion of the owner, to the disruption of the dearest family ties. It provides no means of instruction for them, and does not abolish Sunday markets and Sunday labour. It does not protect them in the possession or transmission of their property; nor relieve them from the burden of legally proving their freedom when freed; nor legalize marriage among them; nor put an end to the driving system; or to the flogging of women; or to arbitrary punishments, to an almost unlimited extent, for any offence,

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\* This is a virtual interdict of all intermarriages between slaves and free persons.

or for no offence. In short, it scarcely advances one step towards giving the slaves a participation in the civil rights and privileges of British subjects. The very provisions, framed with a professed view to mitigate the rigours of their former state, avail but little to that purpose, while they serve to mark more unequivocally the depth of their degradation. Is it possible that Parliament can continue to delegate to such legislators its own powers and its own duties; or that they can refuse at length to interfere between 800,000 of our fellow-subjects and such revolting despotism?

Sir Henry Warde, in transmitting this Act to Lord Bathurst, observes, that "though it may not be so complete as your Lordship might wish it to be, yet very great and substantial improvements" (what then must have been the former state of the law?) "have been effected;" and he gives a hope of farther improvements. (B. p. 1.) They must be very large improvements indeed, to satisfy the just expectations either of Lord Bathurst or of the public.

But there is another chapter in the history of Barbadoes, into which, after the recent discussion in Parliament on the subject, it may now be less necessary to enter—namely, the persecution of the Methodists, and the destruction of the Methodist chapel\*. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Buxton, in a speech which gave an able and luminous exposition of the whole of that atrocity. The sense entertained of it, both by the Government and Parliament, could not be more strongly marked than it was in the speech of Mr. Canning. He reprobated the conduct of the Barbadians with the most unsparing severity—"It was unjustifiable, indefensible, a violation of law and justice, a defiance of all legal authority, a flying in the face of Parliament and of the country;"—and he moved, as an amendment, a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the House, "that they view with the utmost indignation that scandalous and daring violation of the law: and having seen with great satisfaction the instructions sent by his Majesty's Secretary of State to the Governor of Barbadoes, to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages, they humbly assure his Majesty of their readiness to concur in every measure, which his Majesty may deem necessary, for securing ample protection and religious toleration to all his Majesty's subjects in that part of his Majesty's dominions †."

The most remarkable circumstance attending this flagitious act is, the general concurrence of all ranks of the White inhabitants, if not in entirely approving what had been done, at least in manifesting no dissatisfaction with it. The magistrates, with scarcely an exception, seem to have exulted in the success of the outrage, and some of them to have even participated in its contrivance and perpetration. We have not heard that any of those magistrates, who were guilty of so scandalous a dereliction of their duty, have yet been removed from

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\* See Papers C. and D.

† "An Authentic Report" of this interesting debate has been published for Hatchard and Son.

the stations which they had so criminally prostituted. It is instructive to compare the total impunity which has attended this insurrection of the Whites, with the massacres in cold blood which followed, in 1816, the insurrection of the Blacks in the same island.

#### IV. BERBICE.

In this colony nothing whatever appears to have been done in the work of reform. Governor Beard had pressed the subject at different times on the attention of the Council of the colony, but without effect. On one occasion he observes, addressing Lord Bathurst, "I have no hope of the Council redeeming their pledge in this respect," (namely, the abolition of flogging in the case of women,) "or acceding in any manner to the proposed measures of his Majesty's Government." And again: "I cannot discover any friendly feeling, on the part of the individuals composing the present Council, towards the measures intended by his Majesty's Government to be carried into effect in this settlement." (A. pp. 227—236.)

We have not heard what steps the Government have taken in consequence of this contumacy.

A return has been made to the House of Commons of the taxes and fees paid on acts of manumission in Berbice, from the 1st of January 1822 to the 13th April 1824, being upwards of two years and a quarter. In that time there were only twenty-five acts of manumission, being at the rate of about eleven annually; and the amount of taxes and fees alone paid upon them, exclusive of the cost of redeeming the slaves, was 11,564 guilders, being at the rate of nearly 40*l.* sterling for each. (E. pp. 9, 10.)

A motion was made, in the session of 1824, for "a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice, in his capacity of guardian and protector of the slaves, with his decision in all cases of complaint of masters and slaves respectively against each other, and the punishments inflicted or the redress given in consequence of such complaint, from the 1st of January 1814 to the present time." To this motion a return has been made, the substance of which will appear at the close of this pamphlet.

#### V. BERMUDA.

No account whatever has been received from this colony of the slightest movement towards reform; although it will be seen by a reference to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society (p. 144), that the laws of no colony more need reform than those of Bermuda.

#### VI. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Since the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society was printed,



a return from the Registry of Slaves has been laid on the table of the House of Commons, by which it appears that the slave population of the Cape of Good Hope, instead of being, as there estimated, only 25,000 (p. 157), amounted in the year 1823 to 35,271—viz. 20,491 males, and 14,780 females. (I.) A disproportion in the sexes so great as this, after the Slave Trade had ceased for 17 or 18 years, raises a suspicion that slaves may have been illicitly introduced.

In March 1823, Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, issued a proclamation containing regulations for the religious instruction and treatment of the slaves. Compulsory labour on the Sunday is forbidden by it, under a penalty of not more than fifty or less than ten rix-dollars for each offence. Certain regulations are adopted with a view to the marriage and the baptism of slaves. Married slaves \* cannot be sold separately, or without their children † under ten, except (and why this exception?) by the decree of a court of justice. The evidence of *baptized slaves* (why the restriction?) is to be received in all cases whatsoever. Christian slaves (and why not all slaves?) are to pay no tax on manumission. Young slaves are to be sent for instruction to the nearest free-school, by such proprietors as are Christians (and why not by all?). The property of slaves is secured to them, and they are empowered to bequeath it. In cases of suicide, the owner of the slave inherits his property‡. The property of intestate slaves having no relations, is to go to a fund for redeeming female slave children. Owners, &c. are not to inflict on a slave more than twenty-five lashes for one offence, or to repeat the punishment until the delinquent has recovered from the former correction; and no punishment is to be inflicted by any other hand than that of the owner, &c., under a penalty of from fifty to one hundred rix-dollars. An owner killing a slave is guilty of homicide; maltreating him may be punished by fine, imprisonment, or banishment, and the slave may be sold for his account§, but so as not to come into the power of him or his relations. An overseer maltreating a slave will be punished as if he had maltreated a free servant. A slave whose complaint proves groundless shall be punished||.

## VII. DEMERARA.

The taxes and fees paid on manumissions in Demerara and Essequibo, from the 1st of January 1822 to the first of September 1824,

\* The right of marriage is confined to Christian slaves. Why may not Mohammedan and Pagan slaves be encouraged to marry, and protected in their marriages, as well as Christians?

† This rule should also extend to reputed marriages.

‡ The owner seems the last person who should inherit the property of a slave who commits suicide, acts of suicide generally proceeding from harsh usage.

§ Ought not the slave to be made free?

|| This is surely most objectionable. Why should the complaints of slaves be discouraged? To make the failure of proof a ground of punishment, unless malice or perjury can be proved, is repugnant to all our ideas of justice.

being two years and eight months—during which time seventy-six slaves only were manumitted, being at the rate of twenty-eight or twenty-nine in each year—amounted to 32,750 guilders, or at the rate of about 36*l.* sterling each. (E. pp. 5—8.)

In return to the motion for “a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara, in their capacity of guardians and protectors of slaves, with their decisions in all cases of complaint of masters and slaves respectively against each other, and the punishments inflicted or redress given in consequence of such complaints, from the 1st of January 1814 to this time,” the first Fiscal, Mr. Herbert, thus writes: “There is no record of such proceedings at this office; and until the month of April 1824, there does not appear to have been even a memorandum of the proceedings held before the Fiscal as a magistrate.” (E. p. 17.) Thus we learn that no record has been preserved of the judicial proceedings which have taken place, in cases most deeply affecting the happiness, if not the lives, of 80,000 of his Majesty’s subjects, prior to the month of April 1824. The only return made to this order comprises a period of not more than three months; namely, from June 16 to September 18, 1824.—The number of complaints in that time is twenty-five, of which seventeen are complaints of slaves against their owner or manager, and six of masters or mistresses against their slaves. The other two are complaints of slaves against each other. The complaints of the masters against their slaves appear to be in every case redressed. One man is reprimanded; two women are confined for a week; one man is punished (it is not said in what manner); of four men accused of ill behaviour, three are punished: and of twenty-six, belonging to the estate Maria’s Lodge, accused of running into the bush, striking work, and bad behaviour, four are punished—three men and one woman. It is added, that in this case the Negroes had no ground of complaint, and that the woman was very insolent, saying, “You cannot flog women.” (E. p. 19.)

The result of the complaints of the Negroes against their owners and managers is somewhat different.

1. The Negroes of Plantation Big Diamond complain of ill-treatment: three of the ringleaders are punished, “the complaint being unwarranted.”

2. The Negroes of Plantation Friendship make the same complaint: four are punished, and all are sent back severely reprimanded.

3. Negroes of the Plantation la Bonna Mere make the same complaint: it is pronounced frivolous and unwarrantable, and seven of them are punished.

4. The gangs of Plantation Belle Hope complain of ill-usage, hard work, starvation, &c.: the complaint is pronounced frivolous and ill-founded, and three of the ring-leaders are punished.

5. Izak, of Plantation Fowlis, complains of ill-treatment: he is punished.

6. George makes a like complaint: he is to go to his work, and to be punished.

7. Sally begs leave to be sold without her child : not allowed, and warned to take care of it.

8. Lucinda complains of various ill-treatment from the manager and overseer of La Jalousie : “ a made-up story ; is punished.”

9. Adam complains of his little sister being ill-treated : contradicted by the mother and child ; is punished in gaol.

10. A woman and boy complain of want of clothing, and ill-treatment : unfounded ; the woman confined eight days, the boy flogged.

11. A Negress complains of Mr. Caatelaar, her master, that he was taking her into the country to punish her for nothing : “ she had misbehaved ; he was taking her into the country ; she ran away to complain :—returned to her master to act discretionary.”

12. Irias and another complain, that the manager of Plantation Kissingin does not give them enough to eat : “ frivolous—restored to the master.”

13. Caroline and some others of Plantation Groenseld complain of the manager ; Caroline, that he had flogged a Negro till he died ; and the rest, that he beat them with a tar rope : “ Caroline’s story unfounded ; six weeks’ confinement on bread and water, to be mitigated on contrition :” the rest showed no marks of violence : “ the tar rope was taken away, the Negroes satisfied, and the manager reprimanded.”

14. Peggy complains that her mistress, Miss Neil, treats her ill, and gives her no clothing : “ altogether unfounded ; is punished.”

15. Four Negroes of Plantation Northbrook complain against the manager of hard work, over work, and flogging : “ altogether unfounded ; punished, one man rather severely, one very slightly, two sent to work as convicts for a month.” “ Mr. Stuart, the master, is very kind and indulgent, but discipline and proper method wanting.”

16. Twenty-seven Negroes of the estate Land of Canaan complain of a want of clothing, lodging, food, comforts in sickness, &c. : “ just, except as to food ; fined the owner 10*l.* for every Negro ; ordered him to furnish the things required, and informed the Negroes to that effect.”

17. Negroes of Plantation Jans and Coree complain of the manager’s ill-treatment : the manager to be discharged. (E. pp. 18—20.)

In this return no part of the evidence is given ; we are left to conjecture what it may have been : the particular details are throughout suppressed ; nor is even the nature or extent of the punishment specified. Such a record is, in fact, of no use whatever. It affords not the slightest means of judging of the equity of the proceeding ; excepting that the very sententious brevity with which the entries are made excites a suspicion of a very summary mode of administering justice. One thing is clear, namely, that the general course of the Fiscal’s administration is calculated to discourage all representation of harsh usage on the part of the slaves, except perhaps in the very grossest cases. But facts are wanting ; and an exposition of the facts of each case ought to be peremptorily required : it is only in this way that we can get at the real nature of the slave system, in



its practical operation. If we had not obtained the particulars of the trials of the alleged insurgents in Demerara and Jamaica, we should not have suspected half of the gross perversions of justice which take place in the colonial judicatories, in the name and by the authority of the King. In this country, we all feel how essential publicity and the controul of public opinion are to the ends of justice: how much more are these required in the West Indies! "If it be asked," said the murdered Missionary Smith, in speaking of the cruel treatment of the slaves in Demerara—"if it be asked, Are there not authorities to whom the injured slaves can appeal for redress? The answer is in the affirmative. But many of the legally constituted authorities are themselves owners of plantations, following the same system, and perhaps, by means of their managers, practising the same abuses on their slaves. Judging from their conduct, it would seem that some of them consider it a greater crime for the Negroes to complain of their wrongs, than for the master to *inflict* them. The complainants are almost sure to be flogged, and frequently before the complaint is investigated, if listening to the exculpatory tale of the master can be called investigation; and even when the cause is so evidently on the side of the complainant that it can neither be denied nor evaded, the decision is so studiously concealed from them that they scarcely know whether the law is to protect the oppressed, or to indemnify the oppressor; nor can they always solve this problem from the result." How painfully does the return of Mr. Fiscal Herbert (and still more that of Mr. Fiscal Bennett, inserted at the close of this pamphlet) illustrate the statement of Mr. Smith!

The attention of the government of Demerara having been called, by Lord Bathurst, to the subject of a reform of the slave code of that colony, frequent discussions have taken place upon it; hitherto, however, without leading to any satisfactory result. It may be useful, nevertheless, to trace the progress of these discussions.

Sir B. D'Urban, the Governor, professing to draw his information from the planters, states his opinion, in May 1824, to be, that the Negro mind is still "agitated, jealous, and suspicious." "Many of the slaves are *described to me* as remarkably well informed upon all that passes in England and in the colonies, interesting to their views and condition: many of them read, most of them well understand what is read or repeated to them; they are (naturally enough) inquisitive, and anxious to learn whatever relates to them; and unquestionably they continue to procure very early information of all discussions in Parliament, in the newspapers and in the public prints." (A. p. 193.)—Such a statement as this proves this, at least, most unquestionably, that the Governor has been made the dupe of false information; and it will serve sufficiently to explain much in his communications, which would otherwise not have been explicable. It is somewhat surprising, so much depending upon accuracy, that the Governor should not himself have insisted on having these well-informed and erudite Negroes, these masters of intelligence from Europe, brought at once into his presence, and examined. He

would then have ascertained the depth of the delusion which had been practised upon him, by those in whose descriptions he confided \*.

Under the same influence, doubtless, which had been thus employed to delude him as to the state of intelligence among the slaves, he proceeds, in a letter of the 25th of June 1824 (A. p. 196), to use the arguments of the planter for departing, in the reform of their code, from the Trinidad model. To this letter, on the 20th of November 1824, Lord Bathurst replies at considerable length, and in most respects very satisfactorily. (A. pp. 219—226.) He notices, in their order, the various provisions of the law framed by the Court of Policy which he says *must* be amended, and the various omissions which *must* be supplied, before that law can be promulgated.

1. The principle of forbidding the person entrusted with the office of Protector to possess plantation slaves, *must* be adhered to.—It would have been well had his Lordship added domestic slaves also.

2. It *must* be kept in mind, and expressed in the law, “that the total abolition of Sunday markets is contemplated, as soon as the measures shall have taken effect which are designed to remove the causes of its temporary inexpediency†.”

3. The employment of slaves on the Sunday is prohibited in the Trinidad Order: a *close* adherence to its rules is required in the present instance.

4. The offence of carrying a whip in the field *must* be punished, not only by mulct, but, as in the Trinidad Order, by fine and imprisonment.

5. It is absolutely *necessary* to retain the provision which requires witnesses of the punishments inflicted on slaves.

6. The abolition of the punishment of females by the whip, is an enactment of which *no* qualification can be admitted as relates to adults.

7. If a slave, when produced in court, shall exhibit traces of recent flogging, and shall state probable grounds for believing the punishment to have been unlawfully inflicted, the owner *must* be required to disprove the allegation, otherwise he must be convicted of the offence.

8. The record of punishments *must* be kept, and the returns made once in every half year, on oath, as in Trinidad.

9. The draft of the Court of Policy having been silent on the subject of the evidence of slaves, on the ground that such evidence is by the Dutch law admissible in all cases, Lord Bathurst *requires* that the

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\* The want of knowledge, the barbarism, and the total incivilization of the slaves, have hitherto formed one great plea for keeping them in slavery. When it suits the varying purposes of the planters, the same men are acute, intelligent, penetrating, and capable of surmounting difficulties of the most formidable kind in the pursuit of information.

† The reasons are given in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society (p. 72) for conceiving that this delay in the abolition of Sunday markets is altogether uncalled for, and not justified by any one of the reasons on which it is founded.

omission should be supplied, and that the course pursued in the Trinidad Order should be adhered to.

10. "The marriages of slaves are proposed," says his Lordship, "to be regulated by provisions substituted for those of the Order in Council for Trinidad; but which will, I am sure, upon consideration, appear so inadequate, (and one part of that proposition is, in truth, so open to ridicule) that I am persuaded the Court of Policy will at once acknowledge the expediency of a stricter conformity to the Order in Council."

11. A strict adherence to the Trinidad Order in Council is also *necessary* in regard to the acquisition and disposal of property by slaves. Lord Bathurst approves of the proposed prohibition of slaves possessing fire-arms and ammunition; but sees no sufficient reason for not allowing them to possess the exportable produce of the colony\*.

12. Lord Bathurst wholly disapproves of that existing law of Demerara, by which the consent of the Governor and the Court of Policy is

\* The part of the draft to which Lord Bathurst here objects, states that slaves may, but with the approbation and consent of their owners (a qualification which obviously altogether nullifies the *right* of property), possess property of any kind, and dispose of it by bequest or otherwise, save and except fire-arms and ammunition, and such colonial produce as is prohibited to be sold or bartered by the eleventh article of the existing law. On turning to that article, we find it to be as follows:—

"All slaves, as well males as females, are prohibited from selling or bartering, with any one whatever, any produce,—sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, rokow, syrup, rum, bottles, or flasks, or *any thing else*; being permitted to sell only vegetables and ground provisions, the produce of their gardens, or stock which they are allowed to rear; on pain of being severely flogged on the plantation to which they belong, for the first offence; and for the second to be punished by sentence of the court, according to the exigency of the case." (A. p. 210.)

Lord Bathurst might well question whether any sufficient reason was assigned for making, by a side wind, such a cruel and preposterous enactment as this a part of the new and ameliorated slave code. But such is, in point of fact, the cruel and preposterous law of every slave colony in his Majesty's dominions; and Lord Bathurst himself, we fear, has inadvertently given it an indirect, sanction, in his correspondence with the Governor of Trinidad. The passage to which we allude is contained in a letter to Sir R. Woodford, dated 24th July 1824, and is as follows:—

"In the papers before me, a construction is put upon a part of the Order in Council which is warranted by none of its provisions. It appears to be doubted whether the permission, conveyed to slaves, to purchase and hold land, does not indirectly revoke the existing law of Trinidad, whereby slaves are prohibited from cultivating for their own profit any of the staple commodities of the island. In granting the slaves the power of acquiring land, the Order does not, of course, exempt them from any existing restrictions as to the mode in which land might be cultivated by persons of their class and condition."—Now as the restrictions in Trinidad and Demerara are substantially the same, it appears that there is as good reason for questioning in the former as in the latter case the propriety of prohibiting slaves to cultivate or to possess exportable produce. In fact, the principle on which the legislators of the West Indies have uniformly proceeded, of absolutely prohibiting slaves from raising any exportable produce whatever, is one which deserves the very utmost degree of reprobation, and which, as the attention of Government has at length been called to it, will, we trust, in every case, meet with their decided and unequivocal rejection.



rendered necessary to every act of manumission, to which even the owner of the slave is consenting, and he cannot therefore allow such a principle to be introduced into the new code. It is *impossible*, he says, to admit of this, or indeed of any other departure from the provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council on this head.

13. Another important regulation, which postpones the payment of the Protector's salary till he shall have made his periodical returns, has been omitted in the draft, but, his Lordship says, *must* be strictly adhered to.

14. The clause proposing to vest in the Governor a power of suspending the proposed law, is declared to be perfectly *inadmissible*.

Lord Bathurst adds, that he trusts the Court of Policy is prepared to adopt these suggestions; but, if not, "it is necessary that I should explain to you, that in such an event, however desirous his Majesty's Government may be that the origination of this measure of melioration should proceed from the Court of Policy, they would feel it their paramount duty to issue, without further delay, an Order in Council for the purpose of carrying them into effect."

The whole of this dispatch is most highly creditable to Lord Bathurst; and we trust to see, ere long, the important principles which it develops carried into full effect throughout all his Majesty's slave colonies.

But what has been the practical result of these instructions of Lord Bathurst? This we learn from the Additional Papers (B.) presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command. On the 14th March 1825, the Governor transmits to his Lordship the amended draft of an ordinance; in which, however, there are such material deviations from Lord Bathurst's instructions as forbid him from promulgating it without a further reference to England. What course Lord Bathurst may have pursued in consequence of this further reference, does not appear in these papers. We cannot doubt that it has been marked by the same firm adherence to just principles which distinguished his former communication, of which we have already given the substance. In the mean time, it will be of essential use to give an abstract of this last and highest effort of the Demerara Court of Policy in the work of legislative reform, adopted under the influence of all those powerful and constraining motives which the dispatch of his Lordship, last quoted, must have conveyed to their minds. The following is the substance of their draft. (B. pp. 259—279.)

§ 1—6 appoint the First Fiscal Protector of Slaves\*; disqualify him from holding any plantation or plantation slaves *within the colony* †, or acting as trustee, guardian, executor, attorney, manager, &c. of slaves; and require him to perform his duty in person.

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\* The union of these two offices appears to be utterly incompatible, the Fiscal being the public prosecutor.

† He ought not to hold slaves *any where*, or to have been a holder of slaves, who merely renounces his property in them for the sake of his office.

§ 7 appoints the Deputy Fiscals, or Burgher Officers, Assistant Protectors\*.

§§ 9, 10, forbid the compulsory labour of slaves on Sunday, under a penalty of 600 guilders; but this exemption from labour is not to authorize them to leave the plantation to which they belong, without leave; or to exempt them from the operation of the existing laws; or to prevent the distribution of their weekly allowance being made on that day; or to extend to the following excepted cases—viz. domestic service, attendance on cattle or live stock, attendance on hospitals, burying of the dead, preventing or remedying breaches in dams, conflagrations, and all cases of the same general nature, and referable to the same principles; all labour for the preservation of the crops, as boiling-off the cane-juice expressed before sun-set on Saturday, turning and drying of coffee or cotton, picking of cotton and coffee during crop; for which last service wages, to be fixed by the Protector, shall be paid†.

§ 11. Until effectual provision shall have been made for the religious instruction of the slaves, when Sunday markets shall be wholly abolished, these shall be continued until eleven o'clock in the forenoon‡.

§ 12. A person carrying a whip, or any other instrument of punishment, in the field or elsewhere, either as a badge of authority or as a stimulus to labour, shall incur, if free, a penalty of 600 guilders, or be imprisoned for not more than six months; and if a slave, shall incur corporal punishment.

§ 13. On male slaves, when punishment by the owner, &c. is necessary, it must be inflicted without cruelty or passion, to no greater extent than twenty-five lashes, and not till after sun-rise of the day next following that of the offence, in the presence either of one free person, or of six slaves (in which case the owner, &c. must prove he could not procure a free witness within twenty-four hours), to witness the infliction, besides the person ordering it. Punishment shall not be repeated on the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from former punishment§.

\* No restraint is imposed on the Assistant Protectors as to holding slaves. This is a most important defect. Dr. MacTurk, for example, will now be, ex-officio, an Assistant Protector of slaves.

† Wages are allowed by the Court of Policy only in the case of picking coffee or cotton; but this is a labour which ought on no account to be allowed to be carried on on a Sunday. With as much reason, nay, with more, might it be allowed, in this country, to make hay or reap corn on a Sunday, or to perform any other harvest work. Such a practice is defended on a pretence which is altogether unfounded; namely, that coffee and cotton ripen so suddenly that they would be totally lost if not immediately picked. The other operations spoken of ought unquestionably to be paid for. Why should persons mend a dam, or turn coffee or cotton, on a Sunday, without being paid for their labour? Again: what are those existing laws, which are alluded to, but not specified, and which are to modify all this exemption from Sunday labour?

‡ See the Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society, p. 72.

§ We greatly regret that Lord Bathurst should have given way as to the substitution of six slaves for one free person as witnesses of punishment. It

§ 14 prohibits the flogging of female slaves absolutely, under a penalty of 1400 guilders, or imprisonment from one month to six months; and substitutes the punishments, as in Trinidad, of solitary confinement, with or without work; and of stocks, and distinguishing dresses, and marks of various kinds; all which *may* also be substituted in the case of males. Confinement for more than twelve hours can be ordered only by the Fiscal, who may extend it, together with labour in the tread-mill, to a month, or otherwise proceed *according to the existing laws of the colony* \*.

§ 15. A record book is to be kept by every person having a gang of slaves exceeding six †, and on every estate; in which must be entered, within forty-eight hours (why this delay?), the punishment inflicted on any female slave, or on any male slave exceeding three lashes; the nature of the offence; the time and place of punishment; the names of the persons ordering it, and of the persons witnessing it, and the number of stripes actually inflicted. False entries, erasure, &c. are to be punished with a fine of 300 guilders, or imprisonment for not more than three months. A copy of this record must be delivered every six months, on oath, under a penalty of 300 guilders.

§§ 19, 20, are intended to regulate the marriage of slaves, with the permission of the owner, &c.; such owner, however, if he refuses permission, being to be called upon by the Protector to shew good cause for so doing. They are to be married without fee or reward, by any minister either of the Church of England, or Scotland, or Holland, or any licenced teacher within the colony; a register of the same being kept: "Provided always, that such marriage shall *in no manner* confer on the slaves *any* of those civil rights which by marriage are acquired by persons of free condition, nor subject such slaves to any penal infliction, the effects of which might destroy the rights or injure the property of their owners ‡."

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is a dangerous innovation, to make the witnesses persons so wholly dependant on the punisher as his own slaves must be; and to suppose that a free person could not be found to witness a punishment, if not in 24 hours yet in 48 or 72 hours (and where is the evil, in such a case, of delay?), is absurd. Besides, it is in the power of the planters to add to the number of free persons in the colony.

\* It is impossible not to be extremely jealous of such vague and undefined references to existing laws—laws existing somewhere else than in this new slave code—because it is impossible to know to what extent oppression may be sanctioned by such loose and sweeping terms.

† No good reason can be given, why, if persons not possessing more than six slaves should not be subject to this regulation, they should not refer the offences of their slaves to the magistrate. Persons in low circumstances are both less likely to restrain their passions, and are less liable to observation, than others. The very circumstances, therefore, which render it expedient to exempt the owner from the necessity of keeping a record-book, and making a due return of its contents, make it still more expedient to exempt the slave from liability to punishment, at least beyond three lashes, without the interference of the magistrate.

‡ The Court of Policy say that they have laboured to obviate the diffi-



§ 21. Every female slave *who is faithful in marriage*, shall receive from her owner, &c., for her first child twelve, and for every other fifteen guilders; and when she has six children *living*, she shall be exempt from labour *in the field*, or any other than light work, under a penalty of 500 guilders. (Why not made free?)

§ 22. Owners of estates shall provide food for slaves at the rate of one acre for five Negroes, from which a reasonable weekly allowance shall be made them; or shall otherwise purchase or procure a sufficient supply; and shall provide them with proper clothing; under a penalty of 90 guilders for every acre deficient, and of 150 for every slave not properly provided for.

§ 23. The hours for *field work* of slaves, shall be from six o'clock in the morning till six o'clock in the evening, two hours being allowed them during that period for rest and meals; under a penalty of 300 guilders\*.

culties which must arise from adopting the Trinidad code, which makes the marriage of slaves, "to all intents and purposes, binding, valid, and effectual in law,"—"but that the civil rights acquired by marriage are so numerous and complicated, that it is found impracticable to adopt or modify this expression." Lord Bathurst, in his letter of the 24th November 1824, had intimated that the particular ill effects which were apprehended from the rights of marriage should be specified, and especially guarded against. The Court of Policy have not chosen to comply with his Lordship's suggestion; but repeat the same vague assertion, in the same vague manner, without any proof or specification whatever. Why could they not have stated what the various civil rights are which marriage confers; and which of these rights they deem wholly incompatible with the slavery of Demerara, and with their own rights and property as masters? This at the least they are bound to do.

\* Now, in this apparently precise enactment, there is nevertheless much ambiguity.—"The hours of *field-work*." But is there no species of labour but that of field-work? Pulping coffee, or ginning cotton, or grinding and boiling sugar, is not field-work. Again, collecting grass for the horses, cattle, and live stock, is not deemed field-work, and yet it forms a cruel aggravation of the daily task. The practice is thus described by the Missionary Smith:—"Soon after sun-set (which is always within about fifteen minutes of six), they leave off work in the field; and each one, having cut or picked a bundle of grass for the master's horses, which serves instead of hay, an article not made in the West Indies, they bend their course homewards. They all carry the grass to a certain spot, forming a general muster, and there remain, in the open air, often shivering with cold, till the cracking of the whip informs them they are to take it to the stable, which is generally at about eight o'clock. If there be no other work to do, they may then go home. I say, if there be no other work; for, after toiling all day, many of the slaves are frequently compelled to work half the night," &c. But if any one is disposed to question Mr. Smith's authority, he has only to refer to the Minutes of the Trial of the Insurgents in 1823, published by Mr. Herbert, the fiscal, and Mr. Wray, the judge, in order to find the practice incidentally recognised as of regular occurrence. Now of this practice what says Dr. Collins, a physician and planter of St. Vincent's, the author of the work called "The Professional Planter," a work of high authority, even with West Indians? He says, "The neglect of grass-picking is another frequent cause of punishment. On some estates it draws more stripes on the Negroes than all their other offences put together, as the lash seldom lies idle while the grass-roll is calling over." He strongly advises that the practice should be entirely abolished, "because it encroaches much on the

§ 24 provides for the employment on estates of a medical practitioner, and the erection of a hospital, under the penalty of 600 guilders.

§ 25. If any slave dies suddenly, information shall be given to the Protector or Assistant Protector, or, if this cannot be done, to some respectable inhabitant; who, attended by a medical practitioner, shall inspect the corpse and certify the result.

§ 26. Husband and wife, and children under sixteen years of age, are not to be separated by *judicial* sales.—There is no restraint imposed on any other kind of sale.

§§ 27, 28. No slave shall be deemed incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, or dispose of property, as money, cattle, implements of husbandry, household furniture, or other effects of *such like nature*, honestly and lawfully acquired, save and except arms and ammunition, and such colonial produce as is prohibited to be sold by the existing law (being, in fact, all exportable produce). But it shall not be lawful for any slave to keep any stock or animals on the land of his owner, without the owner's consent; and if he should refuse to remove them when required, the owner may destroy them. Slaves may sue their debtors, through their owners, or through the Protector. Owners, or other free persons, unjustly withholding the property of slaves, shall on conviction be made to restore it, and be further liable to fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court. Savings' Banks shall be established, in which slaves may deposit their property, being at liberty also to bequeath their deposits\*.

§ 29. No duty, tax, or fee shall be taken on the manumission of slaves, except a fee of 22 guilders for registering the deed, to be paid out of the colony chest, under a penalty of from 100 to 1000 guilders.

§ 30. Any owner desirous of manumitting a slave shall give notice of his intention to the Protector; and if the Protector thinks the slave likely to become a burthen to the public, he is then to regulate the amount of the security or deposit to be given. He is also to give public notice of the intended manumission, with a view of enabling any one, having a right so to do, to oppose such manumission; and in case of an action, the slave shall be defended in such action by the Protector, and the decree of the court of justice shall be binding,

time allotted to their own use." See also Watson's Defence of Methodist Missions, for further proofs of the cruel and pernicious effects of this practice, which still subsists, and, in spite of such a clause as this, will still subsist, in Demerara.

\* The Trinidad Order empowers the slaves to hold land: the Demerara Draft does not. This is a most material omission. The Court of Policy defend the clause which forbids slaves to possess exportable produce, by the passage in Lord Bathurst's letter to Sir R. Woodford already alluded to. (See note, p. 35.) If this clause be maintained, farewell to all hope of productive industry and accumulation on the part of the slaves, whether in Trinidad or Demerara.

If there be no opposition, then it shall be in the power of the owner to manumit his slave \*.

§§ 31, 32. The law of evidence is pretty much the same as in the Trinidad Order in Council, except that in some respects it improves upon that Order. It does not exclude the evidence of slaves in civil suits in which the owner is concerned, nor in cases where a White person may be charged with a capital offence. This blot in the Trinidad Order is avoided in the Demerara Draft.

§§ 33, 34. The salary of the Protector shall be in lieu of all fees ; and if he shall take any fee or perquisite, he shall pay a fine equal to twice the amount, and be disqualified for the office of Protector. His salary is to be paid him half-yearly, but not until he shall have made all the required returns; namely, returns of the number and particulars of all actions and suits, or criminal prosecutions, in which he was concerned as Protector, with the accounts of the Savings' Banks, the records of punishments, &c.

§ 35 appropriates the fines and forfeitures.

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\* This enactment is as far removed as possible from the spirit and tendency of the corresponding enactment of the Trinidad Order. That order enacts, that if any slave shall be desirous to purchase his own or her own freedom, or that of wife or husband or child or brother or sister, he may do so : and if the owner be unwilling, or be unable, from mortgages, or minority, or lunacy, &c. &c. to grant his manumission ; or if the owner demand a greater sum than his fair and just value ; then the chief Judge shall summon the parties before him ; and if either of the parties shall refuse, or be unable, to effect such manumission, then one appraiser shall be appointed by the owner, and another by the Protector, and an umpire by the chief Judge, who shall value the slave ; and, on the payment of this appraised value, the slave shall be manumitted ; such value being lodged in the treasury of the island, to abide the claim of the party lawfully entitled to the slave. The Court of Policy enter into a labourered vindication of their refusal to adopt the principle of the Trinidad code in this respect. "The court have felt it to be beyond their power" "to give their sanction to any measure which could, even by construction, imply an acknowledged right on the part of the slave to demand his freedom, *invito domino*.—They feel themselves called upon to avow the principle, that *they have not the right* to invade the property of their fellow-colonists, by admitting that they can in any manner be deprived of it contrary to the law by which it is secured to them, and which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to guarantee by the Articles of Capitulation" (as if articles of capitulation were at all binding subsequently to the cession of a colony in full sovereignty). "The Spanish law allows a slave to enfranchise himself by purchase : the Dutch law gives no such right whatever to a slave. Here the interest of an owner in his slave is that of fee-simple absolute." "Let the Spanish law be what it may, it can never alter the existing law of this colony." "Slaves in this colony are chattels, as much as any other moveable property." "Neither is it the law that proprietors can be forced to dispose of their property, real or personal, when its value is offered to them by others. To give to the slave the right of purchasing himself, against the will and consent of his owner, will annihilate the right of the owner, and confer on the slave a power which no other person possesses." An attempt is then made to point out the injurious effect, even to the slave himself, of thus giving him the power of purchasing his freedom ; but it is too absurd to require exposure. It is, in fact, an attempt to satisfy the people of England that slavery is a much better thing than freedom. The time is gone by for such fooleries.



§ 36. If any person shall be twice convicted of inflicting on a slave a cruel and unlawful punishment, he shall incur double the penalty of cruelty before mentioned, and shall be declared incapable of having the management of any slaves within the colony; and if he is the owner, his estate shall be placed under curators, who shall manage the same: the owner, however, being at liberty to sell or dispose of it.

§ 37. Nothing in this order is to be construed as extending to repeal any of the regulations respecting the treatment of slaves enacted the 23d March 1785, except in as far as they may be repugnant to these regulations\*.

There is one entire omission in this draft: it is that clause which is numbered 21 in the Trinidad Order in Council, and which ordains that if any owner, &c. is prosecuted for cruelly and unlawfully punishing a slave, and if the slave alleged to be illegally punished is produced in court with the marks upon him of recent flogging or laceration, and such slave shall make a consistent statement of the circumstances, then the owner shall be bound to prove, either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his consent, or that it was a lawful punishment, and was lawfully inflicted; and, in default of such proof, shall be adjudged guilty of the offence imputed to him. The Court of Policy labours hard to prove that it would be radically unjust to adopt this course of proceeding (p. 268); but Lord Bathurst will probably find as solid a reply to their reasoning on the subject, as he has given to the remonstrance of the Trinidad planters against the same regulation.

### VIII. DOMINICA.

The legislature of Dominica was for a time very vehement in its denunciations against the efforts of the abolitionists to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and took pains to produce a general confederacy of the West-Indian colonies for the maintenance of the whip in its plenitude of power. Of late it has been remarkably quiescent. The Parliamentary Papers barely notice its existence. In August 1824, the Governor, Nicolay, says he has reason to believe that the legislature will, on its meeting, carry into effect Lord Bathurst's wishes. His only subsequent communication is dated the 28th March 1825, and is as follows:—

“It is matter of much regret to me, that I am still unable to report that the legislature of this colony has passed an act for the melioration of the condition of the slave population, though I have repeatedly and strongly urged the subject, both by public message and other means.

“A bill to that effect was long ago introduced; but, after much discussion, it has not been completed. A new bill is to be brought in immediately; and I trust no farther obstacles will arise, though I

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\* See above, second note p. 30.

greatly fear it will not comprise all the wished-for amendments in the slave laws; for I plainly perceive, even among the best disposed of the proprietors, an apprehension, that, by going to the full extent that has been recommended, they may relinquish what they consider to be necessary authority over the slaves.

“The only consolation under these delays, is the conviction, that, throughout this island, the slaves in general are contented and happy, and their treatment is certainly very good.” (A. pp. 95, 96.) So, doubtless, the planters tell him.

## IX. GRENADA.

The history of the progress of reform in this colony will also occupy but a very narrow space. On the 5th of September 1824, the President, Paterson, writes, that an amended slave-code had been brought forward in the legislature, and would be further considered in October. The legislature met in October, but postponed the consideration of the subject till November. On the 2d of December, President Paterson states, that the Slave Act had been impeded by the great difference of opinion existing on some points; but he still hopes to see the work completed. The slaves he states to be perfectly quiet and contented, and the planters are anxious to make them so; he himself, of course, being one of them. On the 5th of March 1825, he writes, that the Bill had at length passed the Assembly, and was before the Council; but nothing further has since been communicated on the subject. (A. pp. 97—100.)

## X. HONDURAS.

No report has yet been made to Parliament of the final fate of the Indians unjustly and cruelly enslaved in this colony, and whom Colonel Arthur had endeavoured to restore to the enjoyment of their liberties.

In this colony there are only 2,600 slaves, and 2,100 free persons of all descriptions. The peculiar circumstances of the colony render slavery much less oppressive there than in most other colonies.

Captain Maclean, a Naval officer, makes a report (see Paper G.) respecting this colony, dated 2d March 1824, in which, after praising the treatment of the slaves, he observes, that he has recently read reports which contradict his statement, and which he believes to be wholly erroneous. But this is rather a rash and unwarranted assertion on the part of Captain Maclean; the acts of cruelty, to which he alludes as unfounded, being as satisfactorily proved, by incontestable evidence, as the fact which he affirms of the general good treatment of the Honduras slaves when compared with that of other colonies. We believe both to be true.

## XI. JAMAICA.

The progress of reform in this island has not been such as to require much detail. Every one, who is cognisant of the course of public events, must be aware of the determined hostility evinced by the legislature of Jamaica, in particular, to every proposition, emanating from this country, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, with a view to their ultimate emancipation. The violence of opposition manifested by the Assembly has been only exceeded by the still more unmeasured resistance of the parish vestries, and the absolute rage of the journalists. The people of Jamaica appear to have imagined that the loudness of their clamour would have the effect of shaking the concurrent purpose of the Government and Parliament and People of England, with respect to the reform and ultimate abolition of the slave system. They little know either their own weakness and insignificance, or the power of public opinion in this country, if they suppose that by all their ravings they can materially retard that purpose. It is fixed, and must ere long render absolutely nugatory every opposing effort.

On the meeting of the Jamaica legislature, in November 1824, the Governor, the Duke of Manchester, seemed to indulge an expectation that some progress would have been made in the reform of the slave system. A Bill was introduced, admitting the evidence of slaves, under certain regulations; and, though "some little clamour was at first excited" by it, yet his Grace entertained a hope of its passing. But even this slight indication of a better spirit was of short duration; for the Bill in question was lost, on the second reading, by a majority of thirty-four to one; and the Duke of Manchester, when on the 24th of December 1824 he acquaints Lord Bathurst with the termination of the session, feels himself obliged to express an apprehension that his Lordship will be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Assembly. He seems, indeed, to attach some importance to two Acts, passed in the course of the session, "as affording protection and encouragement to the slaves; and still more so as indicating an intention, on the part of the Assembly, of doing more hereafter." (A. p. 11.) They will do more hereafter, we have no doubt; but it will only be when they are compelled to do it. As for the Acts in question, they confer benefits directly on the master; but on the slaves only indirectly and remotely, through him. Slaves had hitherto been exempt from all mesne process on Sundays, not on account of any debts of their own, for they had none, but on account of their master's debts. Sunday, therefore, was the only day on which a needy planter (and nine-tenths of the resident planters are needy men) could permit his slaves to carry their surplus provisions, or on which he himself could send them with his produce, to market, without the imminent risk of their being seized by the



marshall. This exemption, as it respects slaves, is extended, by the Act of last session, to Saturday as well as Sunday. Now this exemption, which the West Indians would represent to be intended as a boon to the slave, is in fact a still greater boon to the master. It is the master's property in the slave, and that alone, which this law protects; and it is against the effect of the master's insolvency, and not against that of the slave, that it guards. The Act is as follows:—"Whereas, in these times of general distress, *many planters are greatly indebted, and by reason of such debts are unable to allow their slaves to go abroad upon any other than the Sabbath-day; and whereas it is expedient to render the Sabbath as much as possible a day of rest, and for religious worship; and whereas it would be right and proper that slaves should be protected in some other day in the week, beside Sunday, from being taken or levied upon for debt, under any process issuing out of any of the courts of justice in this island, or by collecting constables for taxes; it is therefore enacted, That, from and after the 1st day of January next, it shall not be lawful to make any levy upon any Negro, or other slave, on Saturday; and that they shall be exempt from all such process, and also from levies by collecting constables, on that day, the same as on Sunday.*" (A. p. 12.) The planters of Jamaica, therefore, have in fact availed themselves of the clamour for reform to raise additional barriers against their creditors, by an Act which, we admit, to a certain degree protects the slave also, but which, at the same time, does so no farther than the planters shall please. The slave cannot legally pass the bounds of his master's estate without his written permission.

The other Act, for which the legislature of Jamaica desire credit, is one for "*removing Impediments to the Manumission of Slaves by Owners having only a limited Interest,*" (A. p. 13)—not for removing impediments in the way of the slave who wishes to obtain his freedom, but in the way of the master who, from interest or favour, may wish to give it. This vaunted Act, therefore, goes no farther than the point at which the planters of Demerara are resolved to stop, if they can prevail on Lord Bathurst to permit them to do so. (see p. 43.)

At the close of the session, a Report was made to the House of Assembly, by a Secret Committee "appointed to inquire into the rise, progress, and means used to suppress the late disturbances; and whether any and what Negroes have behaved themselves faithfully and meritoriously, to their owners and the public, during such disturbances; and whether any of them deserve rewards for the same." (A. p. 15.) This Report contains matter well worthy of notice. It begins with enumerating the different disturbances among the slaves which had taken place—namely, in St. Mary's, St. George's, St. James's, and Hanover. Each of these, it is asserted, had for its object, on the part of the slaves, to obtain their freedom, and to destroy the White inhabitants. These disturbances, it is further affirmed, did not originate in any cruel treatment or privation which

the slaves experienced \*; the very insurgents themselves declaring, at the place of execution, that they were contented and happy till they imbibed the notion that the King and Wilberforce had made them free †;—an idea which *is said* to pervade the island, and to have taken full possession of the Negro mind; producing a totally altered behaviour, excluding the former feelings of subjection, and of respect and affection for their masters, whom they now regard as their bitterest enemies. These evils the Committee affirm to have been aggravated by the frequent renewal of discussions in the British Parliament respecting slavery; the effect of all which, they predict, will be, that a flame will be kindled, which, if ever extinguished, will only be quenched in blood. This state of things is represented by the Committee as forcing the master to relinquish all attempts to ameliorate the condition of his slaves, lest they should be regarded as compulsory, and thus excite feelings of triumph in the Negro bosom. They deprecate, therefore, as impolitic, the discussion at this particular season of any question relative to the slave code;—a view of the subject which appears to them to be greatly strengthened, in the case of Jamaica, by the proximity and the circumstances of Hayti. The cost caused by the late disturbances they state to have amounted to 15,270*l.* 12*s.* 11½*d.* This expense, occasioned entirely by the agitation of the question of slavery by Mr. Buxton, they think ought to be defrayed by the mother country; and they therefore recommend that an application should be made to the British Government, to reimburse the island for the expense already sustained, as well as amply to indemnify it against future losses. The Committee go on to recommend that freedom should be given to certain slaves, and pecuniary reward to certain free Persons of Colour, who had rendered essential services to the island by the discoveries they had made, and the evidence they had given, respecting the different insurrections. Two, however, of those witnesses, on whose unsupported testimony many of the alleged insurgents had been convicted and hanged, or transported, Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, and to whom freedom and reward had been promised—these two witnesses, notwithstanding their signal and efficient services, the Committee recommend to be sent off the island, “as persons of a most dangerous character to remain at large in this colony.” The Report thus concludes: “The Committee cannot draw this Report to a conclusion, without bestowing its mead of praise on the zeal and alacrity shewn by the regulars in Hanover, and by the militia regiments throughout the disturbed districts, both by the Whites and free People of Colour. The con-

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\* This is contrary to the evidence in the only case of disturbance which really occurred, namely, that of Hanover.

† This statement is wholly unfounded, at least as it respects any of the persons executed; no allusion whatever to any confession of the kind having appeared in the newspapers of the island, or being to be found in the report of the trials.

duct of the latter evinced a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and every way identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal security. And the Committee also think it right to notice the good conduct of the Maroons in Charlestown, St. George's."

Such is the Secret Report of the Assembly \*, on which we proceed to make a few brief observations.

1. With respect to the alleged disturbances, our conviction, after a careful perusal of the whole of the evidence, is, that no design of insurrection or rebellion was formed by the Negroes, in any of the cases specified in this Report. This we hope hereafter to prove. In the mean time, it is obvious to remark, that, in the then existing state of the question respecting the reform of the slave system, nothing could have occurred more seasonably, for the purpose of exciting prejudice against the measures of the abolitionists, than the discovery of an insurrection. It was impossible not to perceive that this was the very thing wanted to produce exasperation in the colonies, and a strong disinclination to interference at home. It had been affirmed by the colonists, that insurrection would inevitably follow the agitation of this question: their representations, they naturally felt, would have been discredited, and the efforts of the abolitionists encouraged, had this confident prediction been falsified. Any one, therefore, who might be unprincipled enough to pander to the eager appetite for plots and conspiracies, naturally prevailing among the colonists at such a time, was sure to reap advantage from occupying himself in their fabrication. It is not in Jamaica alone that such a result was to be apprehended: the history of England sufficiently illustrates the dangers of this kind which never fail to attend an extremely agitated state of the public mind. No one will argue that a Titus Oates could find credit only in England; or that the delusion of feigned plots might not, in certain circumstances, be found as strong in Jamaica as it ever was amongst ourselves. Alarm once excited, all calm consideration of the reasonableness of the alarm is at an end. Fear is the natural passion of the tyrant, and cruelty the never-failing effect of its unrestrained operation. Rumours of the most extravagant kind gain instant belief. Suspicions light as air are converted into irrefragable proofs. The danger is assumed to be unquestionable; and he who affects to doubt it, runs the risk of being deemed a traitor to his caste and country. In such a state of things, the man who comes forward with details, however improbable, which are confirmatory of the prevailing apprehension, and which open a prospect of satiating the hatred and lust of vengeance generally felt towards the supposed conspirators, is hailed as a deliverer. No reward is thought too great for his deserts. Let him but reveal a plot, and name the plotters, and he is sure of universal

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\* The examinations and evidence taken by this Committee were ordered to be deposited with the Clerk of the House. We trust they will be moved for in Parliament.



credit and universal favour. To accuse, in such a case, is to condemn ; and to the impatient alarmists, who feel as if the knife was at their own throats, even West-Indian Justice will seem tardy, and appear to limp in her progress to the gibbet—the only consummation which is thought of, for one moment, especially in the case of Black men who have dared to “ imagine the death of a White.” If these observations are kept in mind, they will sufficiently explain all the phenomena of the trials and executions which have disgraced this part of his Majesty’s dominions during the period to which the Jamaica Report refers. To the details of those trials we will come hereafter.

2. Whether the conspiracies, of which the Report speaks, were real or not, it is obvious that they would be equally, and as a matter of course, referred by the planters to one cause ; namely, the agitation of the question of slavery in the British Parliament. To bring the past efforts of the abolitionists into disrepute, and to prevent their being renewed, by representing them as productive of blood and devastation, had been the uniform policy of the holders of slaves from the year 1787 to the present hour. It had been long their grand weapon of defence against the inroads of justice and humanity, and had so often proved successful, in thoroughly alarming the timid and the ignorant, and in relaxing the efforts of benevolence itself, that any one might have predicted, with absolute certainty, that it would have been resorted to on the renewed agitation of this great question. In one of the first publications of the Anti-slavery Society (the Appendix to the Debate of the 15th of May 1823, p. 227) allusion was distinctly made to the alarms which would not fail to be sedulously created by means of rumours of apprehended or of actual insurrection—rumours quite familiar to all who lived during the slave-trade controversy. There was then a regular importation of them from time to time ; so it was foretold it would be again. The prediction has been verified ; and all the new plots which have been got up, have issued, like the old, in the destruction, not of any White life, but of Black lives in great abundance.

3. But, supposing the danger from such discussions to be as great as the planters represent them to be (a supposition which their own conduct altogether contradicts), what is *their* obvious policy, and the obvious policy of this country ? Is it not to put a speedy end to a state of things so fearfully pregnant with alarm ; which cannot even be approached without the risk of explosion ; which cannot be spoken of, even in a whisper, without involving rebellion and massacre ? The planters think differently. They make the very existence of such dangers the special ground for determining to perpetuate the abuses and evils which cause them. They will not ameliorate the condition of their slaves : they will not even take those steps which “ prudence and humanity might suggest ” to that end, lest they should give a triumph to the Negro mind. (A. p. 16.) But why, it may be asked, did they not of themselves take these steps, when, according to their own shewing, they might have been taken with safety ? The fact is, the colonists never have taken,

and they never will take, one step in the career of reform, but as they are driven to it by the dread of the interference of the supreme authority of the state; and even then what they do will be wholly inoperative.

4. The Assembly proposes that this country should reimburse to them the cost of suppressing the disturbances that have taken place. It is to be hoped that they will bring this proposition regularly before Parliament. There will then be an opportunity of discussing the whole case on its merits; of ascertaining the grounds on which so many of our fellow-creatures have been put to death or transported; and of exposing to public view those outrages on all law and justice, denominated trials, which, in the name of the King, have been perpetrated in Jamaica.

5. It seems to be assumed by the Assembly of Jamaica as a maxim in jurisprudence, that the witnesses of plots are to be rewarded for their testimony\*. All (with the exception of two) who have given evidence against the alleged conspirators, are to be rewarded—the slaves with freedom; the free with money. The practice of thus remunerating witnesses *after* they have given their testimony, is sufficiently objectionable; but if it shall appear that the principle has been acted upon of promising this remuneration beforehand, then it cannot be denied that justice has been corrupted at its very source. This point will be exemplified hereafter. With respect to the two individuals who, instead of being rewarded for the evidence they gave, according to the promise made to them, are to be transported for life as dangerous characters, it will be found that they are thus punished instead of being rewarded, because, by their subsequent prevarications and inconsistencies, they have completely dammed the evidence they had previously given, and on which so many individuals had been unjustly condemned and executed. Possibly, also, it may be discovered hereafter, that it was highly expedient to have these men removed out of the way, lest, in the case of an investigation, by Commission or otherwise, the whole of the alleged plots, a part of which they had been the instruments of fabricating, should be exposed in all their fraud and falsehood to the public reprobation.

6. The merited compliment paid to the People of Colour, is a complete answer to those allegations of conspiracy among them which were brought forward to justify the unjust arrest and deportation of Lecesne and Escoffery.

We come now to the trials which took place in Jamaica of slaves accused of insurrection. The first occurred in St. Mary's, in the month of December 1823 (see E. pp. 37—45). On the evening of the 16th, about eight o'clock, a Mr. Roberts, residing in Port Maria, was told, by a Negro boy of the name of William who waited upon him, that he had learnt from *his father*, James Sterling—a slave on Frontier estate, belonging to Archibald Sterling, Esq.—that “they would have a bad Christmas,” as the Negroes were going to rise and

\* This maxim, as we have seen, is law in Barbadoes. (supra, p. 17.)

murder the Whites. In consequence of this information, James Sterling and seven other slaves were apprehended and put upon their trial, which took place at the court-house of the parish on the 19th. "I thought it my duty," observes the Hon. Henry Cox, one of the magistrates, who acted as a judge on the occasion, in a letter to the Governor's Secretary, dated the 20th December—"I thought it my duty to insist on the magistrates trying the Negroes that had been taken, *immediately*, and to send their trial and sentence express; as it will, in my opinion, be highly important for the safety of the parish, and probably of the island, *that they should be executed before the holidays*, as an example to the other Negroes, and to prevent the danger of an escape, or an attempt to release them." "I have taken up and issued orders for the capture of every Negro against whom there is the *least* suspicion, and shall try *all*, or *any* of them, as soon as I think I have sufficient evidence to convict them. Some Negro houses have been searched; but as *no arms of any kind* have been found in them, it appeared that the Negroes had taken the alarm, and it would be harassing the men to no purpose to continue the search\*."

But, to come to the trials—The following is the account given of the trial of James Sterling, the Negro already named, the father of William the informant. He was charged "with being concerned in rebellious conspiracies, and committing other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the White people and others in this island; and for causing, exciting, and promoting others to aid and assist therein;" and with entering into and being concerned "in rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy to commit murder, felony, burglary, robbery, and to set fire to certain houses and out-houses, and to compass and imagine the death of the White people of the parish of St. Mary's."

To these charges the prisoner pleaded not guilty. The following is the evidence, verbatim, as it appears in the papers transmitted from Jamaica.

"Ned, to James Walker, Esq., being admonished to speak the truth"—(not sworn)—"says he knows the prisoner; his former

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\* Such was the state of feeling, not merely in the White community at large, or in the jury impanelled to try the prisoners, but in a judge, who was bound to see impartial justice done in a case so likely to excite an unduly adverse leaning in the public mind. The charge brought against the prisoners was rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. No counsel was assigned to them—no time was allowed them to prepare their defence. They were arrested on the 17th; on the 19th they were tried for their lives and condemned to die; and on the 24th they were executed; it being "highly important," in the opinion of their judge, "that they should be executed before the holidays, as an example to the other Negroes." The news of the plot too, he might have added, would just be in time for the meeting of Parliament.—But, amid all the alarm which prevails for the safety of the parish, and even of the island, not a single stand of arms is to be found. This circumstance, however, instead of raising a suspicion in the mind of the worthy magistrate that there had been in fact no rebellious conspiracy whatever, seems to have led him to the conclusion that the Negroes had taken the alarm and hid them; and this, too, without the very slightest shadow of proof.



name was Joe. Last Saturday week" (6th Dec.), "about eight o'clock in the evening, was going to Frontier" (the estate to which the prisoner belonged) "for water; just between the bridge and the spring saw prisoner and five others: as he came up they were talking: he heard what they said; they were going to rise at Christmas. Witness said they were talking bad words, and asked if they did not hear that guard was to be kept at Christmas. They then said they would change the day to Wednesday or Thursday this week" (the 17th or 18th), "being full moon. They said they would set fire to Frontier trash-house, and kill all White people; and then come in the bay, and rise on the gentlemen and kill them, and take the bay to themselves. They were to set fire to the boiling-house and other houses. Prisoner had a cutlass, which he flourished, saying, that was the way he was going to serve Buckras" (i. e. White men)\*.

"William, to A. J. Roberts, Esq., being admonished to speak the truth"—(not sworn)—"says he went to his father the prisoner's house, who told him the Negroes were going to rise; and he, witness, must take care of himself, and keep out of the way, in case he should be hurt, because *they would kill every body*. His master (Mr. Roberts) asked the witness if he thought the Negroes would kill him; he said he did not think so, but advised him to go on board ship. His master asked him if he would not be safe if he went to the fort, or to Mr. Beard's; he (witness) said no, he had better go on board ship, as the Negroes were to walk all about. He *did not see his*

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\* The testimony of Ned bears fabrication on its face. He represents these dangerous conspirators as talking on the highway, at an hour when it must have been perfectly dark, so as to be overheard by every casual passenger; and in that position they discuss aloud their whole plan, and even change the day of its execution on the suggestion of a person accidentally joining them. Never, we will venture to say, were conspirators more guiltless of danger, either to the parish or to the island, than those of St. Mary's. But who is this witness? We learn from the Jamaica newspapers of the day, that he was one of the persons pointed out in the first instance by the boy William as implicated in the conspiracy. "Ned," the newspapers relate, "was apprehended, and brought before the magistrates, and the boy kept away. He denied the thing until the boy was brought as evidence to his face. *He then received a promise of pardon and of his freedom to discover the whole*, and then deposed" to the effect stated above.

In the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Assembly, it is recommended to the House to "reimburse to the parish of St. Mary's the sum of 376*l.* paid by them for the manumission of certain slaves who rendered essential service by the discoveries which they made." One of these was Ned, who, it seems, had the promise of his manumission, if we may believe the accounts from the spot at the time, *before* he made any discovery whatever. *After* that promise, and the assurance of his own immunity, he seems to have become willing without hesitation to confirm William's story. A current report is—we by no means vouch for its truth—that Ned was subjected in the first instance to the torture of the thumb-screw, without its succeeding to wring from him any admission of his knowledge of a conspiracy; but that, when the mode of attack was changed, and the offer of pardon and freedom substituted for the thumb-screw, he no longer scrupled to testify to the truth of William's accusation—who also had his freedom held out to him in prospect.

*father among the Negroes.* When Ned was with him, there were men and women: the men had *a number* of cutlasses flourishing\*.

“Mary, to George Merrilees, Esq.; is a native of St. Domingo; sworn—(she was very unwilling to kiss the book, and gave her evidence most reluctantly)—says she knew prisoner; has seen him at her husband’s house†. He came there the *other* night; he said he would. Witness saw him have a gun by his side: did not hear that prisoner was to join Charles Watson: saw the gun in her husband’s house; is the same as a soldier’s gun, with a bayonet. After her husband struck a light and loaded the gun, did not see who he gave it to. The night the prisoner had the gun, was the night the guards were fixed. Same time prisoner brought some bottles, he took away the gun. The gun prisoner had by his side was the same her husband had in his house‡.

“Andrew J. Roberts sworn: saith that on Monday night last, about eight o’clock, he scolded his Negro boy William for not getting his frocks, and asked him how he would appear to follow him about at Christmas. William said, ‘Massa, you will have bad Christmas.’ Witness said, For what? are the Negroes going to rise? He said, yes, his father told him so. Witness asked him if he had seen the Negroes meeting. He said, yes, two times; but that his father told him more than he knew at the meeting. Witness asked him if any of his Negroes were among them; said, he believed George was. Witness asked if any more Bay Negroes: he said, yes, Mr. Walker’s Ned and Douglas. Witness asked, if he *thought* they were going to kill all the Buckras (Whites): said, his father told him so. Witness then asked him what he must do; should he go to Kingston or Spanish-town? He answered, no, Negroes would walk all about the

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\* Here we have a son, a mere youth, brought forward to convict his father of a capital crime; which capital crime is to be inferred from some loose conversation stated to have passed between the son and the father, whom, however, the son states he did not see among the Negroes. Ned, however, says he saw him there, with five others, who, it appears from the other trials, were *all men*. William, on the contrary, states, that, while Ned was with him, he saw both men and women, and *a number* of cutlasses flourishing. Ned testifies to his having seen the conspirators only once: so that it must have been, if at all, on the occasion on which William saw him there, that he was present; and yet, on all the trials, he states that when he was there, there were only six *men* present; and only *two cutlasses* flourishing—(see his evidence on the trial of William Montgomery, Richard Cosley, Rodney Wellington, and Morrice Henry, E. p. 42).—What can be more loose and disjointed than such testimony? Much of William’s evidence also relates in no way to the prisoner, but is the mere statement of a gossiping conversation between himself and his master, who appears to no great advantage in this strange colloquy with his slave. William, too, is one of those who were manumitted for their discoveries: his freedom was the blood-money paid him for his father’s life.

† Her husband, Henry Nibbs, was tried immediately after James Sterling, and was condemned to death, chiefly on this woman’s (his wife’s) testimony. She was one of those who earned her freedom by her evidence.

‡ Supposing all this testimony to have been perfectly correct, yet what does it prove in the way of rebellious conspiracy? Absolutely nothing: nay, it actually negatives the charge,

country. Witness asked, if he should pack up his books and go to the fort, or Mr. Beard's, would he be safe? He said, no, Negroes would walk all about, and Wentworth Negroes would rise the same as Frontier. Witness asked if they would kill every body? He answered, yes, *every body*; and advised witness and Captain Barton to go on board of ship, and take him with them; would not be safe any where else\*."

"The prisoner, in his defence, said he thought his son William was a run-away, and scolded him †. He, prisoner, always attended his work. His master always supplied him with clothes and victuals, as he was an old man."—The jury found him guilty, and the court passed the following sentence: "That you, James Sterling, be hanged by the neck till you are dead."

Now let the whole of this evidence be calmly considered by any lawyer, and to what will it be found to amount? To rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, or murder, or felony, or burglary, or robbery, or setting fire to houses, or out-houses, or compassing or imagining the death of any human being? Certainly to nothing of the kind, even if the whole of the evidence should be received as true. To James Sterling nothing, absolutely nothing, is brought home, of any of the charges preferred against him. No unprejudiced man could read the evidence without instantly pronouncing a verdict of not guilty. Nay, not only are the charges not proved, but they are absolutely disproved; they are divested of every vestige of probability. But when to the impression arising from the evidence, we add the consideration of the temptation held out to the witnesses; the breathless impatience manifested to try, condemn, and execute; and the circumstance that a son is made the instrument of bringing his father to the gallows, we may well stand aghast at the awful aspect which criminal justice wears in Jamaica.

But even James Sterling's trial is not half so discreditable to the judicial administration of St. Mary's, as that of Henry Nibbs, who is hanged chiefly on the evidence of his wife Mary. In this case, indeed, there are three or four other witnesses produced, who, though their testimony does not go to establish a single charge preferred against the prisoner, yet may have appeared to make up in number what they wanted in weight. But on the trial of one of the alleged conspirators, Charles Watson, there is positively no witness but one, and that one the woman whose evidence hangs her husband.

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\* Such a line of evidence as this, in proof of a capital charge, we will venture to say is quite unparalleled, even on the trial of the Missionary Smith: it does not approach the prisoner in the slightest degree. Mr. Roberts also seems to have been wonderfully dependent for counsel and direction on his Negro boy William, whom he consults as quite oracular.

† The boy had been chidden by his father, and may have resented it. He had been scolded by his master, and may have been threatened with punishment which the mention of a plot might avert. These circumstances afforded at least grounds of suspicion, and should have led to an anxious cross-examination.



The evidence against Charles Watson is thus given:—"Witness's husband had two guns, one of which he gave to prisoner Friday week. Prisoner told witness, Negroes were going to rise at Christmas, and burn Frontier trash-house; and go down to the bay and set fire to the houses, and kill Buckras. Prisoner told her so in the house, and said some of the Frontier Negroes were good, and some deceitful: he meant by that, that he could not trust them with a secret. Prisoner said Negroes would rise at full of moon. They changed from Christmas to full of moon, because guard was fixed for Christmas. Prisoner said that they would rise on Wednesday night, and, if prevented then, on Thursday night; and after burning the buildings, take the country to themselves; and that Nibbs (her husband) would go to Frontier to lend a hand. Did not hear who was to be head-man. They were to begin by burning the trash-house at Frontier, and come down on the bay softly. He said they would come on the bay, raise a mob, and kill the White people. Nobody present but witness, her husband, and prisoner\*. Prisoner asked, what made him say what he did. She answered, he said it because they were all to be free."

On the vague and unsupported evidence of this unhappy woman (rewarded with freedom for her evidence) was Charles Watson found guilty by the jury, and condemned to be hung.

Four more, William Montgomery, Richard Cosley, Rodney Wellington, and Morrice Henry, were, on the same day, condemned to the same death, on similar testimony. William, the discoverer of the whole, gave on this occasion a very remarkable testimony. Of the four, he said he knew only *three*; these he saw with cutlasses, flourishing them: he heard them talking, but *did not hear what they said*. Ned and Douglas, he added, were with him. Plenty of *women* were there. *Thought*, by flourishing their cutlasses, and from what his father told him, they were going to cut off Buckras' heads.

On such evidence as has been detailed were eight human beings condemned to die; and the Governor of Jamaica, after perusing that evidence, confirmed the sentence, and issued the fatal warrant for their immediate execution. They were accordingly executed on the 24th of December, as the Hon. Henry Cox, in a letter dated the 25th, informs the Governor, "with all due solemnity and decorum." He adds, "Only one of the wretches† confessed to the Rev. Mr.

\* She was pretty secure, therefore, against contradiction.

† This kind of language, applied to men who had just been suffering the last extremity of colonial justice, indicates the spirit which actuated even their judges. What would have been thought of an official letter, addressed by one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, announcing, in terms like these, the execution of Thistlewood and his associates? We learn, from the Jamaica newspapers, that the individual who is here said to have made a confession to Mr. Girod, was Richard Cosley. Now, on looking into the evidence, there does not appear to have been a single tittle of it brought home to *him* by any one of the witnesses. He is one of the four who were tried together. Not one of the witnesses mentions him, excepting Ned, who merely says he saw him with the others.

Girod that it was their intention to have burnt Frontier works and Port Maria, and killed the Whites; but none would mention any other Negroes concerned with them, or shew any symptoms of religion or repentance. They all declared they would die like men, and met their fate with perfect indifference." (E. p. 44.)

Such are the particulars of the formidable insurrection in St. Mary's, and of the sweeping and summary executions which avenged it. No act of violence whatever had been committed. Not a single weapon of any kind was found in the possession, or in the houses of, the convicts, or in the houses of any other of the slaves. One or two guns, and a little gunpowder, had been seen in the possession of Henry Nibbs by his wife, which he might have had for the purpose of killing game; and this appears to have been the total amount of warlike preparation that had been made for overthrowing the government of Jamaica, taking the fort at Port Maria, and exterminating the Whites of St. Mary's. Some persons must have felt how very inadequate the evidence was to support such a case as this. On the day following the execution, therefore, a Mr. Richard Gordon, overseer of Tremolesworth, is induced to file an affidavit, intended to satisfy any doubt that might arise as to whether there really had been a conspiracy which justified such prodigality of blood. Mr. Gordon gravely swears, "That on Wednesday night, the 17th December, lying awake, about twelve o'clock, he heard the report of a musket; he got up, and, on putting his head out of the window, he heard horns blowing. He got up, dressed, and took a sabre. On looking at his watch, he found it was half-past twelve. Went out to the back door, and heard six different tones, or sounds, of a horn, in the direction of Nonsuch. Walked into the garden; was there about an hour. Two Negroes in clean frocks passed up the road\*; they went up a small distance; heard the door of a Negro-house open, and saw the Negroes returning. They appeared to meet other people. They were so near him, whispering in conversation, he heard a voice say, 'It is no use, it is no use.' They then went down the road. The rain set in, and he did not again hear the horns. They continued blowing about two hours in all, from about half-past twelve to half-past two o'clock. Before going to bed, about nine o'clock, heard five reports of guns in the direction of Nonsuch." (E. p. 40.)

In what a state of morbid excitement must the minds of the good

No one else appears to have seen him, or known him. It would be important, therefore, to have had the notes of this man's confession to the Rev. Mr. Girod produced.—A person, who was present at the execution of these men, has stated that pardon was offered on the scaffold to such of them as would acknowledge their guilt and discover their accomplices; but that they, one and all, persisted in protesting their innocence, and positively refused to save their lives by criminating other persons, of whose guilt they abjured all cognisance.—The value of these eight persons was assessed by the jury, and paid to their owners, at prices varying from 50*l.* to 100*l.* currency, but amounting, in all, to 655*l.* or about 465*l.* sterling.

\* He could see, at midnight, that their frocks were clean!

people of Jamaica, high and low, have been, to convert stuff such as this into an official document furnishing evidence of insurrection!\*

A very striking proof of the extreme susceptibility of the public mind in Jamaica, for some time previous to the affair of St. Mary's, may be deduced from a letter officially addressed by a magistrate of St. James's, Mr. S. Vaughan, to the Governor's secretary. It is dated 9th October 1823, and evinces the eager appetite which had already been excited for something in the shape of a plot. "It appears," says Mr. Vaughan, "that there is a general expectation among the Negroes of freedom being given shortly by Government at home. *The Negroes are every where behaving well, and perform their work as usual*; but still entertain this belief. The grounds on which I have formed this opinion I shall now give.—

"1. Mrs. Fowler saw many strange Negroes, who talked freely with her that they were soon to be free.

"2. Eliza Tucker hired a man on his own day, who talked much of this free, but said he did not like it, for many Negroes would be idle,

\* A person who resided in the parish of St. Mary's at the time these trials took place there, on perusing the above account of them, added the following particulars. We publish them to afford the Jamaica missionaries and others an opportunity of contradicting them if they are false. We believe them to be true.

"The alleged conspirators belonging to Frontier Estate, were all religiously disposed, and were in the habit, after the hours of labour, of meeting in each other's houses, often in the house of James Sterling, for prayer. A man of the name of Roberts, a butcher in Port Maria, was unfriendly to these meetings, which he affected to believe were held for rebellious purposes. He questioned the son of this James Sterling, a slave of his own, of the name of William, who was quite a boy, respecting these meetings, offering him his freedom and money if he should be able to bring their plots to light. Accordingly the boy disclosed a plot to his master, which his master disclosed to the magistrates. The unfortunate Negroes who had been named were taken up as they came down from Frontier Estate with their grass for sale in town. The reward which awaited witnesses of plots being known, two others now came forward; one a woman, Mary, who gave evidence against her husband, Henry Nibbs, and Mr. Walker's Ned. On the *Sunday* after the execution of the eight alleged conspirators, as this Ned was passing through the market, the wife of one of the slaves who had been executed, unable to control her feelings on seeing the false accuser, in fact the murderer, of her husband, used some abusive language towards him. He immediately reported the circumstance to his master, who is a magistrate. This poor woman was soon after laid hold of, and in the presence of the concourse of people assembled in the market place, stretched prostrate on the ground by four Negro men, while a fifth inflicted a most unmerciful flogging on the bare posteriors of the wretched sufferer.—Henry Nibbs was an infirm old man, troubled with rheumatism, and incapable of much exertion, as appears from the price at which he was valued, namely 35*l.* sterling. Charles Watson, another of the slaves who were executed, was a most harmless, inoffensive, and honest Negro, particularly noted for his religious dispositions, and the last to be suspected of improper conduct. It is my firm opinion that one object, with some, in these trials and executions, was to put an end to all the efforts of the missionaries in that quarter for the religious improvement of the slaves. As for Mr. Gordon, of Tremolesworth, he was known to be in a state of great nervous excitement."



and quarrel and fight, as in Guinea country; and who was then to give clothes, fish ? &c.

"3. The book-keeper on Caledonia estate heard a Negro complain of their having Saturday stopped (always more days are given them than the law requires); when another said, Never mind, they would soon have Friday also; on which a third told him to hold his tongue, for they would soon be free altogether.

"4. Mr. Williams stated, as a report, of some Negroes saying that it was long in coming, and if it did not come soon they would take it, or to this effect.

"5. Mr. Moore mentioned two Negroes had gone to two overseers to ask when this free was to take place. This he had been informed of.

"6. The overseer of Bigland said the Negroes talked in the field, that, if they behaved well, they were soon to be free.

"7. Mr. Walter Murray heard that the Negroes at George's Plain had said, on the arrival of the last packet, they would wait till next packet; and that Mr. Mason, of St. James's, had heard very similar expressions, nearly in the same words—both alluding to the freedom in question."

Such being the feeling of wakeful jealousy and suspicion in the mind of one of the chief magistrates of St. James's, it might be presumed that a plot would sooner or later develop itself more distinctly. Accordingly, in two or three months these various floating rumours had acquired sufficient consistency to lead to meetings of magistrates and examinations; and two free Persons of Colour, named Bartibo, and a slave named Goldring, at last came forward to state that they had been at a festive meeting of Negroes, where they had heard it said, that, if they did not get Friday and Saturday, or their freedom, they would rise; and where Mr. Wilberforce's health was drunk with hurrahs (E. p. 47). After ten days, however, spent in examinations and in the eager pursuit of every idle rumour, and after having taken up and committed a number of slaves on suspicion, the magistrates, on the 29th December 1823, were of opinion, that "though the evidence before them proves that some mischief had been intended," they did not recommend any trial at present. The slaves supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy were nevertheless kept in close confinement; and the same persons who originally gave information continued to be examined and re-examined, their statements meanwhile improving gradually in fearful importance, by the invention from time to time of additional circumstances, until at length the affair seemed to have acquired the solidity and consistency of a regular plot; and on the 28th January 1824 it was thought expedient, by Mr. Vaughan and some of his brother magistrates, to proceed to the trial of the supposed conspirators. Fourteen individuals, thirteen men and one woman, almost all belonging to Mr. Galloway's estate of Unity Hall, and Mr. Kerr's estate of Spring Garden, were arraigned for conspiring together, and, with other slaves, to enter into a rebellious conspiracy for obtaining, by force

and violence, and by acts of resistance to the lawful authorities, the freedom of themselves and others, against the peace of the king, his crown and dignity; and for having attended a meeting for the unlawful and dangerous purpose of exciting, encouraging, and maintaining each other in this rebellious conspiracy, &c. The prisoners all pleaded not guilty.

The only evidence against them, of the very slightest force, was that of the three men, Peter and Robert Bartibo, and Goldring, who are declared by the Jamaica Assembly (A. p. 18) to be severally entitled to rewards for the information which they gave of the conspiracy. The temptation presented to these individuals to pursue the trade of plot-making, is very forcibly pointed out in one part of the evidence. A very respectable and intelligent female, a confidential slave of Mr. Galloway's, who had been eleven years with him as a servant in England, and evidently much attached to him and his interests, of the name of Jane M'Donald, having been called as a witness for the prosecution, gave the following evidence respecting a conversation she had had with one Bessy Bartibo, a sister of the two informers. Jane M'Donald remarked, with some emotion, what a hard thing it was for a person (alluding to one of the prisoners) for a little merriment to be taken up in that manner, though guilty of nothing: on which Bessy Bartibo said to her, "Don't you hear that if any free people bring out such a thing as this, they will have maintenance for life; and if slaves, they are to be free, and have a house and land for their life-time?" (E. p. 75.)

But the testimony even of the Bartiboes and Goldring does not prove any thing beyond that idle conversation which was very likely to take place at a Negro merry-making, and especially where no harm was really intended—saving perhaps the crime of drinking Mr. Wilberforce's health, which appears to have been considered as the most serious part of the rebellion. But even to the commission of this overt act of treason by any of the prisoners, there is only one witness, Robert Bartibo. He alone heard this dangerous and inflammatory toast: neither his brother nor Goldring heard it, and some others who were present positively deny the fact. But, independently of the criminality of this wicked and insurrectionary toast, overheard only by one man, panting for the reward of such a notable disclosure, what is there to inculcate these poor creatures? Nothing but the idlest tattle. Even Robert Bartibo, though evidently disposed to go to all lengths, in order to satisfy the prevailing appetite for plots, can frame no better a conspiracy than is conveyed in the following statement.—There was a dance in the houses of one or two of the Negroes at Unity Hall. Robert Bartibo was there—not an invited guest, but an intruder, and sitting on a bench outside the house. He swore he there overheard the following conversation: "Trelawney\* said, he heard they would get free, else Friday and

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\* This Trelawney we afterwards find was a poor sickly hip-shot boy, who had been chiefly an inmate of the hospital for the preceding two years, and was still too weak to do much work.

Saturday. William Stennett said, he had heard so, but he did not look for no free, nor Friday and Saturday : since he got his cloth and fish he did not care for it : that was all he wanted. Trelawney said they would get free, else Friday and Saturday ; and if they did not get it, they would rise at Christmas ; and that, when they got free, he would not live in such small houses, but would have his master's great house ; and that he and the White people would be on a footing then. William Stennett said, that, if they got free, the White people would hire them to cut canes. "This was in Cunningham's house, when Philip Haughton drank Wilberforce's health." Witness did not hear any thing else, either there or at several other dances at which he was present ; but "almost every night, when the Negroes came from the field, he always heard Trelawney talking about free, and saying" (shouldering his crutch, we presume) "that it would be a word and a blow with them and the White people at Christmas, if they did not get free. Philip Haughton drank Wilberforce's health at Cunningham's house, and said that *he* would make them get free."

With respect to the whole of the other prisoners, the utmost attempted to be proved against them, assuming all the evidence to be strictly true, was, that conversations of the following kind had passed between them :—James Campbell mentioned that the slaves were to get free. Thomas Darby said to James, he did not care about free ; if free came, very well ; if don't come, very well. James then said, that Thomas Darby lived well with his master was the reason he didn't care about free.—"Did you hear James say the people were going to rise ? No ; he said, if free come, he would take it," &c. &c.

The testimony, however, of by far the greatest part of the witnesses even of the Crown, not only denies that any *bad words* were spoken at the dance, or elsewhere, by the prisoners, but is highly favourable to their general character and conduct. The overseer of Unity Hall, Thomas Aikman, who had lived there eleven years, gives them the most unqualified commendation. He says, "There are 232 Negroes on the estate : it has some bad characters as run-aways, one or two. They are a good working set of people, and well-disposed, as far as I know, and do every thing for their master's interest." Speaking of the prisoners, he says, Robert Galloway is head driver, a well-disposed Negro. Archy Buckner is head cattle-keeper, a very good character. Philip Haughton is a very good character ; he is second driver, and equal to any other, and one he would trust with any thing. William Stennett is as fine a Negro as he ever knew in Jamaica ; he does not believe he ever passed an angry word with him since he lived on the estate. The others are field-Negroes, and work well. Richard Allen generally carries the first row in the gang. John Cunningham has a large family of six children. Trelawney has been an invalid for two years, "a weakly boy," (E. p. 61), doing little work : he is hip-shot. The character of Mary Ann Reid is good.—Such is Aikman's account of eight of the alleged conspirators. He



next gives an account of their accusers, the Bartiboos. " They have been great nuisances to the estate since he lived there. He has taken them up for their misconduct, and put them in the stocks ; has frequently given orders to the Negroes to drive them off the estate, when they see them there ; and has even punished two or three for harbouring them. He has known them commit depredations on the estate. Their mother is free, but has lived as his wife with a slave belonging to Unity Hall, who is a hard-working man, and supports her, and is a great help to her family." (p. 70.) The same unfavourable account is given of the Bartiboos by almost every witness even for the Crown. Several say they would not believe them on their oaths ; all seem to agree that nothing good could be said of them : and yet these are the men whom the Assembly of Jamaica crown with rewards as saviours of their country, and for the cost of whose perjuries they mean to apply to Parliament to indemnify the island.

The overseer of Spring Garden estate gives also a highly favourable character to three of the prisoners belonging to that estate. " He considers William Kerr, James Kerr, and Corydon to be three very good slaves ; never knew them guilty of any thing bad. Thinks they are all the very reverse of Negroes of a rebellious disposition, never subject to severity ; and when they came into any fault, a very little chastisement puts them to rights. He has every reason to suppose they are attached to their master ; never knew them to injure the stock : when any accident happened on the estate, they seem to regret it as much as a White person." (p. 72.)

Besides all this, much evidence was produced which was directly exculpatory, and which both repelled the alleged charges, and threw absolute discredit on the rewarded witnesses.

The result of the trial is thus stated by Mr. Vaughan, who entered upon it, as we have seen, with a disposition to turn windmills into giants. " The court were divided : Mr. Barrett \* and Mr. Downer were of opinion there was no conspiracy, and that there was nothing but common amusement ; the majority, Messrs. Gray, Boyd, and myself, conceived there was legally conspiracy, and that there was great criminality. As, however, there was no specific plan proved, nor the possession of arms, nor preparation by exercising, nor any overt act of rebellion, or threat of murder of any White, or against the Whites, except by implication, the majority of the court did not think the punishment should be capital, and stated their intention to the jury." (E. p. 60.)

The jury found thirteen of the prisoners guilty. Four of them, Trelawney, William Kerr, Philip Haughton, and James Campbell, were condemned to transportation for life ; two, Garret Rainie and

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\* Mr. Barrett has done himself great honour by the course he pursued on this occasion. His address to the jury forms a remarkable contrast to that of Mr. Vaughan. It is calm and dispassionate, and evinces the most enlarged views and liberal feelings.

Corydon, to hard labour for twelve months, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out; John Cunningham, to hard labour for six months; Mary Ann Reid, to hard labour for four months; Robert Galloway and Richard Allen, to hard labour for three months, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out; and William Stennett, Archy Buckner, and James Kerr, to hard labour for one month, and to thirty-nine lashes each at going in and coming out.

Such were the punishments awarded by this slave court for a little idle gossiping about the news of the day, and for the alleged crime of drinking Mr. Wilberforce's health.

The Governor, the Duke of Manchester, seems to have been justly shocked at the unwarranted rigour of these proceedings. Mr. Bullock addresses Mr. Vaughan, in the name of his Grace, to the following effect:—"After the most careful perusal of the evidence, his Grace has not been able to discover any concert or combination amongst the Negroes for any criminal purpose. There seems to have been a very active spirit of inquiry, which may be naturally accounted for without attributing to them any criminal intentions; and their minds have been agitated by vague and uncertain rumours of benefits contemplated in their favour, the nature of which they were anxious to discover. This has led them to make use of inconsiderate, and in some instances intemperate, expressions. But the utmost extent to which even these expressions go, is a determination on the part of some to obtain what they have been deceived into a belief that they are entitled to; and there is no threat, no intention manifested to destroy the White inhabitants, or the properties on which they reside." "In regard to Trelawney, although he certainly made use of very unjustifiable language, still, when it is considered how incompetent he must be from his infirmities, and unlikely from his general character, to exercise any sort of influence over the minds of the slaves, or to be the principal agent of any meditated mischief, his Grace is induced to commute his sentence to three months' imprisonment, and to such labour as he is able to undergo; and to commute that of Kerr, Campbell, and Haughton, to confinement to one month's hard labour. With respect to the slaves convicted of minor offences, it is rather to be regretted that so many were brought to trial; and his Grace does not see any useful purpose in detaining them any longer in confinement. His Grace has been pleased, therefore, to remit such parts of their sentence as have not yet been carried into effect\*." (p. 82.)

What can be a more decisive condemnation of the whole spirit of these transactions than the above able and manly despatch? It is an acquittal of the alleged conspirators, and a condemnation of their judges. The same letter, however, contains a notice of the trials in St. Mary's and St. George's which admits of more question. There, Mr. Bullock observes, "crimes of a more marked and decided character have placed his Grace under the painful necessity of in-

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\* We trust the thirty-nine lashes at going in were delayed till the above letter arrived.

flicting the punishment of death on many, and on others that of banishing them the island for life."

We have already had an opportunity of appreciating the justice of the sentence passed on the alleged conspirators of St. Mary's, and of seeing how slight and vague and unsatisfactory was the evidence on which eight men were there so precipitately thrust out of existence. We have still to examine the case of the alleged conspirators of St. George's. (E. pp. 83—111.) It is not, indeed, our intention to enter into it much at large; for, although it would be easy to shew that, on the very face of the proceedings, enough appears to disprove the charge of any traitorous or rebellious conspiracy, it seems now admitted by common consent that the two individuals, on whose testimony alone the charge of conspiracy rested, were utterly unworthy of credit, and have since completely damnified their own evidence by the most palpable inconsistencies and contradictions. It is respecting these two witnesses (the hope, at one time, of all the alarmists in Jamaica, and even now the only prop of the St. George's conspiracy) that the Secret Committee of the Assembly adopted the following recommendation: "The Committee feel it their duty to recommend to the House, that a message should be sent to his Grace the Governor, requesting that he would send off the island Charles Mack and John Baptiste Corberand, as persons of most dangerous character to remain at large in this colony." Without stopping to inquire by what legal authority either the Governor or the House of Assembly, or both, could thus transport two of his Majesty's subjects without even the form of a trial, we have, at least, in this recommendation, a sufficient proof of the infamous character of the witnesses on whose evidence alone eight slaves were condemned to death and eight more to transportation\*. The sentences of five of the former

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\* Mack and Corberand are understood to have received a promise both of pardon and of their freedom for the discoveries they made respecting this conspiracy. Why the promise has not been executed will hereafter appear. They doubtless well earned their reward in the first instance: they left indeed no wish of the alarmists ungratified. Latterly, however, their evidence, more especially that of Corberand, broke down so completely (see the trial of Chance, E. pp. 128—132) as to excite in the minds of the more dispassionate members of the community a conviction that the whole of the plot, to which they alone bore witness, was little better than a vile fabrication. But even this exposure of the falsehood of these witnesses (to say nothing of a more complete exposure, which probably still awaits them and their employers) was not necessary to satisfy any one, who had read with care their preparatory examinations, and the minutes of their evidence on the different trials, that there had been, in fact, no rebellious conspiracy whatever among the condemned slaves. It is curious, among other things, to remark the progressive hardihood of affirmation on the part of these dealers in plots and conspiracies, at each successive examination. We have never met with a more striking parallel to Titus Oates, than has been furnished on his inferior stage by John Baptiste Corberand. While the delusion lasted, who more honoured than Corberand? But it could not stand before his clumsy contradictions; and when it subsided, the man who had been hailed as a deliverer, and was to have been rewarded with freedom and wealth, was condemned to close imprisonment and exile, and became the object of universal disgust and execration.



were commuted by his Grace the Governor into transportation, and two of the latter were unconditionally pardoned. Still three were hanged and eleven transported on the evidence of these two desperadoes.

The case of Lecesne and Escoffery, which has been more than once adverted to in the Society's Reports, naturally connects itself with the St. George's conspiracy; the former of these gentlemen having been charged *by the witness Corberand*, but *by him alone*, with having supplied the conspirators with arms. It is not our intention to enter largely into this case, which has been recently exposed to the public indignation with so much power and effect by Dr. Lushington. It is a case of the most wanton and aggravated oppression; and though no pains have been spared to blacken its victims, and to screen its perpetrators from merited disgrace and punishment, yet the day of vindication and of retribution also must come, and we trust is even now at hand.

Lecesne and Escoffery (see F.) were arrested in Kingston as aliens of a dangerous description, with a view of being immediately deported from the island, on the 7th October 1823. They were kept in gaol till the 25th of that month, when, after a full investigation of evidence, they were pronounced by the Court of King's Bench to be British subjects, and discharged from custody accordingly. On the 29th of November following, however, they were again seized, under a warrant from the Governor, hurried on board a ship of war, and sent off to St. Domingo, from which island they made their way to England.

In no part of the proceedings relating to these men, up to the time of their deportation, is there the slightest allusion to any suspicion which existed against them of their being concerned in any conspiracy of slaves. Something was said, but without the slightest proof, of their criminal correspondence with St. Domingo; which, however, their unfriendly reception by the authorities there must, of itself, had there been no other reply, have shewn to be unfounded. The ground on which their deportation was made to rest was their alleged alienage. But as that might be again disproved, and these persons might be placed hereafter in a capacity of vindicating their rights as British subjects, it became necessary to think of some expedient which should aggravate their case, and serve eventually to palliate, if not to justify, this extraordinary act of rigour towards two unoffending and untried British subjects. The St. George's conspiracy afforded a very convenient occasion of doing this. To have kept these men in the island and put them on their trial would have been hazardous: they might have proved their innocence. But there was no hazard, now that they were deported, in having them incidentally exhibited as fomenters of the St. George's conspiracy. The effect would at least be to increase the prejudice against the exiles, and to exhibit in a favourable point of view the penetration, and foresight, and vigilance of those who had by anticipation detected and deported such dangerous miscreants.

John Baptiste Corberand appears to have been the first person

who afforded any information respecting the St. George's conspiracy. He was a native of St. Domingo, and a slave belonging to Mullet-hall plantation. The trials and executions which had just taken place in St. Mary's, had naturally excited the apprehension of disturbance in all parts of the island. In St. George's, that apprehension appears to have been particularly vivid, as may be seen by the newspapers of that period. At length, on the 26th of December, John Baptiste Corberand comes forward to announce a plot. On that day his first examination on oath is dated; and it is remarkable, how modest and circumscribed his statement on that occasion is, as compared with his subsequent evidence. Not one word escapes him respecting Lecesne. He merely states, that he understood the Negroes of Balcarras had for some time been mustering by night. One night he was present, and found a large concourse of Negroes in a house belonging to one Montagnac, which they called the Court-house. One man among them was called King, another Governor. They had some refreshment there, and talked with one another; but *he did not understand* what they were talking about, and after some time he left them. He went the next night, and found the people mustering as before, when they offered to make his brother Second Governor; but being offended that his younger brother should be put above him, and *not being able to obtain information from them*, he did not return any more—"and further, this deponent saith not."

Different persons, who had been designated by Corberand, as having been present on these two occasions, were also examined; but they said, that the whole affair was a matter of mere amusement. Montagnac said, that the Negroes in the field had made a regulation, that when one Negro cursed another, he should be fined *5d.* worth of rum. He himself was the first man fined, and the Negroes came in the evening to his house, to drink the rum; and it was proposed, that all future fines should be drank at his house, which should be called the Court-house. Thompson, who was there, said he would be King, and Kerr said he would be Governor, but that was all meant in fun\*. The Negroes, so assembled, sometimes made play with their sticks, and some of them had *wooden* swords made by Macfarlane†.

This germinating conspiracy assumes, however, a very different shape in Corberand's next examination, which does not take place till the 8th of January 1824, an interval of fifteen days. On the 26th of December he had sworn to the facts already detailed, which he swore also was all he had to depose. Who had access to him in the interim and were his prompters does not appear, but may possibly

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\* It is well known, that in Jamaica, every Negro has his gala-day name, by which he is distinguished among his fellows. One is General Campbell, another is Admiral Rowley, a third is Colonel Russell, a fourth Mr. Scarlett, a fifth Governor Conran, and so forth: and by these names they are generally addressed at their festive meetings.

† With respect to the use of sticks and swords in their amusements, see the account which Bryan Edwards gives of their Pyrrhic or warlike dances, in his *History of the West Indies*, 5th edition, vol. ii. p. 103.

appear hereafter. His evidence on the 8th of January details the formation of a regular plot, with all due circumstances of unlawful oaths and murderous purposes; the whole of which, if true, must have been as well known to him before as after his first examination. He stands, therefore, at once before us as a perjured and blasted witness. His testimony is nevertheless received and devoured by the greedy appetites of the magistrates without hesitation or reserve. Now the plot takes the character, in their official statements to the Governor (p. 83), of "a most extensive and diabolical plot for the overthrow of the government, and the massacre of the White inhabitants." Now first Lecesne's name comes forward. The information respecting him is thus given by Corberand: "James Manhertz, and two run-away Negroes harboured by him, had made several visits to town, each time returning with a load of guns \*, which was delivered by Lecesne, (the person lately shipped off): H. Oliver said, this Lecesne was his great support, and had promised him as many guns, powder, &c. as he could require. Since Lecesne's being sent off, H. Oliver had appeared much dejected: he knows of no one who has been appointed to act in Lecesne's room." This fact, observes the magistrate, in making a communication of it, "will be important to Government." (p. 83.)

On the trial of H. Oliver, on the 19th of January, a number of additional circumstances are introduced into Corberand's evidence respecting Lecesne. He (Corberand) went to Kingston—he does not say when—along with James Manhertz. They were both introduced to Lecesne, by one Baptiste, a Negro from St. Domingo, and received from him fourteen guns, which were put in a Spanish bag, and brought by them to Balcarras, where they were hidden. "The guns," he says, "were to fight Buckra (the Whites) with. They were to kill all that would not join their party, without respect to colour. Oliver sent money to Lecesne for guns. Oliver was three days in Kingston; he carried money to pay for arms; and yet it is said, "Lecesne did not sell guns." (p. 83.) "Oliver was to walk round the country and tell the Negroes to join the plot, and Lecesne was to send TROOPS from Kingston to help them when they rose." "Oliver sent letters to Mr. Lecesne, Manhertz carried the letters: he did not know who wrote them." "Lecesne told witness he would get them every thing they wanted. The plot was contemplated before witness knew Lecesne." "They got the arms about two months before Christmas †."

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\* Not one of these guns has ever been found, although the whole power of the Jamaica police has been exerted to discover them.

† From the 7th to the 25th of October, Lecesne was in confinement in Kingston gaol. It was surprizing that this statement did not excite a suspicion of the truth of all Corberand's evidence; and still more if, as the newspapers of the day represented him to have said, the arms were received two weeks before Christmas, when Lecesne had been already deported. But another circumstance rendered the magistrates more inexcusable, in crediting Corberand's testimony. Mr. Paul La Motte testifies, that on the Sunday before the Kingston races, (being the 30th Nov. 1823), he met two slaves coming from King-



The next mention of Lecesne is on the 3d of February, on the trial of a slave named Leon, condemned to die on the *sole* testimony of Corberand. "Leon," he said, "was made a postman by H. Oliver, to fetch people from Kingston to join them the night they were to rise. Afterwards, three weeks before Christmas, Leon came down to Balcarras," &c. "The people were to be brought, *Christmas night*, from Kingston. Leon accepted the situation, saying, he would do any thing to oblige a friend. *They were to come from town with arms; Lecesne was to furnish them.* The people expected were Sambos, Blacks, and Browns." (See *supra*, pp. 37, 38.)

Again: on the trial of Jack, on the 7th of April, Corberand testifies, "that fourteen guns were supplied by a Brown man, name Lecesne. They were brought over by James Manhertz, and a Brown man named James Grossly, in Spanish bags, on two mules, about *two months* before Christmas. A week after, he (witness) brought over a keg of powder on a mule, also from Lecesne." "He (the witness) was taken to Lecesne by Baptiste the Brigand" (p. 104), who introduced him and Oliver to Lecesne. (p. 106.)

Corberand's next and last exhibition was in Kingston, on the trial of a slave named Chance, on the 1st of June, 1824. He then stated, that *he had known Lecesne since he was a little boy*. Some time ago, as he passed his house, he saw him and Chance whispering a long discourse together, and he saw Lecesne give a jug of powder to Chance. "Baptiste, the brigand, and Oliver, were introduced to Lecesne in town, who said, at any time they wished for guns, to send. Witness took Manhertz to Lecesne, got a Spanish bag, and tied fourteen guns together; and they put them on two mules, and walked all night, and got to Balcarras at cock-crow."

It came out, on this trial, that Corberand had been promised his pardon by the St. George's magistrates if he told all he knew about the conspiracy. Mr. Lamotte, a planter of St. George's, testified that Corberand had varied in his testimony, on the present occasion, from all he had said before. "On five trials in St. George's he had always varied, and given something new." (p. 131.) Mr. Beaumont, the editor of the Public Advertiser, gave similar testimony.

In consequence, we presume, of his manifest prevarication on this occasion, Corberand was immediately committed to close confinement in gaol; and it was afterwards made the subject of a recommendation from the Assembly that he should be deported from the island, without even the form of a trial\*.

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ston; the one Manhertz, belonging to Balcarras, and the other Corberand; belonging to Mullett-Hall, with a mule and a bag on its back containing a gun; and Mr. Mendez, the overseer of Mullett-hall testifies, that at that time he had sent to Kingston a Negro with a mule to get a stand of arms for himself, and that the Negro on his return told him he had met Mr. La Motte. This circumstance seems to have furnished Corberand with the hint for the whole of his fabrication about arms. The overseer of Balcarras also testified, that he never missed H. Oliver more than one day from the estate.

\* The papers laid before Parliament omit one material circumstance with respect to Corberand, which tended more than any other to ruin his testimony.

But, amid the various transactions in St. George's, none has struck us with more disgust and horror than the trial and condemnation of a poor sickly female slave, named Venus, who, on conviction, is valued at 25*l.* currency, or about 17*l.* sterling, for "a rebellious conspiracy to kill and murder the White inhabitants of Jamaica, and for compassing and imagining the death of the White people of that island." The slave and daughter of her master, a Frenchman of the name of Paul Lamotte Carrière, appears against her, and testifies to her using violent language, the witness alone being present, about killing the White people, and saying the Negroes would be free; adding, "Venus always grumbled against her master." Her master testifies that she was "ill-disposed, mischief-making, and disorderly;" another White man, that she was "bad tempered, saucy, and lazy."

He was detected, while giving his evidence, with a piece of silver coin in his mouth, which, by the Negroes generally, is supposed to be an effectual charm against the evil consequences of perjury. The universal knowledge in Jamaica of the prevalence of this superstitious belief proved more damnable of Corberand's evidence than all his contradictions, inconsistencies and exaggerations. Indeed he did not scruple to avow afterwards, as may be clearly proved, that all he had testified about Lecesne and the St. George's conspirators was false, and had been said to secure the pardon and the rewards that had been promised him. After this, it seems unnecessary to point out the gross discrepancies of his various statements. On the 19th of January, for example, he said that he and Manhertz were introduced to Lecesne by Baptiste; and then that Manhertz had carried letters to Lecesne from Oliver. He even says, that the plot was contemplated *before he knew Lecesne*. On the 7th of April, however, his testimony is, that he and Oliver, not Manhertz, were introduced to Lecesne by Baptiste. On the 1st of June he had a different story. He then said that he had known Lecesne *since he was a little boy*; and Baptiste and Oliver, instead of being the introducers, were introduced themselves to Lecesne. He also took Manhertz to Lecesne. Again, his evidence on the 8th of January goes to prove that Manhertz and two other persons had made several visits to town for guns given by Lecesne, who was Oliver's great support. But on the 19th of January it was he and Manhertz who got the guns. On the 7th of April, it was Manhertz and Grossly; and on the 1st of June, it was he and Manhertz again.

In the first account of these trials in the Jamaica newspapers, the delivery of arms by Lecesne was said to have been two *weeks* before Christmas. This statement must at once have blasted the whole of Corberand's testimony, Lecesne having been deported on the 29th of November. The time, however, which stood two *weeks* in the newspapers, stands as two *months* in the parliamentary papers. But though the change brings the fact just within the verge of possibility, the improbability is still of a very formidable description. Mr. Lecesne had been a prisoner in Kingston gaol from the 7th to the 25th of October, and in five weeks more he was deported from the island. Now that, during any part of those five weeks Lecesne, just as he had escaped the most imminent peril of exile from his family and country, with a full knowledge of the rigid surveillance under which he was placed by Mr. Barnes and Mr. Mitchell, the magistrates of Kingston, who were known to be anxiously looking about for inculpatory evidence against him, should have employed himself in the hazardous work of furnishing arms to slave conspirators, is too absurd to be believed. There is no need, however, to resort to reasoning of this description to prove the charge to be false and unfounded. And this appears to have been the opinion of the Jamaica Assembly, who, in their report on the disturbances, do not once allude to Lecesne, but bestow high praise on the loyalty of the People of Colour generally. (*Supra*, pp. 37, 38.)

Her defence was, that she was sickly, and could not work, and that the words attributed to her had really been used by her master's daughter. She was condemned to transportation.

The following extracts seem to us to throw additional light on these dark transactions.

In an extra Postscript to the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 17th to the 24th of January 1824, there is inserted a detail of the trial of the St. George's conspirators on the 19th January 1824. There Charles Mack is made to testify (p. 30), that the meeting at which he was present, when *two bags* were brought on *two mules*, containing, as he conceives, guns from town, took place *two weeks* before Christmas. On the very same trial John Baptiste Corberand is made to testify (p. 31), that fourteen guns were brought from Lecesne, in Kingston, in *bags on mules, two months* before Christmas.

In the Postscript to the Royal Gazette, of the 31st January to the 7th February 1824, an account is given of a second trial (Feb. 3) of some St. George's conspirators. On this occasion the editor observes (p. 20), "Baptiste Corberand varies considerably from the evidence he gave on the former trial" (on the 19th January). "He says there were *some people* from St. Domingo at the musterings, when before he distinctly stated there was only the brigand Baptiste. He also implicates Sambos and Browns, whereas before he only implicated Lecesne. He now, too, implicates the Negroes on La Fitte's property, when, on the previous trial, he deposed that they would not join, as they were religiously inclined." Various other direct contradictions are specified, but these may suffice. On this testimony, nevertheless, three men were, on this one occasion, condemned to die, and one to be transported. (p. 21.)

In an additional Postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 10th to the 17th April 1824 (pp. 26, 27), is contained the account of the third trial of the St. George's conspirators, which took place on the 7th of April. Here Corberand and Mack change places. Mack is made, on this occasion, to testify, that the guns arrived *eight weeks* before Christmas; while Corberand's testimony is thus given:—"They had fourteen guns to fight the Buckras with. They got their guns from Lecesne, a Brown man in Kingston, for nothing. They had been collecting money to purchase guns; but when they found they could get them for nothing, they stopped collecting." "James Manhertz brought the guns up in a Spanish bag on a mule, with John Crossdaile, a slave belonging to Cambridge, in Portland, *two weeks* before Christmas. *A week after*, this witness brought up a keg of gunpowder on a mule from Lecesne's." Lecesne, be it remembered, was deported from Jamaica on the 29th of November. Corberand is asked, "Do you know Lecesne?" His reply is, "Yes, I know him well; was introduced by Baptiste the brigand to him."

In the Jamaica Courant of the 12th of April 1824, an account is given of the same trial of the 7th of April, which is verbatim the same which we have just quoted from the Jamaica Gazette. Corberand is there also made to state that the guns were brought from Lecesne *two weeks* before Christmas, and a keg of powder only *one week* before Christmas; while Mack is made to testify that they were brought to Balcarras *eight weeks* before Christmas. The whole of the trial, extracted verbatim from the Jamaica Courant, and exhibiting these decisive proofs of perjury, may be seen in the John Bull of the 13th June 1825.

Immediately after the trial of Chance, which took place on the 1st of June, and to which we have adverted above (p. 77), Corberand was placed in close confinement in the gaol of Kingston. He escaped from his confinement, but, after some time, was retaken and placed in one of the condemned cells. The Jamaica Courant, of the 5th June 1824, makes the following observations on the escape of this witness for the crown:—

"Jean Baptiste Corberand has effected his escape from the gaol of the city. The danger and impolicy of this man being abroad must strike every one. He has as pretty a notion of treason as any Jack Cade we ever



One other conspiracy remains to be considered, that of Hanover; and we must do the gentlemen of Hanover the justice to say, that it is the only affair which wears the very slightest semblance of a conspiracy. There, we have at least some overt acts of violence—something which, to a certain extent, might justify alarm, and punishment too.

heard of, and may, if he is inclined, stir up the present tranquil passions of ignorant Negroes to those acts which, on his evidence on the last slave court, he evinced having well studied and matured. We never witnessed a fellow more undaunted before a tribunal of justice, or more at home, on his being discovered in occasionally tripping in the continuity of his story. It is hoped every exertion will be resorted to in order to recover this incendiary, who has evinced considerable and dangerous talents, and who would be prone to use them (if we judge aright of the fellow) to the prejudice of the present peaceable state of the colony, and to the perdition of his weak or headstrong associates."

In the Public Advertiser of Jamaica, of the 27th July 1824, the following paragraph appears:—

*Corberand.*—"In reply to the inquiry of a St. George's correspondent, 'whether Charles Mack and Jean Baptiste Corberand, the crown witnesses in the St. George's trials, are treated like convicted felons, whilst the convicted rebels are allowed the privilege of insolvent debtors,' we are requested to state, that Corberand has lately been confined in a cell for two causes; first, in consequence of his having effected his escape on a former occasion; and, secondly, because he has manifested strong symptoms of insanity. The debtors insisted on his removal from the part of the gaol appropriated to them, as he made at night the most hideous yellings, sometimes roaring out that he saw the fire which was going to burn him; at other times that he was sure he would be hanged, an impression which it is impossible to dispel. He also requested the Sheriff's officer to fetch him a parson, that he might tell him that all he (Corberand) had said was nothing but lies. Charles Mack, till the last week, was in the hospital, and for a considerable time previously. As he had also attempted his escape, it has been considered necessary to put him under some restraints."

The same paper, of the 12th July 1824, contains the following remarks on the evidence of Corberand, as it bears on the case of Lecesne and Escoffery.

"For our own part we hope (indeed we are confident), that our Executive have stronger grounds to defend the justice and propriety of their conduct (towards Lecesne and Escoffery), than the evidence of Jean Baptiste Corberand, whose evidence, we maintain, is wholly unworthy of credit. We put it, not to the Rev. Colin Donaldson, but to Mr. Kirkland and Mr. Stamp, two of the ablest magistrates in St. George's, whether they can deny that Corberand was always ready to swear to any thing which could tend, in his opinion, to raise his own consequence. We have heard him with our own ears, in a court of justice, detail before a jury impossibilities, absurdities, and inconsistencies. In his cross-examination by Mr. Clement, in the Court-house of this city, at the trial of a slave named Chance, he so repeatedly contradicted himself, that the jury did not believe his evidence, and acquitted the prisoner of every part of the charge which Corberand was called to substantiate.

"Our readers will perceive, that we do not impeach Corberand's testimony on the opinion of a very inconsistent, and perhaps, we might say, very silly reverend gentleman (Mr. Donaldson), but we appeal to his own cross-examinations, and the verdict of a jury composed of respectable inhabitants of this city.

"Besides, were Corberand's evidence to be believed, it would be no exculpation of the illegal act charged against our executive, inasmuch as the deportation complained of, and the evidence which induced it, were long prior to this second edition of Titus Oates."

By the law of Jamaica, the slaves are allowed twenty-six days in the year out of crop, besides Sundays, for cultivating their provision grounds, which form the sole source of their subsistence. This pitance of time, it may be supposed, is highly prized by the slaves generally, but most by those who are the best and most industrious. The crop of 1824 had been long: the month of May had nearly closed before it was finished on Argyll, the estate of Mr. J. Malcolm, who was himself resident; so that the season for clearing their grounds and planting their provisions was rapidly passing. Mr. M. had made them to turn out to work on Saturday the 29th of May; and after they had been working some time in the field (one witness says half a day), they were sent to their grounds; but the afternoon proved wet, and was of little use to them. This plan of turning out before going to their grounds is stated to have been unusual on Argyll, nay, never to have occurred there before. The Negroes were unwilling to submit to it; and when Saturday the 5th of June came, they all went to their provision grounds without first going to the field. They were not flogged on the Monday morning, as they seem to have expected, for this act of disobedience. An intimation however appears to have been given them, that they would be required to attend in the field on the succeeding Saturday. They determined among themselves, that they would not obey the mandate; but that when Saturday the 12th came, they should proceed as they had done on Saturday the 5th, and repair to their grounds without coming first to the field. They accompanied this determination, it is affirmed, with some strong expressions of defiance, and with intimations of their right to be free; but this was only among themselves. Early on the morning of Friday the 11th, Mr. Malcolm was apprized by one of his slaves, William Roach, of the above determination, and of the intemperate language said to be used by the slaves. He immediately wrote a letter on the subject to the colonel of the militia, who called out his regiment to rendezvous at Argyll. A part of the corps reached the estate the same day during the dinner hour of the Negroes; and such was the alarm created amongst them by the appearance of the soldiery, that, when the shell blew to call them to their afternoon's task, instead of coming to the field, they all ran away into the woods. One witness describes the matter thus:—"They were frightened, having heard that, when they turned out, they were to be surrounded by the troops, and, if any ran away, they were to be shot and handcuffed." Some of them appeared now to consider their case as desperate. They killed seven horses and three mules belonging to Mr. Malcolm; and the trash house of a neighbouring estate was set on fire on Sunday, but by whom does not appear. Three of the principal offenders, among whom was the head driver of Argyll, killed themselves to avoid being taken, and a fourth failed in an attempt at suicide. A few were taken by the military, and the rest came in and delivered themselves up in two or three days.

Eleven slaves belonging to Argyll and seven belonging to Golden Grove were put upon their trial. The charges against them were, entering into a rebellious conspiracy to obtain their freedom by acts

of force and by resistance to the lawful authorities; entering into such conspiracy to resist the lawful authorities and to overturn the constitution of the island; and rising in open rebellion against the lawful authorities of the island. Sixteen were found guilty. Of these, thirteen were condemned to be hanged, and either ten or eleven of them were hanged, and three were condemned to be transported. The value put upon these sixteen persons, and paid to their masters, was 1560*l*.

This, it must be admitted, was a sufficiently terrible example of vindictive justice. We shall be excused for making a few remarks upon it.

1. There does not appear to have existed on the part of the slaves any premeditated design of rebellion. They conceived themselves to have been greatly aggrieved by the wanton abridgment of their Saturday, the only week-day allowed them for cultivating their grounds out of crop, no such day being allowed them during crop; and their measures appear to have been directed solely, in the first instance, to secure to themselves the whole of the day to which they conceived themselves to be entitled by law. Instead, therefore, of obeying the mandate to muster in the field on the Saturday, they determined to go directly to their grounds, which, it is said, had been the usual course of proceeding. Mr. Malcolm, the proprietor, does not deny that he had summoned them to attend the field on Saturday; but says his object was to ascertain that they were all on the estate, and had not wandered about on Friday night, and "he *always sent them away by seven o'clock.*" He does not, however, contradict the evidence which says that it had not been *his* previous custom thus to summon them to the field on their own day; neither does he deny the fact, alleged by one of the witnesses, that on the preceding Saturday they had been detained in the field *half* the day. This statement of Mr. Malcolm's, therefore, is not very intelligible; but we presume that he wishes to have it understood that it was his *intention*, in summoning them to the field on their own day, not to detain them beyond seven o'clock. He does not say, however, that he made known this intention to the slaves. Now, let it be kept in mind that the Jamaica law makes the hours of field labour to extend from five in the morning till seven at night. Here, then, two full hours, the best hours of the day too, are to be taken from the day allowed to the slaves for labouring in their own grounds, in order to till their master's fields—although that day is the only allowance made them in lieu of subsistence;—their master thus depriving them (including the time employed in going to and returning from the field) of a sixth, or perhaps a fifth, of that precious time. We cannot but regard such a proceeding as a most wanton infringement of the *legal* rights of the slave; an infringement which it became them to resist, by every *legal* means in their power. And yet, had they in their power any legal means of redress? We doubt it. They could only have complained to a magistrate; and Mr. John Malcolm their master, the very person who inflicted the wrong, was himself a magistrate,



and, from his connexions, one of the most influential magistrates in the parish. We cannot, therefore, *greatly* blame their adopting the only mode which was open to them, however unsafe and imprudent it may have been, of intimating to their master the sense they entertained of the wrong he had done them.

2. We think that the conduct of Mr. Malcolm was not only unjust and illegal, but that it was ill-timed. He must have known that the minds of the Negroes had been much agitated by the rumours and discussions which had been afloat in the island, and by the trials and executions which had been taking place around them. The Duke of Manchester's recent letter to Mr. Vaughan might have reminded him of this circumstance. Surely this was not the time to innovate, in the way of severity, in the treatment of his slaves, and particularly by a regulation which must, in many ways, have been extremely galling to them. If he had intended to excite their bad passions, and to provoke resistance to his authority, he could not have fallen upon a more effectual device than that which he was so ill-advised as to adopt.

3. That the appearance of the military on the estate should have led to the momentary defection of all the slaves, was no more than might have been expected. Their terror at the thought of military execution sufficiently accounts for it. Thus far they might fairly have found in the court and jury which tried them, that lenient construction of their conduct which was so judiciously given by the Duke of Manchester to the alleged conspirators of St. James's. The acts of violence afterwards perpetrated by a few individuals, were, doubtless, acts deserving severe punishment; but they were not acts which could be considered as involving any but the actual perpetrators; and certainly not such as could be considered as involving even the perpetrators, and much less the other slaves, in the crime of rebellion against the government.

4. We observe on these trials, as on all the others which have taken place, a remarkable disregard of all the received rules of evidence; and in this instance also the slaves appear to have had no legal advocate, or even solicitor. On the face of the minutes, however, it is obvious that much would have been gained in favour of the prisoners, as well by a judicious cross-examination, as by the rejection of improper and irrelevant and mere hear-say evidence. On an English reader, for example, it is calculated to make a strong impression to be told that most of the Negroes were *armed with machetes*, and that one man was *grinding his machete*. A single question would have brought out the answer, that the machete is one of the common tools of the field Negroes.

5. In the case of this, as of all the other trials, the informers and material witnesses either are rewarded with their freedom (a freedom which they had doubtless the assurance of before hand); or obtain the pardon of their own crimes, in order to qualify them to give evidence against others. (A. p. 17.)

A Return is made in these papers of the number of Maroons in

Jamaica ; by which it appears that they had been greatly increasing. The returns are dated in June, July, and August, 1824, and are as follows—(E. pp. 21—33)

|                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| Accompong-town (besides 14 slaves) ..... | 328 |
| Scot-Hall (besides 1 slave) .....        | 68  |
| Charles-town.....                        | 365 |
| Moore-town (besides 49 slaves) .....     | 438 |

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The only remaining document in the Jamaica papers is a letter from the Bishop of Jamaica, which, we think, it would have been well to have suppressed. It is dated on the 12th March 1825, when he had only been about three weeks in the island, and when it was impossible he could have formed any just judgment of the actual state of things, except from information, the soundness of which it would have been prudent to have questioned.

“Wherever I go,” says the Bishop, “I find the greatest aversion to Sectarianism of every kind and denomination, but every degree of confidence in any teachers of religion whom I may be pleased to appoint\*.

“I have as yet seen very little of the slave-population, except during a short excursion into the Port-Royal mountains. The great want is, places of worship in situations where the Negroes of many surrounding estates might be easily assembled, and houses for the clergy†. Many proprietors have indeed tendered houses, which might be adapted for the purpose: and, from all I hear from the Clergy, much has been done in this way, particularly since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point‡. From the great uncertainty and capriciousness of the Negro character, it is difficult to make sure of their attendance even where great pains

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\* The Bishop, of course, speaks *here of the Clergy and the White colonists*: he cannot mean to refer either to the free People of Colour or to the slaves. It was not necessary to have Episcopal authority for this fact: it was perfectly notorious. Did any doubt whatever exist of the perfect hatred which the planters of Jamaica generally bear to Methodist and Baptist Missionaries?

† According to the Bishop's account, the great want has not been any want of zeal in the resident Clergy, or any want of facilities in their labours on the part of the laity, but the want of churches and houses; and yet all previous accounts, even from the Clergy themselves, have given a different view of the most efficient causes of the non-instruction of the slaves.

‡ The Bishop was informed by the Clergy, that much had been done in the way of assembling the Negroes in the houses of the proprietors. This, also, is in direct contradiction to all the evidence previously obtained on the subject, both from the Clergy themselves and from others. (See Appendix to Debate of 15th May 1823, pp. 149 and 161.) But we are told, that it is more especially since the Society for the Education of Negroes has directed its attention to this point, that “much has been done.” The resolutions adopted by that Society were first made known in July or August 1823, in London. Its progress must have been rapid, if much has already been done by it. But in what way their resolution to institute schools could have operated in leading the Clergy to do much in the way of assembling the Negroes in the houses of proprietors for public worship, is not very obvious.

have been taken \*; but whenever a preacher is popular, they dress out their children and themselves, a sure sign they are in good humour, and throng the place of public worship †. Psalmody and organs, have great attractions for them. They seem particularly fond of form and ceremony, and greater critics than many persons will give them credit for, remarking every particularity of manner and gesture; and have a great predilection for a powerful, sonorous voice ‡. “I am happy to assure your Lordship, that a very general wish to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and to instruct them in the principles of the Established Church, seems to pervade the great mass of proprietors; and every facility is afforded me of visiting the several plantations §.”

## XII. MAURITIUS.

Respecting the state of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius, during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, the substance of what has been communicated officially is contained in a letter from Sir Robert Farquhar, and one from his successor, Sir Lowry Cole, both addressed to Earl Bathurst;—the first dated the 23d January 1823; and the second, 18th November 1824. The fair inference from these communications would seem to be, that in those years the Slave Trade had been reduced to a very low ebb in the Mauritius. It is impossible, however, under all the circumstances of the case, not to entertain very considerable doubts of the accuracy of that information, and a suspicion that the Governors may have been deceived upon the subject. Sir Lowry Cole indeed affirms, that not only has the introduction of slaves ceased at the Mauritius, but that, on the part of the

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\* Does Mr. Trew, or Mr. Stainsby, or do the Methodist preachers, complain of a deficiency in attendance?

† It would be worth while to obtain a specification of the parish churches, in the island of Jamaica, which slaves and their children have been in the habit of *thronging*. We believe, that, besides the Methodist and Baptist chapels, they would be confined to one or two.

‡ The power and sonorousness of the Bishop's voice are loudly celebrated in all the newspapers of Jamaica.

§ It is humiliating to peruse this first specimen of the official labours of the head of the Church of England in Jamaica. Where did the Bishop learn the fact of the general wish to ameliorate the condition of the slaves? From the chit-chat of the dinner-table, or from the acts of the legislature? Has he not learnt to distinguish between the mere profession and the actual existence of a sincere desire for reformation? And as for the wish, attributed to the great mass of proprietors, of instructing the slaves in the principles of the Established Church, if it really exists at all, it must be a wish of very recent origin: for, until a late period, even the Jamaica District Society for promoting Christian Knowledge found it necessary to obviate the alarm which their association had excited among those proprietors, by publicly declaring that the idea of the religious instruction of the slave population of Jamaica had not entered into their contemplation, their attention being exclusively directed to the free population. (See Appendix to Debate of 15th May 1823, p. 182.)



inhabitants, there is no disposition to renew the Slave Trade, but rather a feeling of indignation at its horrors; and this appears to have been also the opinion of Sir Robert Farquhar. The planters of the Mauritius have, without doubt, *professed* to renounce and to detest the Slave Trade; but it is very difficult to give them credit for the sincerity of this profession. They had long been familiar with this trade; and they had evinced, even to a recent period, an attachment to it so rooted as to lead even some of the higher classes to brave, for the sake of its profits, all the infamy of a felonious conviction. What then could have wrought this extraordinary conversion in so short a time? An external difference of conduct, indeed, might fairly be expected. The increased vigilance of our cruisers increased the risks of transgression, while the extremely low price of colonial produce, during the period in question, diminished the temptation to transgress. But to infer from this temporary cessation of the trade, even if such cessation had actually taken place, that the planters of the Mauritius had become, in principle, adverse to that trade, is not consistent with the character of those planters, or with what we know of human nature itself. Besides, it is notorious, that, during this period, the planters of the Mauritius were making great efforts to obtain the removal of the protecting duty on their sugars; and they must have felt, that a decent external compliance with the Abolition Laws was essential to their success. If a reference be made to the official testimonies already adduced, as disproving this suspicion, it may be said in reply, that the papers laid before Parliament in the late session furnish numerous proofs of similar representations, in favour of the conduct and dispositions of the colonists, on the part of the colonial authorities in the West Indies, at the very moment when the whole course of proceeding pursued by those colonists was furnishing a direct and palpable contradiction to the official eulogy.

One of the strongest presumptions against the alleged purity of the planters of the Mauritius, is drawn from the records of Parliament. Had they been as sincere in their abhorrence of the Slave Trade as they are represented to be—and we may add, had the colonial functionaries been as earnest and vigilant in repressing it as they were bound to be—some proof of this would have been found in the regularity with which the Order in Council for the Registration of Slaves had been complied with by the slave-holders, and in the strictness with which the salutary provisions of that order had been enforced by those charged with its execution. It was felt, by all enlightened abolitionists, and by none more than by his Majesty's Ministers, that the only effectual security against the continuance of the Slave Trade, to any extent which the planters of the Mauritius might desire, was in the establishment of a perfect system of slave-registration. Both in Mauritius and Bourbon, experience had shewn, that, for the due repression of the Slave Trade, no reliance could be placed on the fidelity of courts and juries composed of planters, themselves participating, or desiring to participate, in its criminal gains. And as for our navy, what could one or two cruisers, however vigilant,

effect to prevent small and fast-sailing vessels from throwing slaves on shore during the night, without the cognisance of any persons except the inhabitants, who were also the parties interested in concealing the transaction? The slave market, be it remembered, was distant only a few hours' sail: Slaves could there be bought for only a few dollars. That they were eagerly desired by the planters, no one doubts.—What, under these circumstances, could prevent an active Slave-trade, but a well-regulated registry? But in the Mauritius the registry has not been well regulated. The proof of this is now on the table of the House of Commons. A registry of the slave population, regularly kept, it was admitted, could alone effectually prevent the illicit importation of slaves; but it now turns out that that registry has been suffered to fall into inextricable confusion. It is not only wholly and absolutely inefficient to its purpose, but, there is every reason to fear, may have been converted into a convenient instrument of giving facilities to the illicit importation of slaves. And here it is remarkable, that, although the due establishment and the vigilant superintendence of the Slave Registry was one of the first and most essential duties of the local government, and although it was recognised by the supreme authorities of the state as the most effectual means of preventing the Slave Trade, yet the imperfection, not to say the perfect nullity, of the Mauritius registry, appears to have excited no attention till a recent period. It is obvious, however, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Mauritius, the very course which the best friends of the Slave Trade would be disposed to pursue, in order to secure its undisturbed continuance, would be to declaim against that trade, and to threaten punishment on those who should engage in it, and yet to allow the slave registry to fall into complete disorder.

The Order in Council which established a slave registry in the Mauritius was promulgated there in the year 1815. From that time, had the provisions of the registry act been fulfilled, the introduction of slaves, if not entirely prevented, must have been rendered difficult and hazardous. If any one object, therefore, more than another deserved the vigilant inspection of the colonial government, it was this.

A strong suspicion that this essential instrument of preventing the Slave Trade had become wholly inoperative, was excited by an examination of the returns made to the House of Commons, and printed by order of that House on the 23d March 1823 (No. 89, p. 122), and which were found to be in so unsatisfactory a state as not even to afford any accurate information with respect to the slave population, much less to prove an effective check on the illicit importation of slaves. The suspicion thus excited has since been abundantly confirmed by a return made to the House of Commons, so recently as the 27th June 1825, by Mr. Amyott, the registrar of colonial slaves in Great Britain. It is entitled, "Return of the Amount of the Slave Population in the Mauritius, as received in the Office of the Registrar of Colonial Slaves since its first Establishment," and is as follows:—

“ 1816. Males, 55,717; females, 29,706; total, 85,423.

“ The duplicate slave-returns in the Mauritius, for the year 1819, are so imperfect as not to afford any means whatever of ascertaining the amount of the slave population at that period, and have therefore been sent back to the colony for correction. Those for 1822 are supposed to have been lost in the ship *George the Fourth*, wrecked, on her voyage from the Mauritius, in June last.”

And this neglect is the more remarkable, as it is in defiance of the provisions and penalties of an Act of Parliament, passed in the session of 1819, for securing the regularity of such returns. To whom the neglect is to be attributed does not appear. It is, however, so criminal in itself, and so ruinous in its effects, that it is to be hoped that one of the first measures of the next session of Parliament will be the appointment of a Committee to investigate the subject of the Mauritius registry, as well as some other matters connected with Slavery and the Slave Trade in that quarter.

Until the existing state of things, as to the registration of slaves, has undergone a radical change, all general statements as to the non-introduction of slaves into the Mauritius must be regarded as illusory. It is known, too, in this case, that a Governor is surrounded on all sides by functionaries, and judges, and juries, who are almost one and all holders of slaves, and who are therefore deeply interested, not only in keeping open the channels of supply, but also in concealing every act of delinquency; so that, without the infallible means of information which a perfect system of registration alone can afford, it would be impossible for him to pronounce with confidence as to the execution of the Abolition Laws.

And if this reasoning is applicable to the Mauritius, even under the circumstances of depression, arising from low prices and protecting duties, which prevailed there in 1822, 1823, and 1824, how much more strongly does it apply at the present moment, when the removal of the protecting duties, and the general rise in the price of colonial produce, must have given an increased stimulus to cultivation, and rendered the temptation of the adjacent slave-market still more irresistible!

It would be easy to shew, in addition to this, in how open and barefaced a manner *new Negroes* have been introduced from the Seychelles, by means of certain “ formalities,” which, under all the known imperfections of the system of registration, can be of no use in checking, but may be of great use in facilitating, an illicit slave-trade. It were idle to suppose that the slave-registration system is more perfect in the Seychelles than it is in the Mauritius, and yet the certificate of the officer commanding at the former has been sufficient to secure the admission into the latter of any number of slaves he may accurately describe, and certify as coming from those islands; and yet, for any thing that appears, or can appear, to the contrary, he himself may have first imported these slaves from Mozambique or Zanzibar, and then transferred them to the Mauritius.

The whole of this state of things is an outrage on the honour and



character of the British Nation. Our own Government has been strenuously urging France, and other powers, to adopt our plan of registration, for the effectual prevention of the Slave Trade. How justly may they charge us with hypocrisy and insincerity, when they contemplate the administration of that system in the Mauritius!

But it will be alleged, in reply to all this, that, the Slave Trade being abolished by Radama in Madagascar, and by the Imaum of Muscat, there is now no source from which slaves may be easily drawn to the Mauritius; and, moreover, that slave-trading being now declared to be piracy by statute, none but a few desperate characters will venture to engage in it.

As for the treaty with Radama, supposing it to be religiously observed on his part, (and, in consideration of the very large annual payment made to him by the British Government, which he would otherwise forfeit, this is possible,) it furnishes no security against the Slave Trade in those parts of Madagascar which are not subject to his dominion, and especially in those which are under French jurisdiction. The treaty with Radama cannot, in the slightest degree, interfere to prevent a vessel which may have cleared out at Port Louis in the Mauritius, with a destination to any place whatsoever (or "to sea" generally, which *there* is a very usual destination), from calling at Fort Dauphin, one of the French establishments in Madagascar; taking slaves on board there; landing them in the night at some inlet in the Mauritius; and appearing the next day at Port Louis, and entering at the custom-house there as returned from her voyage in ballast.

With respect also to the treaty with the Imaum of Muscat, it presents no effectual barrier to the introduction of slaves into the Mauritius by British subjects, which, in the present instance, is the crime to be specially provided against.

As for the peril which is incurred by British subjects who engage in the Slave Trade, and which, it may be argued, will of itself be sufficient to prevent any attempts at the illicit introduction of slaves, that risk, it is to be feared, is estimated in the Mauritius at a very low rate. It is perhaps not known in this country, that, notwithstanding the numerous and notorious infractions of the Abolition laws which have taken place in that colony, since it came into the possession of his Majesty, not one offender has hitherto been convicted and punished for slave-trading. A few individuals who were sent over to England for trial, were here convicted and punished; but no individual brought to trial for slave-trading in the colonial courts, it is believed, has hitherto met the reward of his crimes. To suppose, therefore, that the dealers in human flesh at the Mauritius should entertain any very lively fears with respect to the future, would be to accuse them of a strange inaptitude to profit by the lessons of experience. If it were credible that importations had ceased during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, yet credulity itself can hardly suppose that they will not now be renewed. It is not to be hoped, that, in the absence of all effectual check from registration, as well as of

all disposition in the colonial courts to convict slave-traders, either the fear of the gibbet, or the treaty with Radama, or the convention of the Imaum of Muscat, will prevent the revival of the Slave Trade (even supposing it to have ceased for a time), now, more especially, since the abolition of the protecting duties on sugar, and the enhancement of the price of that article, have combined to give a new and powerful stimulus to the extension of sugar planting. It were folly to expect it.

This general, but, as it appears, most conclusive, reasoning on the subject, derives additional force from the amazing disparity in the sexes existing among the slaves of the Mauritius, which does not appear to have been lessened since the capture of the colony, but which would have been greatly lessened in the intervening period, had importations really ceased. The inference fairly deducible from this fact is corroborated by the late progressive increase of the sugar cultivation of the Mauritius—a cultivation not only more destructive to human life than any other, but requiring a greater number of hands to carry it on. Connected with this fact, it is further necessary to bear in mind the known prejudices of the Mauritius planters in favour of the buying, as compared with the breeding, system; the contiguity of the slave markets; the extraordinary cheapness of the slaves; the known partiality of the courts of justice in favour of slave-traders; and the eminently harsh and destructive nature of the bondage which prevails in this island. These things considered, it is impossible to acquiesce in the opinion, so confidently announced, of the cessation of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius.

But, independently of all the strong presumptions adduced above, and which are sufficient to justify the refusal of an implicit assent to the statements that represent the illicit importation of slaves into the Mauritius as having ceased, circumstances have occurred which go far to convert these presumptions into proof, and which at least call for increased vigilance in enforcing the laws, and for increased attention to the due registration of the slaves.

### XIII. MONTserrat.

From this island there is no information whatever of any kind.

### XIV. NEVIS.

The legislature of this island has limited itself to the expression of an opinion, that it is advisable to pause in a matter so generally affecting the interests of the colony, till they can learn what has been done at the seat of government, St. Christopher's, or some other of the principal colonies where, it is understood, consolidated slave-acts are in progress.

## XV. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

The Governor and the Chief Justice of this island appear to have been very solicitous to urge forward the amelioration of the slave code, and the improvement also of the condition of the free classes. From the legislature, however, nothing has as yet proceeded beyond the following statement contained in an address to the Governor.—“We are fully aware of the necessity which exists as to the amendment and consolidation of the several laws relating to slaves, the foundation for which is so surely laid that we augur as speedy a consummation of this measure, as the cautious deliberation which it demands shall permit. We approach this alteration in the actual condition of our labouring classes, with a perfect knowledge of the result at which it aims, to which we cheerfully devote our attention, upon the express stipulation of full and fair indemnity for every interest that shall be injured thereby.”

A letter is inserted from the Chief Justice, Pickwood, to the Governor, Maxwell, on the subject of reform, which contains some passages worthy of being noted.

“Although our statute book,” he observes, “is disgraced with perhaps fewer sanctions to atrocious and sanguinary conduct towards the slave population than are to be found among our neighbours, there is still much which proclaims the age when these our fellow-creatures were considered of less importance than the soil which they cultivated, or the cattle which they drove.”—“Aware of the impossibility of reconciling the various incongruities of the slave code, with the better feelings which now prevail towards them, and the change in their condition, which that feeling and their improved habits demand, I resolved at once on the repeal of every existing law bearing on this subject.”—He then proposes to abolish the odious terms “slave, and slavery,” and to substitute “vassal, and vassalage,” and thus “strip the condition of these people of an opprobrium which is revolting to all who venerate, or would preserve, the institutions to which the condition of these people is at once an exception and a reproach\*.”—He proposes to appoint a protector, and to abolish Sunday markets; but he cannot bring himself to abolish wholly the flogging of females, who, he says, are the most turbulent, and the agitators on all occasions. “Until coercion shall cease to be the incitement to labour, I do not consider it to be expedient that women should be altogether exempted from this mode of chastisement.” He adopts the other regulations of the Order in Council as to marriage, separation of relations by judicial sale, property, manumissions, and savings banks. In regard to evidence, he extends the principle beyond the Order in Council. He has never seen the necessity (nor can we see it) of any

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\* We conceive, on the contrary, that it is important the name should continue while the abomination exists.



restriction on its admission under the precautions which courts would necessarily adopt. "The prevailing feelings of our juries against the credibility of Negro evidence in general, will be an ample safeguard against the bias it may be supposed to have. I have therefore, in the Bill I have framed, authorized its reception in all civil suits or actions, in which the owner is concerned, or where any White person may be charged with an offence punishable with death; for the reception of such testimony can alone do away with the reproach which now attaches to us, that not only cruelty but murder may be committed openly, and in the presence of hundreds, without the possibility of obtaining evidence for the conviction of the offender\*."—Mr. Pickwood further states, that he has adopted the penal clause on cruelty from the Trinidad Order, and has added clauses to secure to the slave a sufficiency of food, allotments of land, clothing, time, attendance on public worship, medical treatment, &c. (points not touched upon by the Order in Council.) We regret to observe the numerous and vexatious disabilities, and distinctions, which Mr. Pickwood has thought it necessary, we suppose in deference to West-Indian prejudices, to sanction and perpetuate in his Bill. Those disabilities and distinctions are stated to consist, in requiring that they should be provided with a pass on going abroad; in the mode of apprehending fugitives, and of the punishment for harbouring or concealing them; in searching their houses for stolen goods; in the sale of liquor or arms to them, or their obtaining goods under false pretences; and in the penalties attached to their being concerned in rebellion, or murder, or using words tending to rebellion, or in preparation of mischief; to their firing squibs or struggling with, or wounding, a White person; to their galloping horses through the streets; their cruelty to cattle; their gambling, or unlicensed dances; their pretending to witchcraft; and their preparing poison, or having poisonous drugs in their possession. "These offences," he adds, "are not less offences in the White man than in the slave; but they are here especially provided against, as requiring, in some cases, a more summary mode of investigation, and a different punishment†."

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\* It may be worth while pointing out how exactly the remarks contained in the Second Anti-slavery Report (p. 76), on that part of the Trinidad Order which relates to the evidence of slaves, tally with the observations of this intelligent lawyer and judge.

† But does not the principle so well laid down by Lord Bathurst, in the case of the Bahama Act, apply with equal force to the projected law of St. Christopher's? "Since the superiority of rank and education which belong to the White inhabitant is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is an injustice in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment." The plan of the proposed Act is directly the reverse. It is to assign to the minor offence an aggravated punishment.—Mr. Pickwood observes, that these offences are not less offences in the White man than in the slave. But is it really so? Is it any offence in a White man of St. Christopher's to go abroad without a pass; to use words in preparation for mischief; to fire squibs; to struggle with, or even wound, a White man if in self-defence; to gallop a horse through the streets; to shew cruelty to cattle; to gamble; to have poisonous drugs in his possession? And if such acts are offences when com-

## XVI. SAINT LUCIA.

The communications from this island, which occupy a large space, commence with letters addressed to Lord Bathurst, from Major-General Mainwaring and Colonel Blackwall, who have successively administered its government. The sentiments expressed in these letters bear strong marks of the influence of West-India prejudice. (A. pp. 231—318.)

The state of the island, in respect to religious instruction, seems most deplorable; it being “without one Protestant minister, or Protestant place of worship,” in the whole colony, or even one place of worship at Castries, the chief town, for the Catholics, who form its main population. In two or three respects, the slave code of St. Lucia is more favourable to the slaves than it is in our own colonies. “The evidence of slaves is received, excepting for or against their masters.” The law permits, and even ordains, the celebration of the marriages of slaves, with the consent of the owner; but then, adds the Governor, “in this colony, marriage is little common among slaves; but that proceeds from the absence of religious instruction, not from any objection on the part of the owners, who would be anxious to encourage it.” (Why then do they not?) “Marriage between slaves of different estates, is not known.” The husband and wife, and children under fourteen, cannot be sold separately.

On manumissions, a sum of 99*l.* currency, or 43*l.* sterling, is payable as a tax; and for the continuance of this tax the Governor most ingeniously and earnestly pleads, having discovered that a tax is a great stimulus to industry, and a promoter of good conduct. He is willing, however, in deference to Lord Bathurst, to abate a part of this tax, but proposes to retain about a moiety of it.

Lord Bathurst had proposed to require a bond, in case of the manumission of children under a certain age, to prevent their becoming chargeable to the island. General Mainwaring (not being aware how strongly, with a view to defend taxes, bonds, &c. in cases of manumission, the West Indians generally had dwelt on the dangers of pauperism) answers with great simplicity, “I cannot conceive a case in which such a bond would be necessary for children, under the existing order of things: your Lordship may not be aware, that

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mitted by a White man, why should they be punished more leniently in him than in the slave?—It is much to be lamented that the obeah clauses are continued in a Bill framed by so respectable a man as Mr. Pickwood. It is remarkable that in the neighbouring island of Antigua, no such disgraceful and unchristian enactment exists; and we have never heard that the very slightest inconvenience has there resulted from the omission. Are our West-Indian legislators so little acquainted with human nature as not to know that witchcraft, obeah, &c., acquire respect and veneration in the eyes of the ignorant, just in proportion as they appear to be regarded with apprehension by the more intelligent; whereas the true cure for the prevalence of a belief in these things is wholly to disregard them, and to apply our efforts, not to punish the superstition, but to enlighten the ignorance which is its source?

*there are no paupers in this colony*,"—obviously meaning, no free persons who are paupers. This remark equally applies to every other colony, however the fact may have been concealed or denied by colonial writers or orators, who have falsely alleged the apprehended charges of pauperism as their apology for taxes and other restraints on manumission.

The General entertains serious doubts as to the propriety of discontinuing to flog women. He thinks it may be possible, but speaks very hesitatingly upon the point, by means of tread-mills and solitary cells, to establish a *system of punishment* which might do away with the necessity of the whip; but the whip or martinet he thinks should be reserved *in terrorem*. But for female slaves, *on estates*, he is utterly at a loss to conceive what punishment can be substituted. The *unanimous opinion of all with whom he had conversed was, that the whip or martinet must be reserved as a punishment for the females*, the women being infinitely more difficult to manage than the men. He adds, "I have had a special report, from one quarter of the island, that since the whip has been discontinued for the women, the men make use of their wives to convey to their owners all sorts of insolent and insubordinate requests and observations \*." I can perfectly understand the possibility of this being the case, and therefore cannot doubt that it is so †; as I am persuaded that the owner will not unfrequently punish the husband for the wife, if he be deprived altogether of the right of punishing this latter ‡." As to abolishing the use of the whip in the field, "the planters are exceedingly apprehensive that, without this *badge of office*, the commander (driver) will not be able to enforce his orders." If, however, the means of keeping up order and regularity on their properties, that is, enforcing labour, is reserved to them, they will no longer be disinclined to banish the whip.

To grant to the slaves a right of property, the General thinks would be subversive of the existing law, and will besides induce the slave to be dishonest to his owner, or to steal §. To establish savings banks will be extremely difficult, slaves being both mistrustful and incautious. (p. 231, &c.)

The letter of General Mainwaring is accompanied by some observations of the Attorney General. He conceives religious instruction to be scarcely practicable, from the greatness of the expense, the aversion of the slaves, and the hopelessness of procuring ministers.

\* This would imply, that as early as August 1823, the date of this letter, the flogging of females had actually been discontinued in St. Lucia. This however, as appears from subsequent statements, must have been a mistake; the planters having doubtless tried to impose upon him by this unfounded representation.

† And yet what was there to prevent the owner at that time from punishing this insolence in the usual way? The law had not yet been altered.

‡ What a shocking picture of the character of the very men whose humanity the General nevertheless praises, and on whose information he relies?

§ This mode of treating the subject affords a complete proof of the total want of property in the slave at present.



He defends the holding of the markets on Sunday. He objects to the proposed facilities to manumission, and for this strange reason: "There is no greater stimulus to labour for a slave than the desire of obtaining his liberty." And yet he proposes an impost to form a fund for their maintenance, because manumitted slaves are averse to work, give themselves up to excesses of all kinds, and are thus brought to a state of infirmity and misery\*. The regulations for restraining, deferring, witnessing, and recording the punishments of slaves, he thinks are superfluous and impracticable. "Such changes would give the death-blow to the subordination of the slaves, and would essentially compromise the safety of the master." In short, he adds, with evident horror, "the total subversion of the colony would be the result of such innovations." (A. pp. 236—247.)

Col. Blackwall's communications are in a similar strain. The proposed measure could not be made law in St. Lucia with safety to the planters or advantage to the slave. The existing law is decidedly adverse to the abolition of flogging females, and to the right of the slave to redeem himself. The existing circumstances too of the colony are such, that his Majesty's Ministers will no doubt see the propriety of deferring any amendment of the slave laws. The general state of society is far from being highly civilized. There is not one school in the island. The slaves have the intelligence of contentment and simplicity, but no instruction whatever. The proposed change, therefore, would be too serious a change to be carried into effect, without imminent danger to the public peace, and would impede, rather than advance, the cause of freedom. The owner, who now gives his slave every opportunity of exerting his industry in his own behalf, and of disposing of the produce of it, will at once deprive him, as far as may be in his power, of these indulgencies, and no law can be framed to prevent this. Manumissions, which go on rapidly at present, will be impeded rather than promoted by legislative enactments. The master, grateful for faithful services, may be ready of his own will to make any sacrifice; but if the law compelled him to do so, his feelings would be changed†. The most sanguine well-wisher to emancipation could hardly hope it should proceed faster than it does at present. Col. Blackwall views it as indispensable to make the slave look up to his owner alone for his freedom, as the reward of faithful service; and he urges Lord Bathurst that the slave should not be entitled to claim his freedom as a right, without paying a sum beyond his value, and producing testimonials of his good conduct. "My object," says this officer, "is solely to preserve to the master the affection of the slave, which he would unquestionably lose, if the slave considered every moment he worked for his master as a robbery upon that time he ought to employ to obtain his own freedom, or that of his wife and children. I enter as warmly as any

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\* And yet the Governor affirms that there are no paupers in St. Lucia.

† The sooner such masters are deprived of the enormous powers they possess, the better.

## ST. VINCENT.

man into the views of Government for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves ;” but “ I conceive it to be impossible to grant, without limitation, this right to the slave without destroying that relation between the master and himself upon which the happiness of both entirely depends.” Such are the views of this West-Indian governor.

In a subsequent letter, he states, that he had made a tour of the island. The slaves are well and regularly clothed, fed, and attended to in every respect ; a great degree of leniency and humanity was observed towards them ; they appeared happy and contented, and their owners seemed to use their endeavours to make them so. And yet, notwithstanding these flattering representations of Col. Blackwall, the slave population, though consisting of many more women than men, appears, to be decreasing at the rate of two and one-tenth per cent. per annum \*. He ought to have reconciled this fact with his report.

On the 9th of September, 1821, Colonel Blackwall transmitted to Lord Bathurst, agreeably to his Lordship’s instructions, the draft of an Order “ embodying the whole spirit ” of the Trinidad Order in Council. He contends strenuously, however, for the continuance of Sunday markets, for preventing slaves from holding lands, and against the slave’s right to be manumitted on paying his value, unless he shall have previously obtained his owner’s consent. He also proposes, that in all criminal prosecutions, against any White person convicted on the evidence of his own slaves, such slaves shall be sold, together with their husbands, wives, and children, and the produce paid to the owner. Two clauses are proposed to be introduced, which are improvements on the Order in Council—first, that no punishment shall be inflicted by any owner or other person upon any slave, in respect of any complaint made by him to the protector ; but if any punishment is inflicted, it shall only be after trial and conviction before the proper tribunal ; second, that not only slaves, but persons of free condition, shall be at liberty to purchase the freedom of their father, mother, wife, husband, child, brother or sister, who may still be slaves.

It transpires incidentally, that under the existing law all interrogations and examinations are secret, to the exclusion even of the prosecutor ; and that of course, unless the law is altered, even the protector of slaves would be excluded from them ; but surely this ought not so to be.

## XVII. SAINT VINCENT.

An Act had passed the legislature of Saint Vincent in 1820, for consolidating the different laws relative to slaves, the humanity of which was highly vaunted as having anticipated all Lord Bathurst’s improvements. It was doubtless an improvement on the old law of

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\* See Second Anti-slavery Report, p. 152.

Saint Vincent ; but, on being examined, it was found to be neither more nor less, with scarcely any variation, than a substantial transcript of the Consolidated Act of Jamaica of December, 1816. On the 26th of July, 1824, Lord Bathurst addressed a letter to the governor, Sir C. Brisbane, commenting on this Act of 1820, and referring him to the Trinidad Order in Council for the general grounds of his objections. Among other classes he objects to two, which enact, that if one slave assist another to go off the island, he shall suffer death ; but that if a White or free person assist him, he shall be transported, without saying for what period. Lord Bathurst's remark on these clauses is important, as involving a general principle of extensive application in colonial legislation, and which will be found already propounded in the case of the law of the Bahamas. "The offence for which such disproportionate punishment is provided by the former of these clauses cannot be considered as of a malignant nature ; yet it would be aggravated rather than palliated, both as regards the delinquency of the act, and its danger to society, under the circumstance of being committed by a person of free condition, as contemplated by the latter clause, which, nevertheless, provides a minor punishment." (A. p. 112.)

The Governor laid Lord Bathurst's communication before the legislature. The Council, in reply, "cannot refrain from expressing a hope that precipitance may be avoided in introducing untried innovations into this tranquil, happy, and hitherto contented country ; and that our rulers will deign to recollect the wise opinion on government, left to his country, by one of its most profound reasoners and writers, 'It were good that men in innovations would follow the example of time itself, which, indeed, innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees.'"—The Assembly resolve that the whole matter do stand over. "I have been unwilling," observes the Governor, in his letter of the 10th of September, 1824, "to press the matter on the immediate consideration of the legislature, for two reasons ; first, I am confident it will be much more satisfactory to your Lordship and creditable to themselves, that all these improvements should be voluntary ; secondly, that were I instantly to have directed their attention to this subject, I might, perhaps, have acted with some precipitancy, and, by irritating the public mind, rendered them more obstinate opponents than it is your Lordship's desire. They have, until December next, 1824, time sufficient to weigh the nature and principles of the measures proposed." It does not appear, however, that a single step has since been taken towards the desired reformation.

### XVIII. TOBAGO.

In 1824 the legislature of this island passed an act containing some improvements on their former slave-code. It admits slave evidence in the only case in which the Trinidad Order in Council has rejected it ; viz. in the case of the wilful murder or mayhem of a



slave by a White or free person, provided no White or free person had been present, and provided two slaves, unimpeached as to credibility, concur in their testimony. Clauses are also introduced for securing the personal property of the slave; for abolishing Sunday markets, and substituting Thursday; for allowing to the slaves thirty-five week days in the year for their provision grounds; and for limiting arbitrary punishment to twenty stripes; any number more than twelve requiring the presence of a free person besides the person who inflicts the punishment.

In this act, however, there are many omissions, and many objectionable clauses. To these Lord Bathurst calls the attention of the Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, in his letter of 26th July 1824, referring him to the Trinidad Order, to which he wishes the law to be assimilated, and pointing out some specific objections to the act recently passed. He objects to the inflicting of capital punishment for the crimes of "compassing the death of a White or free person," "maiming of cattle," and "enticing other slaves to run off the island." Receivers of stolen goods are punishable with corporal punishment; but it is not specified that a knowledge of the goods having been stolen is of the essence of the offence. The powers of slave courts are too extensive for courts which are not courts of record. Other defects are pointed out, in addition to which there are the very serious omissions of the inadmissibility of slave evidence, except in a particular case: the marriage of slaves; the removal of all obstacles to manumission; and the regulation of the sale of slaves nearly related.

Sir F. P. Robinson, on the 27th October 1824, informs Lord Bathurst, that "there is great reason to fear the Colonial Legislature will not attend to the suggestions submitted to them respecting amendments and additions to the slave act." "To press them farther on the subject this session would answer no good purpose, and therefore it will be better to wait the event of the January sessions." But even this qualified hope lasts only a single day. On the 28th October the Governor writes, that it is his decided opinion, "that nothing more will be done towards the melioration of the condition of the slaves in this colony by the legislature." He transmits at the same time a message from the House of Assembly rejecting the Trinidad Order entirely. It could not, they say, be adapted to the island of Tobago, without equal prejudice to the interest of the master, and the good government and happiness of the slave population. The House is fully convinced that in the late act, they have gone as far as prudence and propriety can justify, and that in the present state of the slave population, to adopt all the measures recommended by his Majesty's Government, would be equally destructive of the interests of the master and the happiness of the slave.

## XIX. TRINIDAD.

The whole of the papers connected with Trinidad, which are con-

tained in the book A., have a reference to the promulgation of the Order in Council, which took place on the 24th May 1824, and to the subsidiary regulations which were found necessary either for giving effect to its provisions, or for supplying its defects. Into these it will be unnecessary to enter much at large. The substance of the Order itself, as it originally stood, will be found in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 71.

Two proclamations have since been issued: the first, of the 23d June 1824, directs that, instead of being punished by flogging, female slaves shall thenceforward be liable to be punished, by their owners, by solitary confinement, with or without work, not exceeding three days; by field-stocks for the hands, during the hours of labour, not exceeding thirty minutes for each offence; by house-stocks for the hands and feet, with or without seats, during any period of the day, not exceeding six hours; by bed-stocks for the confinement of the feet during the night; handcuffs; distinguishing dresses, with or without stocks; distinguishing marks to be suspended from the neck; confinement, either solitary or otherwise, with or without task-work. These punishments may also be inflicted on male slaves in lieu of flogging: offences requiring a higher punishment are to be referred to the magistrates or tribunals according to their enormity. Regulations are also promulgated for the management of the Savings' Banks.

The second proclamation is dated the 29th October 1824, and directs that nothing in the Order of Council, prohibiting compulsory labour on the Sunday, shall be construed to authorise any slave to hire himself to work, either to his owner or any other person, from sun-set on Saturday to sun-rise on Monday; provided, however, that in case it shall be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the crops or produce on any plantation, or for the prevention of essential injury to the same, slaves may be employed for hire between these hours, provided they voluntarily consent to do so, and provided they are so hired by their owner, or by other persons with the owner's special consent in writing; the lowest rates of wages, which shall be payable to slaves so hiring themselves, shall be fixed and made known by a public notice from the Protector and Guardian of slaves, and it shall not be lawful to pay them less than this fixed rate. It is further directed, that nothing in the Order shall be construed to prevent the employment between sun-set on Saturday and sun-rise on Monday, of watchmen, nurses, domestic servants, &c.; it being understood that no field labour, or labour in any of the ordinary works of the plantation shall take place, on any pretence of irreparable injury from delay, unless the slave shall voluntarily engage in it and be paid for it. It is further declared, that female slaves under the age of ten years may be corrected for faults as children of free condition are usually corrected; that the expenses of appraisement, on the manumission of a slave, are to be equally divided between the owner and the slave; that when a person's interest in all his slaves shall, by reason of his cruelty and unlawfully punishing his slaves, become liable to forfeiture, the sentence shall not take effect until the whole case, with all its particulars, shall have been reported

to his Majesty, and his royal pleasure thereon shall have been signified; and that the rights of third parties shall not be affected by such forfeiture.

In the Order, as thus framed and modified, Lord Bathurst remarks, "there is nothing which can give to the planters any just claim for compensation. I am as ready as any man to acknowledge and maintain that the slave must be considered as the property of his master. But the slave has *his* rights. He has a right to the protection of the master in return for his service, and the law must secure to him that protection. There is nothing in the provisions of this Order which goes beyond the limits which this principle prescribes. In most cases they do little more than what practice has sanctioned\*, or the law has already enjoined. The master is not deprived of the service of his slave on any day except Sunday; and it is to be hoped that no Christian master will so far forget himself as to claim indemnity for the loss of that which his religion must have taught him he ought never to require."

The Second Report of the Anti-slavery Society has already stated the grief and dismay which the promulgation of this Order in Council produced among the planters in Trinidad. In reply to the strong remonstrances of the colonists, the Governor refuses to suspend the Order; and he affirms, that "*the points comprised in it were recommended to his Majesty's Government by the whole body of West-India planters and merchants in London, as fit concessions on the part of the slave proprietors.*" It is important to bear this in mind. The remonstrants in Trinidad affect to regard the Order as the work of the abolitionists, while it is in fact the work of the West-India body in London.

In one of the many remonstrances presented to Sir R. Woodford by the inhabitants, and in which they ransack the English vocabulary for words sufficiently strong to express their dissatisfaction and their alarm, we find the following passage: "It is avowedly a measure by which the assumptions of theory are to be subjected to the test of experiment, to be falsified or confirmed; by which the philosophic legislator is to ascertain whether a slave can be raised from the lowest grade to a more elevated rank in society, and yet remain a slave, productive as property and subservient to the will of his master; whether a partial infusion of the best principles, extracted from a society of the highest order and refinement into a system radically vicious and bad, yet hitherto simple in its deformity, will, by the admixture, neutralize and improve the latter, or the whole explode by repulsion." To this remonstrance they subjoin a long series of questions as to the precise meaning of various provisions of the Order in Council; in reply to which Lord Bathurst afterwards furnishes explanations, which, in most respects, are satisfactory.

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\* Lord Bathurst, we fear, has not been well informed as to the extent of improvement which practice, in the colonies, had previously sanctioned, having probably taken the unfounded statements of some even respectable West-Indians to be true representations—such statements, for example, as that the whip is used not as a stimulus to labour, but as a mere badge of authority.



They ask whether the clause, prohibiting compulsory labour on the Sunday, forbids an exertion of the authority of the master to oblige lazy and indolent Negroes to work their grounds on Sunday, *as has been the practice* hitherto. Lord Bathurst's reply is to this effect: "The Order in Council distinctly prohibits the use of compulsion to induce a slave to work even on his own ground on a Sunday. The master is entitled to the labour of the slave for six days in the week, but he is not entitled to more; and out of the profits of the six days' labour the slave must be supported. The seventh must belong to the slave entirely for his own profit and advantage. I can perceive no difference in principle between the practice of purchasing food for Negroes, who are exclusively employed for six days in the service of their masters, for their support during the whole week, and of appropriating an adequate portion of time, during the six days, for the cultivation of their grounds. It is therefore evident, that in cases where the master adopts the system of provision grounds (which is most frequently the case in Trinidad), he can have no possible claim for the services of his slave on the Sunday, whether those services be for the execution of work exclusively to be performed for himself, or for the cultivation of provision grounds, by the produce of which he is to be relieved from the support of his slaves. Nor can he be considered as entitled to compensation for that day, or part of a day, which he may permit his slaves to appropriate during the six working days, for he makes this arrangement to supersede the necessity of purchasing provisions for his slaves."

It is to be regretted that the Order is perfectly silent on the important point of the quantum of time to be allowed to the slave in lieu of Sunday, over and above the time that had been previously allowed him in addition to it.

The 21st clause enacts, that on the prosecution of an owner for inflicting an illegal punishment on a slave, if the slave (not himself being a competent witness) shall be produced in court with the traces of recent laceration visible, and shall make a probable and consistent statement of all the circumstances, then the owner shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him, or that it was a lawful punishment; and failing to do so shall be adjudged guilty. To this clause the planters object, that a slave might, from malicious motives, procure some fellow-slave to flog him, so as to create laceration, and then exhibit his sores in court as evidence against his master. But Lord Bathurst justly thinks that there is no probability of any such fraud being attempted.

It is objected to the clause which prohibits the flogging of female slaves, that they are thus placed in a superior state to persons of free condition. Lord Bathurst observes, that the objection does not prove the impropriety of the clause, but rather demonstrates the necessity of altering the law which sanctions such a mode of punishing free females. He intimates at the same time, that a law is meditated for improving the condition of the free People of Colour.

It is asked, whether the permission given to the slaves to hold

land does not virtually revoke the existing law of Trinidad, prohibiting slaves from cultivating the staple commodities of the island. Lord Bathurst replies, that in granting to slaves the power of acquiring land, the Order does not of course exempt them from any existing restrictions as to the mode in which the land may be cultivated by persons of their class and condition\*.

The Colonial Committee inquire, whether in the case of an old infirm slave having acquired property to purchase either his own freedom, or that of his son who might be in the vigour of life, such a slave might elect to remain in slavery himself, continuing a burden to his owner, and to free his son, who forms a valuable part of the owner's property: Lord Bathurst well replies, "This is a just right which the slave clearly possesses under the Order. The most powerful inducement to a life of labour and self-denial is destroyed, if the slave is not permitted to employ, as may please him best, whatever property he may acquire by his exertions. An old man might purchase his freedom at a cheap rate; but if he prefers labouring longer to purchase that of his son, such an instance of parental regard and self-denial would not make the father less deserving of support. Besides, if the father might not purchase the freedom of his own son, there is nothing which could prevent his making over to the son the means of purchasing it for himself. The prohibition, therefore, would not only be harsh but inoperative. Nor is the master really injured; for if the son be strong and valuable, the owner will receive his proportionable price. If, on the other hand, the father is old and infirm, is it because he has spent his youth and strength in habits of industry, and in his master's service, that he is unworthy of support?" Lord Bathurst adds his opinion, that, where either infants or old persons are redeemed for a valuable consideration paid to the owner, no bond for maintenance ought to be required. It is true that the slave so redeemed may become a public burden. Where a slave, however, is manumitted for a valuable consideration, the security is considerable. "Such manumissions can only take place with the concurrence of the slave himself, with his own money, or with the money of some one who has an interest in his welfare. It is not to be supposed that the consent would be given, or the money paid, if there were a reasonable prospect that the manumission would injure the party manumitted, by reducing him from a state of sufficiency to poverty and distress. A slave who can raise or possesses the means of purchasing his own freedom, will seldom belong to that class of persons who sink into pauperism. On this, and every system of law, frauds may

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\* What a hard measure is dealt out to the poor slave! His want of industry is assigned as a reason for withholding freedom from him; but, by positive regulations, restraining the application of his industry, all motive to its exertion is as much as possible taken away. He is not allowed to grow, or even to possess, a single article of exportable produce. Lord Bathurst appears to have been struck with the injustice of this arrangement in the case of Demerara. Is it less unjust in the case of Trinidad?

be attempted ; but the Protector of slaves will be bound to counteract such fraudulent practices \*."

The Order in Council, say the planters, has made slaves competent witnesses on producing a certificate from their religious teacher. It is asked whether the want of such a certificate will render a slave incompetent, who might, according to the pre-existing law, have been received as a witness. Lord Bathurst's reply is important. "The Order," he says, "furnishes a distinct answer to this question, by declaring that nothing therein contained shall extend to take away or diminish any power or authority which any court of criminal jurisdiction now hath to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons being in a state of slavery." At the same time, prior to this satisfactory explanation of his lordship, we should have been apt to form a different conclusion. If the whole community of slaves in Trinidad already enjoyed the privilege, in point of law, of giving evidence in courts of justice, we should have concluded that a clause, specially entitling those who obtain a certificate of competency to this privilege, was intended to operate to the exclusion of all others.

The set of papers B. contains a report of the operations of the Order in Council in Trinidad, during the first half year of its existence—namely, from June to December 1824. "It is alleged," says the Governor, in transmitting this report, "that many planters do not punish their slaves, even when they merit chastisement, from the dislike, and often from the inability, to keep the Record Book. But though this may have occurred, it is, I believe, equally true that the fear of their offence being recorded has also served to restrain the slaves. Cases of insolence and insubordination frequently occur among the female slaves, for which confinement would be a sufficient punishment, if it were persisted in ; but the loss of the people's labour prevents all the benefit that might be felt from such a substitution. More serious offences were intended to be met by labour on the tread-wheel under the orders of a magistrate ; but the distance of the majority of estates from Port of Spain prevents recourse being had to it."

The report of the Procurador Syndic, Mr. Henry Gloster, is very full. It contains a variety of information.

1. Criminal prosecutions at the instance of the Attorney-General, from 24th June to 24th of December 1824. These are eleven in number. (B. pp. 39—67.)

1. The King against Robert Gaston, the manager of La Puerta estate, for flogging a slave named Sebastian Mati, because he said he was sick, and afterwards beating him with a stick for the same cause, and breaking his arm. This was a case of much doubt, and the accused was therefore properly acquitted.

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\* His Lordship here furnishes a powerful reply to all those miserable slanders poured forth by the Rev. Mr. Bridges, and others of his class, against manumission, as converting the now happy slave into a miserable and helpless pauper.



2. The King against Francis, a slave, for assaulting and wounding a free Spaniard. The prisoner, being found guilty, was sentenced to hard labour in the tread-mill for four months, then to be punished with forty stripes in presence of the slaves of the neighbouring estates, and then delivered to his master.

3. The King against Plato Anguilla, a slave, for assaulting and wounding Richard Pearce, a slave. Not guilty—discharged.

4. The King against Jaques Grand Guile, a slave, for assault and murder of a free man, Telemaque. Not guilty of the murder, but guilty of the assault. The Court, however, deemed the confinement already sustained sufficient punishment, and discharged him.

5. The King against Jean Paul Ongell, a slave, for an assault on the overseer and driver of the estate to which he belonged. He was found guilty, and sentenced to seventy stripes in the presence of the slaves of the neighbouring estates.

6 The King against Robert Ramsay, a slave, for the murder of another slave. There was a second count for an assault. He was acquitted of the murder, but found guilty of the assault; but which was of such a nature that his previous confinement was deemed a sufficient punishment.

7. The King against two slaves, Hector Munro and L'Amour Roche, belonging to Belle Veu estate, for refusing to obey their master's orders, and resisting him and the overseer, and for seducing the other slaves to the same disobedience; and also for improper and insolent conduct towards the commandant of the district. The slaves on Belle Vue estate had usually had Friday given to them (out of crop, we presume,) for their own provision grounds. As a punishment for some laxity of discipline (not turning out in the morning earlier than half past six), the owner instructed the overseer to inform them, on Thursday evening, that the next day (Friday) would not be allowed them as usual. Only a few of the Negroes, however, came to work. The owner, Mr. Byam Redhead, sent the driver to inquire the cause and to summon them to work. They refused, saying they were entitled to that day. Mr. Redhead complained to Mr. Armstrong, the commandant. The commandant came upon the estate and called the Negroes together, and, being unable to discover the ring-leader, selected Hector for punishment. Hector said he would not submit to be punished. The commandant then ordered the driver to seize him. Upon this all the Negroes, among whom was L'Amour, began to run, looking over their shoulders and brandishing their cutlasses, (a fact, however, which was contradicted by most of the witnesses,) saying they were men, and would defend themselves. The women also behaved riotously, and ran off in another direction. The prisoners were found guilty, and were sentenced—Hector to eighty and L'Amour to one hundred stripes, under the superintendence of the commandant, and in the presence of a medical man.

8. The King against Jean Griffis, a slave, for the wilful murder of another slave; for assaulting and striking a watchman; and for steal-

ing two bunches of plantains. He was found guilty of the murder, and condemned to be hung. The Protector appealed to the Governor and Council, who confirmed the sentence. The prisoner suffered death accordingly.

9. The King against Anaclato Hospidales, a slave, for an assault on the manager of the estate on which he was a slave; and for assaulting and wounding two other persons of free condition. The manager and the slave had been dining and drinking rum together, and were both drunk. The outrage was clearly owing to this circumstance. The prisoner was found guilty, and condemned to receive fifty lashes, which ought rather to have been inflicted on the manager.

10. The King against William Dallaway, a slave, for being a notorious thief and vagabond, and for stealing a trunk of clothing of the value of fifty dollars. He was found guilty, and sentenced to receive eighty lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails in the public market-place.

11. The King against Zaire Lingere a female slave, for running away for nearly two years from her mistress's service, and embezzling her property, to the amount of 120/. Zaire had been employed by her mistress, Madame Victoire Bernard, to sell goods for her, and had always conducted herself well, and made faithful returns of her transactions. She had been entrusted with goods to sell to the value of 500 dollars, and had paid about 400 dollars of the amount; but had absented herself since December 1822, with the remainder. It was proved on the part of the prisoner, that a free person, named Cæsar Mandingo, had taken from her, on credit, goods to the amount of 100 dollars, which he had not paid. She told him she would not quit his house till he had paid her. When, after some time, she returned to her own house, she found she had been robbed of the goods she had left there, and, being afraid to return to her mistress, had gone back to the house of Cæsar Mandingo, where she had been detained ever since. She was found not guilty, and discharged.

We have been more particular in recording the above eleven cases, making the whole of the criminal prosecutions, in which slaves were in any way concerned, occurring in six months, among a population consisting of upwards of 40,000 persons of all classes, 22,000 of which are slaves; because it has been asserted by the Trinidadians not only that the Order in Council would demoralize the slaves, and be productive of a multiplication of crime, but that, during the time it had been in operation, their anticipations had been more than verified. How little foundation there is for such an assertion, the preceding authentic details will testify. In the only two cases which can be referred to the head of insubordination to authority on the part of the slaves, the persons in authority were themselves evidently and chiefly in fault. In one case a man deprives his slaves of the day that had been usually appropriated to their own provision grounds, expecting them nevertheless to feed themselves. In the other, the manager sits down in the house of the slave, and gets drunk with rum belonging to the slave, and then prosecutes the slave

for having, when in a state of intoxication, induced by his own encouragement and example, committed an assault upon him. Nobody will deny that under these circumstances the criminals were punished with sufficient severity. The manager's pot-companion is visited with fifty lashes of the cart-whip; and the two assertors of their rights are condemned, one to 80 and the other to 100 lashes.

II. The number of slaves manumitted by private contract from the 24th June to the 24th December 1824, amounted to sixty-five, besides twenty-four manumitted before the Chief Justice, and eleven more whose cases were undecided, making in the whole one hundred. Of the eighty-nine actually liberated, twenty received their freedom without any valuable consideration, and sixty-nine purchased their freedom; the whole sum paid by them amounting to 10,206*l.* 18*s.* being on an average 147*l.* 18*s.* currency for each slave, or about 65*l.* sterling.

Ten cases occur of slaves applying for their liberty, but who, on being appraised, found the appraisement to exceed their previous expectations, and the funds they had accumulated therefore to be inadequate to their redemption.

III. Four actions had been brought by the Protector, for debts owing to slaves by free persons, and judgment was given in all of them for the plaintiff. The amount of these four claims was about 410*l.* currency.

IV. The returns of punishments for three months only, from 24th June to 24th September, are curious and most important. No fewer than 446 proprietors make a return of no punishment exceeding three lashes having been inflicted on their slaves during these three months. These 446 proprietors are possessors of slaves varying in number from 1 to 121, and, in the whole, of 5915 slaves, being upwards of a fourth of the whole slave population of the colony.

Returns of the punishments on 189 estates are given. They amount to about 1230 in three months, and include all inflictions above three lashes to the men, as well as those to which the women were subjected. One, two, or three lashes however, frequently repeated in the course of the day, might of course add largely to the sum of punishments, and there is nothing in the law to prevent the frequent repetition of these minor inflictions.—The number of women who are punished with confinement in the stocks for different periods of time appears to exceed the number of men who receive punishment by confinement and flogging. The largest classes of offences consist of noise, and neglect of work; insolence and disobedience; not finishing tasks; and being from half an hour to an hour too late in the morning; likewise the getting drunk; false pretence of sickness; quarrelling, &c. Not cultivating their gardens, is also a frequent source of punishment. Another is the failing to bring the required



portion of grass for the cattle; a work, be it remembered, which is quite an extra work, after the prescribed term of labour in the field is over; and which, though a severe aggravation of the slave's toil, is never mentioned, except incidentally, by the West-Indians. Absence from prayers is also punished on some estates with the whip or the stocks. We proceed to make a few extracts from this record, merely as a specimen of its general tenor.

1. Jean Philip of Le Vivier—"for being absent from his garden on the Saturday afternoon, and not appearing at grass with the rest of the people, nor at prayers on the Sunday evening: also for refusing to turn out on Monday morning to his work, alleging he was sick; the doctor having visited him did not think proper to give him any medicine, but ordered him for duty the following morning\*"—punished by the manager with confinement for thirteen hours of the night in the bed-stocks, and eighteen lashes.

2. Grenville of Bon Air, "for striking and ill-using his wife," punished by the manager with twenty stripes.

3. May of Bon Air, "for being three mornings behind the others in going to work," punished by the manager with ten stripes.

4. Margaret Jones of Dinsley, "*for bringing a small bundle of grass, and impudence when reprimanded,*" confined in the bed-stocks one night.

5. Paterson of Garden Estate, "for telling a lie on the overseer," put in the stocks; but on the next day he was taken out, the lie not being proved; but afterwards put in again, being found guilty of the charge, and punished with twenty lashes.

6. Jack of Golden Grove, "for bringing false charges against the manager," punished by the commandant with twenty-four lashes.

7. Jack Abole of Orange Grove, "for making a false complaint to the commandant," punished by the commandant at his own works with twenty-two lashes.

8. Gatto Campbell of Carapichaima Hall—"for doing bad work in the field, and answering the owner when found fault with, that it was well done: he returned only after being ordered twice, and with great reluctance and murmuring, to mend his work"—twelve lashes.

9. Martilla of Mount Pleasant, "for turning out late," in the stocks one night.

10. Frankey of ditto, "for going off the estate without a pass," confined two nights.

11. Paul Collins of Vineyard, "for disobedience of orders, and not bringing grass," punished with twelve stripes.

12. Peter Delezée of ditto, "for dancing to the drum after the hour appointed by Government," twenty-five stripes.

13. Mary Anne Babrick of ditto, "lost twenty-five minutes' work,"

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\* If the doctor gave him a day's respite from labour, it was a proof that his indisposition was not altogether feigned.

and was imprisoned in the feet-stocks one of the hours of noon of the same day.

14. Angolo of St. Francis and Frederick, "for saying with contempt to her master, that her clothing was not good, when it was proved that it was of *her* size," eleven hours in the bed stocks (being in fact the whole night).

15. Cannette, of ditto, "did not throw grass;" ten hours in the bed-stocks.

16. Rose Desirée, of ditto, "for coming after three o'clock P. M. into the field," nine hours in the bed-stocks.

17. Zabeth Robertson of Ross Park, "for not working her row with the rest of the gang as she ought to do," in the stocks during her noon time.

18. The same, "for not working her provision ground on the day given by me," in the dungeon for one night.

19. Catherine Bevarley of Union, "for being insolent and using insinuating language while throwing grass in the yard," confined her two nights and a day in the stocks.

20. Nelly Grievous, of Union, "for going out of the hospital at night, she being there as an invalid," confined for one night in the stocks.

21. Sally Nightingale, of Beausejour, for "neglecting grass twice," two days' confinement.

22. Fanny, of Montrose, for "idleness and false complaint of having a pain in her belly\*," confined in the stocks two days and two nights, and then begged to be permitted to go to work.

23. Valere Gine, of Chaguaramas, "faisant le malade," fifteen lashes.

24. Petit Jaques, of ditto, "ne voulant pas prendre les remedes du docteur," fifteen lashes†.

25. Sandy Couchi, of ditto, "porte une fausse plainte chez le commandant," par le commandant, twenty-five lashes.

26. Francoise Masson, of ditto, "ne voulant pas travailler depuis 3 jours a comte de sa grossesse, n'etant grosse que de 6 mois, et lui ayant donné des petits travaux," en prison 24 heures‡.

27. Francoise Negui, of ditto, "manquant a la priere," en prison et au tae 6 heures.

28. Polly Bonaparte, of Perseverance, for "disobedience and insolence," eleven hours in bed-stocks.

29. Gilbert, for "omitting to bring grass twice," fifteen stripes with the cart-whip.

30. On Plantation River, belonging to James Cadett, Esq. (a

\* Who could tell that the complaint was false?

† This, it must be admitted, is rather a sharp punishment for not taking his physic.

‡ Not choosing to work at all for three days on account of her pregnancy, being gone only six months, and having had light work given her; imprisoned twenty-four hours.

gentleman whose name appears conspicuously among the remonstrants against the Order in Council, having been Chairman of the Committee of Planters,) there are recorded 135 punishments of females "for neglecting provision-grounds, and refusing to work," &c.

31. Joseph Congo, of La Reumur, for "omitting to attend prayers," four hours in stocks\*.

32. Caroline, of Westmoreland, "came into the hospital sick, and refused to take medicine," two hours in the stocks.

33. Rose Rosette, of Constance, for "neglect of duty as washer-woman, and taking one day more than usual to wash the linen of the family," in the bed stocks twelve hours of the night.

34. Elizabeth Betsey, of ditto, "for abusing the driver for calling her up one hour before day to go to the mill;" the same punishment.

35. Marie Polly, of ditto, for "getting beastly drunk," the same punishment.

36. Andrew, of Las Cuevas, for "neglecting his garden," twenty-five stripes.

37. Timbo Congo, of Union, for "forgetfulness of duty," ten stripes.

38. Boco Louise, of ditto, "having born a child five weeks ago; the child died on the third day. On being ordered to go to work refused, and preferred going to the stocks." In the stocks twenty-three hours.

39. Jim James, of Bel Air, for "beating his wife," twenty-three lashes.

40. Providence Wilberforce, of ditto, for "getting drunk on Sunday," twenty three lashes.

41. Azzo, of Otabeite, for "impertinence," twenty-two stripes.

42. Zemire Congo, for "being pregnant, supposed by her reputed husband, having two spare husbands; creating a battle among them, and an uproar on the plantation;" two hours in the stocks.

43. Mial of Cedar Hill, "guilty of many faults; a barrel of beef robbed while in his charge, his ground neglected, off the estate without leave when he ought to have been at work, wishing to have a wife on the Endeavour Estate, though he has now, and has had for several years, a good wife on the estate where he resided;" eighteen lashes.

44. Frederick Shipley and Davy, of Endeavour, "neglect of order, and absence from throwing grass two nights;" twelve lashes each.

45. Margarette, of Plein Palais, "pour avoir manqué à la priere," a night in the stocks.

46. Hamilton, of Margaret's Hill, "for neglecting his watch,"

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\* Can any thing be conceived more absurd than this mode of instilling religion by the stocks and the cart-whip?



twenty-five lashes, and had his posteriors well washed with pickle, to prevent bad effects.

47. Huit esclaves femelles appartenant à l'habitation Columbia, "pour les avoir trouvé, toutes les huit, à ne rien faire," solitary confinement an hour at noon.

48. Philip Pirame, of Matilda, "frequent instances of disobedience, absence from prayers, frequent intoxication, riotous conduct;" twenty-one stripes.

49. A number of slaves on the plantation called Clydesdale Cottage are punished for "not getting grass \*," the men with about twelve stripes, the women with confinement in the stocks all night.

50. Grace Sulky, of Diamond, for "insolence and refusing to work," nineteen hours in the feet-stocks.

51. John Toussaint Michell, of Retrench, for "preventing the other Negroes from taking their task, saying it was too much, and putting into their heads bad ideas," twenty-five lashes.

52. Felix Mer, of St. Charles, "n'ayant pas fait sa tache, j'avais ordonné qu'il couche au *bed-stocks*: mais aussitôt qu'il y fut mis etant parté d'un éclat de rire en signe du mepris qu'il fesait de ce châtement,"—fifteen lashes.

53. Three women of Union Hall, for "broiling in the Negro houses," (what the nature of this crime is does not clearly appear,) twelve hours' confinement in the stocks at night; and another, the same punishment, for absence from grass roll.

54. Thomas Hodge, of Woodlands, "for not turning out to work till half-past six o'clock, and being very insolent to the manager and driver," twenty-four stripes.

55. Philip Sydney, of ditto, "for having gone with a groundless complaint against the manager to the commandant," confined, by order of the manager, in the stocks for seven days, and fed on bread and water.

56. Richard Long, of ditto, "for leaving the estate on Sunday, and not throwing grass with the other Negroes," put in the stocks all Sunday night.

57. Amy Distiller, of Sevilla, "for refusing to work and telling a falsehood on the overseer," locked up in the sick-house for eight days.

58. On the Plantation Curep, seven or eight women are punished with being put all night in the stocks, for coming to work an hour after sun-rise.

59. Thomas Wilberforce, of Eldorado, "broke open a Negro house and stole a blanket;" twenty lashes.

60. Patrick Wilberforce, of ditto, "eating earth," fifteen lashes.

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\* It will be seen from these details what a sad aggravation of the toil of the slaves, as well as what a source of additional punishment is this cruel exaction of grass-gathering after the labour of the field is over. It is not enough that a slave should labour in the field from day-dawn to night-fall. He must then collect and carry a large bundle of grass for his master's horses or cattle. The hardships of this practice may be seen above, p. 30.

Some of the proprietors in their returns enter into details evidently for the purpose of exhibiting the injurious effects of the innovations introduced by the Order in Council. The following is a specimen.

“ Extrait du Registre de l'Habitation dite Le Fromager.

“ Ce jour Jeudy, vingt-neuf du mois de Juillet, de l'année mil huit cent vingt-quatre, a deux heures de l'après midi, le Negre nommé *Sulpice Florice*, mon esclave, agé de dix-huit ans, étant sorti de sa case une demieheure après que les autres ont été rendus au jardin, habitude souvent recidivée qu'il avoit contracté depuis la proclamation des ordonnances du 10 Mars, 1824, qui interdit le fouet du commandeur, ne voulant aller au travail que long temps après les autres, malgré toutes les reprimandes que je pouvois lui faire et les menaces de punition s'il persistoit à manquer à ce devoir, il me repondit insollement, passant devant la porte de ma maison, en langage Negre, *ma sorti quand mon voulué*. Je lui dis que j'étois fatigué de ses insolences journalières et que je le ferai chatier ; il repliqua fortement *oui*—vous dites oui encore ? Alors haussant la voix, marchant à grands pas, il cria fortement a plusieurs reprises, *oui, oui, oui !!!* et fut au jardin rejoindre l'atelier avec des ris outrés. Le lendemain Vendredy, trente du mois, a six heures et demi du soir, trente heures apres son offence, je fis appeller le nommé Manuel Gaytan homme de couleur libre, Espagnol majeur, qui était dans une de mes cases à Negres, et en sa presence, je lui fis donner par mon commandeur, devant la porte de ma maison, quinze coups de fouet, étant debout et habillé de ses vêtements, et aussi en presence de l'atelier qui était rangé pour faire la priere du soir ; puis voulant après cela lui faire des remontrances sur son insubordination journaliere, pour mettre le comble à ses insolences, à chaque parole que je proferai, il s'efforçoit de tousser avec violence, et si fortement qu'il etouffoit ma voix et me contraint de me taire. Les dernieres ordonnances ne permettant pas deux chatimens successifs, je fus obligé de me retirer avec la risée de mon esclave et d'avalier cette humiliation !!!

“ (ont signés) Le Chr. de GANNES.  
MANUEL GAYTAN.

“ Ce jour Dimanche du mois de Septembre, de l'année mil huit cent vingt-quatre, à cinq heures de l'après midi, arrivant de la ville ou j'avois été pour entendre la messe, je demandai mon diner, qui ne me fut servi aussitot. Trouvant que rien n'étoit cuit, et qu'il y manquait le beurre que j'avois donné moi-même avant mon départ ; (en l'absence de mon epouse) je fis appeller mon cuisinier nommé Raphael Faxe, jeune Negre, agé de vingt-deux à vingt-cinq ans. Il étoit deja parti et ne se trouva plus dans ma cuisine, je l'attendis jusqu' à sept heures du soir que je le fis encore appeller. Il repondit des cases à Negres où il se trouva et revint à sa cuisine ; je lui demandai d'où il sortoit, pourquoi il s'étoit absenté avant que j'eus diné, parceque rien n'étoit cuit, sans apprêt, sans beurre et autres ingrediens qui entrent dans l'accomodement des mets ? Il me repondit avec

brutalité et forçant sa voix à outrance, que quand le diner étoit servi qu'il pouvoit s'en aller, qu'il étoit aux cases à Negres et que c'étoit de la qu'il avait repondu. Je lui ordonnai de baisser sa voix. La bouche est pour parler me dit-il, et personne ne peut m'en empêcher. Je vais vous mettre au ceps lui dis-je, pour votre voix, vos cris et vos reponses insolentes et peu respectueuses. *Pou je n'irai point au ceps, parceque je n'ai rien fait ; on ne met au ceps que les volens, et je n'ai point volé !* Etant jeune et fort ingambe à chaque pas que je faisois, il s'éloignoit, se tenant toujours à une grande distance de moi. N'ayant personne aupres de moi que deux servantes incapable de pouvoir l'arreter, je fus forcé de me retirer. Le lendemain Lundi, à sept heures du soir les Negres rassemblés pour faire la priere, je fis appeller le nommé Manuel Gaytan homme de couleur libre, majeur, qui étoit dans une de mes cases à Negres, et en sa presence, je lui fis donner par mon commandeur devant la porte de ma maison douze coups de fouet, etant debout et habillé de ses vêtements. Il ne proféra aucune parole pendant les coups qu'il recevoit, mais, le fouet cessant, il resta un gros moment debout dans la même posture, apres quoi pour brâver son maitre, il dit, *est ce tout ?* resta la quelque minutes et s'en fut !!!

“(Signés) Le Chr. de GANNES, Commandant.  
MANUEL GAYTAN.”

Only one marriage of slaves appears to have taken place in the six months, from 24th June to 24th December 1824.

The deposits in the Savings' Banks of Port of Spain, during these six months were 351*l.* 8*s.* currency.

## XX. VIRGIN ISLANDS.

Nothing has transpired respecting the progress of reform in these islands.

A return has been made to a requisition of the House of Commons for “information concerning a Portuguese ship, called the *Donna Paula*, wrecked in the neighbourhood of Tortola ; and the Negroes on board of which were afterwards removed to Bahia or Porto Rico, with an explanation of the circumstances attending the transaction, and the purposes for which they were removed.” The return (see paper M.) is most unsatisfactory.

The facts of this case appear to be, that, in September 1819, the *Donna Paula*, of Para in the Brazils, was proceeding from the coast of Africa to Porto Rico, with 253 slaves on board, when she struck on the island of Anegada. Of the slaves 240 were saved ; and 180 being put on board the British schooner *Lord Wellington*, of 53 tons, and 60 on board the sloop *Elizabeth* and *Hannah*, of 13 tons, these vessels were cleared out for Bahia, but in fact sailed for Porto Rico, and landed the slaves there. A salvage was awarded to the salvors of 8050 dollars ; but it does not appear by whom the salvage was



awarded, or by whom the slaves were ordered to be given up to the owners, and forwarded to Porto Rico. It was alleged that the person who was collector at the time had been induced to abstain from seizing these Negroes, as it was his duty to do, by a bribe of 1000*l*. The clearance by him for Bahia was obviously an intentional fraud. Indeed, how could a vessel of 53 tons, with 180 Negroes on board, and a vessel of 13 tons, with 60, have made Bahia? The whole affair was a collusive and fraudulent transaction.—A similar case of a wreck had occurred at the Cape of Good Hope. On that occasion the King's Advocate, Sir C. Robinson, and the Attorney-General, Sir R. Gifford, now Lord Gifford, gave it as their clear opinion, "That Africans cast on the shore of a British colony, in consequence of the wreck of the vessel in which they were conveyed as slaves, are not to be considered as slaves illegally imported, but as free persons; and in such case the law officers of the crown think that the Governor of the colony has no power to deliver up those Africans, without their consent, to the persons claiming ownership over them, either for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves in the colony, or of being conveyed to a foreign country, for the purpose of being so dealt with. In this case, as in the case of abandoned slaves, they are to be dealt with by the Governor as persons in such a situation, not being Africans, would be, and no claim for indemnity could be supported by owners, on account of such interference by the Governor."

On this opinion of these eminent lawyers there is a comment annexed; the author of which, however, is not named; but which appears to be nothing else than an insidious attempt to palliate the criminality of the transaction. "Such being the law of the case," as declared by the law officers of the crown, observes this commentator, "the 240 Negroes from the *Donna Paula* ought to have been received and protected as so many inhabitants or subjects of any civilized nation would have been received." "Subjects of a civilized nation, on being wrecked, would be enabled to support themselves by their productive industry of some kind or other; and being aware of the rights of property, as understood among civilized nations, would be more likely to respect it than poor ignorant Africans, imperfectly acquainted, as they must needs be, with the institutions of civilized life, and unaccustomed to that degree of personal labour and prudence which enables the poor in other countries, more advanced in civilization, to gain their subsistence by steady and continued industry; saving, when possible, the present reward in labour to support them in future times of sickness or want of employment. To leave such persons, without any other controul than that necessary for civilized people, would, in all probability, in such a poor colony as Anegada or Tortola, insure their destruction by famine or violence, unless the Governor be authorized to provide for them at the expense of the treasury of Great Britain." Undoubtedly it was very proper to recommend that some means should be taken to provide for such cases; but who, that had not had some favourite theory to

establish, would have thought of such an occasion of speculating on the comparative incapacity of Black and White, of Africans and Europeans, to sustain themselves? And yet might not this writer on the law of nature and nations be asked whether 240 Dutch or Russian seamen, or 240 French convicts proceeding in irons to Cayenne, wholly ignorant of the English language, wrecked on the island of Anegada or Tortola, could have done more to support themselves than 240 Africans? These could at least till the soil, which the Dutch or Russian seamen, or the French convicts, might not be able to do, without falling victims to the climate. And would not the police be, at least, equally effectual for restraining 240 Africans, delivered from a slave ship, as 240 Dutch or Russian seamen, or 240 French convicts, freed from all the restraints of discipline, if means were not taken to provide them promptly with necessaries? "Natives of a civilized country, on being wrecked, would be enabled to support themselves by their productive industry of some kind or other." And did not the Africans support themselves in their own country, and do not Africans now support themselves in the West Indies? Does he mean to say, that 240 European men, women, and children, passengers in a stranded vessel, could have supported themselves better in Tortola, by their productive industry, than 240 Africans? If he does, he can know nothing of Tortola, or he writes for those who know nothing of it. But he wishes to insinuate that emancipated Africans cannot support themselves by the produce of their labour as the lower classes do in other countries. And yet in which of the West-India islands are emancipated Africans, a burden on the public, as too many of the poor in other countries are? We cannot but regret to see an official document defaced by such statements.

The whole of the transaction which has caused this discussion still remains to be cleared up. It is discreditable to the national character, and most criminal in the immediate agents, and we trust it will be followed up to their exposure and punishment.

Information had also been called for "of any judicial proceedings which had taken place in the island of Tortola, in consequence of some alleged acts of rebellion or insubordination of certain slaves belonging to Mr. Pickering, in the year 1823." That information has also been given (see paper L.) though enveloped by the president of the island in some confusion. The facts seem to be these:—

Mr. Pickering, who possessed a large body of slaves in Tortola, had determined on removing them all to Trinidad. It was alleged that he had in the first instance obtained their consent to this removal, but of the correctness of this fact there is some reason to doubt. One thing is certain, that as the time approached for their embarkation, they manifested the very strongest reluctance to the measure: nor was this at all to be wondered at. They were almost all Creoles, natives of the island, who had near connexions on all the neighbouring estates, and who had, according to Dr. Stobo, one of the Judges who afterwards tried them, amassed some property, but

nearly the whole of which they would now be obliged to sacrifice : while they were to be transported, they knew not whither ; to some other colony where they might have to open new lands, and might be subjected to a variety of privations, and in circumstances new and untried, and, for aught they knew, far more severe than any they at present experienced. Such at least was evidently their impression of the fate that awaited them. In order to avoid it, a number of them, about the end of October 1823, abandoned the plantation on which they lived, and seized a boat belonging to it, probably in the hope of escaping from the island. They did not succeed in this project ; and a body of hunters having been sent in pursuit of them, they were forced to return to the estate. On the 17th of November, five of them were brought to trial for their rebellious conduct, and found guilty. The sentence pronounced upon them was, that three of them should receive on the next day sixty-three lashes on the bare back, and that two of them should receive thirty-nine lashes ; and that they should then be remanded to gaol, there to be kept in close confinement in irons, until they could be transported from the colony ; that they should be all banished from these islands for ever, as soon as possible, to such place as Mr. Pickering should think proper ; and that if they, or either of them, should be ever found voluntarily at large within any part of these islands, they, or either of them, should suffer death.

Without some such proceeding, Mr. Pickering would probably have found it a very difficult task to expatriate his slaves. The whole judicial machinery of the island was therefore called into action to aid his intercolonial slave-trade, and it proved successful. Not only the persons tried, but all the other slaves belonging to Mr. Pickering, now submitted to the hard necessity of their fate : they also embarked for Trinidad, the same place of exile to which Mr. Pickering had doomed the five convicts, who had been left by the court to his disposal.

The president of the island, Mr. Porter, who sat as a magistrate on the trial of these men, writes to Governor Maxwell, that at one time he was told he should “ be called to assist in forcing these people on board.” After this trial, however, he found that “ happily there was no occasion to perplex myself, for *the Negroes went voluntarily* ;” (voluntarily indeed !)—“ at least I heard nothing to the contrary.”

President Porter, however, seems to have felt that this judicial proceeding required some justification. He therefore enters into a long detail of facts, to shew that for thirty-four years Mr. Pickering's Negroes had always been insubordinate and rebellious. Supposing this were true, what had it to do with this particular transaction, except to relieve the actors in it from some of the odium it must have tended to excite ? But that there had been occasionally sufficient ground for their insubordination in the excitement of that most painful of sensations, especially to men called to work under the lash, we mean hunger, comes out incidentally on the deposition of a



man that had been their manager ; for in testifying to one instance of great insubordination, which had happened while he was in charge of them, he proves that they must actually have been in a state of starvation. The weekly allowance to each Negro, he says, had been only two quarts of corn meal, and two mackarel ; but *provisions becoming scarce*, the deponent had reduced the allowance to three pints per week ; the regular allowance, be it remembered, in the Bahamas, as well as the prison allowance of Jamaica, being twenty-one pints per week. It appears, indeed, that under these circumstances of a starving allowance, Saturday was given them ; but Saturday could not supply the present cravings of appetite. Months must necessarily elapse before any effect could be produced by the Saturday, in raising provisions ; and in the mean time how were they to find strength on three, or even four pints of corn meal a week, to till either their master's fields or their own ? Giving them Saturday, under such circumstances, was absolute mockery, if intended as a present alleviation of their starving state.

Governor Maxwell is very properly anxious, in his communication on the subject to Lord Bathurst, to shew that this affair was wholly unconnected with the discussions which had taken place on slavery, either at home or in the colony, but arose entirely from the unwillingness of the people to be transported to Trinidad.

We have reason to know from private information that Mr. Pickering himself was averse to the measures of judicial severity which were pursued with respect to his slaves, being desirous of rather employing means of conciliating them to his purpose ; but to this lenient course, Mr. President Porter appears to have been strongly indisposed. So eager was he indeed to frustrate Mr. Pickering's intentions, that on the 7th of November he wrote a private letter to the sitting magistrate of Tortola, in which he thus expressed himself ;—

“ I agree with you, after having applied to the executive in the first instance, and represented the Negroes referred to as in a state of rebellion, it is certainly the duty of Mr. Pickering to state to me, or some other magistrate, that he has taken them, and to require that they may be dealt with according to law ; but as he has *not* done so, and as I have no reason to expect he *will* do so, I took the liberty to address you on the subject. I wish, as it is inconvenient to you to do the needful, *you* would mention it to your successor. Something tells me, that unless the matter be speedily investigated, it will not be done at all.”

Mr. President Porter's laudable solicitude, lest these poor creatures, thus goaded to insubordination by circumstances peculiarly entitling them to consideration, should, through the lenity of their master, escape punishment, proved effectual. They were tried and punished.

HAVING now brought the proposed analysis to a conclusion, we beg to offer a few observations upon it.

The first impression, which its perusal is calculated to produce, is a feeling of surprise and horror at the extraordinary state of society which it develops, as existing in a considerable portion of his Majesty's dominions. The laws now presented to the public are not obsolete statutes, the relics of some barbarous age, dragged from their obscurity by a painful research; they are laws framed in the year 1824, by men calling themselves Britons, and who, instead of being sensible that such laws outrage every principle of justice and every feeling of humanity, actually hold them forth as models of enlightened and beneficent legislation. But if the laws themselves be, as they are, a CRIME, what must be their administration in the hands of the men who framed them, and who do not blush to boast of them?

In the present analysis, as in Mr. Stephen's *Delineation of Colonial Slavery*\*, the colonists are made to describe their own system; the proofs of its iniquity being drawn from the colonial laws, from other colonial records of unquestionable authority, or from the evidence of colonial proprietors. We have heard much, it is true, of the improvement which has taken place in West-Indian legislation, and those who deny it have been charged with misrepresentation. But the public have now an opportunity of judging for themselves. In the ameliorated slave-codes now brought before them, they will find the proof, the irrefragable proof, of the determined pertinacity with which the colonists cleave to the worst errors, and most revolting deformities of their system†.—That such would be the result of a

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\* Though no attempt has been made to reply to Mr. Stephen's admirable work, it has been the fashion, with the partizans of the colonial cause, to decry it as containing nothing which is applicable to the questions now at issue. "It refers," they say, "to times that are past. A new system both of law and practice has grown up in the West Indies. Mr. Stephen's work may be very correct as applying to a former period; but, to read it now would be only a waste of time." Nothing can be more untrue than this statement, and the insidious propagators of it know it to be untrue; but they trust to the effect of its frequent and confident repetition, and of that indolence which leads men to avail themselves of any plausible excuse for not reading a volume of four or five hundred pages. We, on the contrary, have no hesitation in affirming, that whoever desires to obtain an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the true genius, the governing principles, the whole frame and structure, the nature and effects, of our colonial slave-laws, must seek for that knowledge in the pages of Mr. Stephen's *Delineation*. Nay, if any of our readers will only take the trouble to compare the legislation of our colonies, during the past year, with the principles laid down in that work, they will at once perceive how singularly those principles serve to explain and elucidate the recent enactments, and how aptly those enactments illustrate and confirm its principles. Mr. Stephen's masterly production will be found to form at this moment the best commentary on the new laws which we have been analyzing.

† And here we beg our readers not to assume that they have fathomed all the depths of this system, merely because they have read the above brief abstract of a few of the slave codes. The acts themselves must be examined

reference of this great question to the decision of the colonial assemblies, we never doubted for a moment. We had been instructed by the wisdom and philosophy of many great authorities, as to the hopelessness of any benefit from such a course; and we had the still more impressive lessons of experience to convince us that we could expect nothing from it but disaster, disappointment, and delay. Our opinions on the subject have never been more admirably or accurately expressed, than they were by Mr. Canning, in a speech on the Slave Trade made by him in 1799. "Trust not," says that enlightened statesman, making the sentiment of a previous speaker his own, *"trust not the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so."*—"LET THEN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES. LET THEM NOT DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY. *Let the evil be remedied by an Assembly of freemen, by the Government of a free people, and not by the masters of slaves. THEIR LAWS CAN NEVER REACH, COULD NEVER CURE THE EVIL.*" *"There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in ALL cases, and under ALL circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power."*

The eternal truth of these maxims, applied at the time to the Slave Trade, loses none of its force when applied to slavery; and it has been abundantly confirmed by the fatal experience of nearly thirty years, which have since elapsed, of protracted misery and oppression to the slave, and of unceasing resistance on the part of the colonists, to every effort to alleviate that misery or to terminate that oppression. What indeed now remains to us, but to act on the wise and salutary counsel given to us in 1799, and our past neglect of which has entailed so many evils on the wretched African race? LET THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES, and let them not continue any longer to DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY.

And this is a course which not only the Parliament generally, but those members of it, in particular, who are connected with the West Indies seem bound to adopt. It appears from the papers we have now had under review, that the Order in Council for Trinidad was framed (with the exception of one point, that of the evidence of slaves,) on the suggestion of the West-India body in England. The plan, therefore, was theirs; it was adopted on their recom-

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with close attention, in order to appreciate the whole extent of their injustice, oppressiveness, and cruelty. To convey an adequate idea of these, the analysis must have been extended to a most inconvenient length, and its object in part frustrated. Lawyers and Members of Parliament, we trust, will refer to the laws themselves, to which our work may at least serve as an index.



mendation, and was supported in Parliament by their concurrence. It has been contumaciously rejected, however, by the colonists; and now neither Parliament nor the West-India body can, with propriety, decline the only means of carrying their own propositions into effective operation. The measures already adopted constitute a formal recognition of the existence of certain evils, which the authors of those measures have pledged themselves to remove. To this extent therefore, at the least, we trust that the West-Indians will support Mr. Brougham when he shall fulfil his promise of moving the House of Commons on the subject. On them indeed, more than on others, it seems incumbent to second the motion for parliamentary legislation. Such a proceeding is necessary not only to vindicate the sincerity of their own professions in the counsel they have given to his Majesty's Ministers, but to rescue themselves from any share in that headstrong and ruinous line of policy which their brethren in the colonies seem determined at all hazards to pursue. If no one else were to take the matter up, we should consider the West-Indian proprietors in both Houses of Parliament as bound by a regard to consistency, and by a sense of justice to their wretched bondsmen, to call for the interference of Parliament. Not a few of them are the strenuous advocates of popular rights, and the sworn enemies of oppression, at least in Europe. Let them shew that the operation of their principles is not bounded by geographical limits, or by the colour of the victims of oppression, or by the degree in which their own personal interests may be affected by a denial of justice. They will then be able, when they re-appear on the hustings of those places which they represent, to vindicate more fearlessly and effectually their claim to the popular suffrage\*.

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\* One circumstance has occurred which weakens our reliance on the support which the West-India body at home are bound, in consistency, to give to those measures which are indispensable to the adoption of the reforms proposed by themselves. On the 6th of July 1825, soon after Mr. Brougham had given notice of his intention to move Parliament on this subject, a General Meeting of West-India Planters was held at the West-India library, 60 St. James's street, Charles Rose Ellis, Esq. in the chair, at which "it was unanimously resolved, That the West-India merchants, and other consignees of West-India produce resident in London, do charge in their accounts of sales, or accounts current, 6d. (instead of 3d. as at present) upon each cask of sugar, puncheon of rum, bag of coffee, and 1000 lb. weight of coffee, and in proportion on all other articles of West-India produce imported from the 25th day of March last to the 25th day of March 1826, into the port of London; and that the same be collected in such manner as shall be directed by the Standing Committee of the West-Indian planters and merchants, and be paid into the hands of George Hibbert, Esq. the Treasurer."

Similar imposts, we understand, have been laid in the other ports of the United Kingdom, into which West-Indian produce is imported. Nothing is said of the appropriation of this secret-service money thus levied by the mandate of the West-India club. But whether it shall go to assist in defraying the charges of contested elections; or in rewarding the services of certain periodical writers; or in paying for the circulation of such pamphlets as those of Mr. Grossett, Mr. Macdonnel, or Vindex; or in bearing harmless the too rash and fearless advocates of slavery; we trust it will only serve to stimulate, to more unwearied efforts, all who really feel for the interests of humanity and justice.

We have hitherto confined our remarks to the single point of legislation; and we think it has been shewn that it is the very height of fatuity to continue to look to the colonial assemblies for any adequate improvement of the state of the slave law. They are themselves the authors of every legislative wrong which is to be rectified, and of every oppression which is to be redressed. They consist, almost to a man, of slave-masters, or at least of the representatives of slave-masters, hardened by familiarity to the sight of those atrocities which have so shocked and astounded the people of Great Britain. And they are surrounded and controlled by a population of needy, ignorant, and profligate constituents, who derive their distinction from the utter degradation of the Negro race, and a wretched subsistence from the wages they receive as the drivers and coercers of slaves.

But the papers which we have analysed exhibit a view not only of West-Indian legislation, but of the administration of West-India law. Here a new field of horrors opens upon us. And here again we derive our proofs of the radical iniquity of the system, exclusively, from the recorded testimony of the colonists themselves. They are our witnesses. We do not confine this remark to those domestic punishments of which we have so curious an exhibition in the returns from Trinidad, and of which neither law nor justice, but merely individual caprice, is the arbiter. We allude rather to their criminal slave-courts;—to the nature and imperfections of the judicial returns from the Fiscal of Demerara; to the trials of the insurgents in that colony in 1823 (which, however, are not comprehended in the returns that form the subject of the preceding analysis);—to the impunity of the White insurgents of Barbadoes;—and, above all, to the reports of the trials of the alleged Black conspirators in Jamaica, in which every species of judicial irregularity appears to find a place;—and to the barefaced oppressions exercised in that island towards some of the People of Colour\*. Let these things be fully weighed, and neither the Government nor the Parliament can hesitate as to the imperative necessity of radically

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\* In the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of January 31 to February 7, 1824, we find the following paragraph:—"A foreign Negro, of the name of Louis Milord, who was apprehended the preceding day, underwent a long private examination yesterday before his honour the Mayor, and Hector Mitchell, Esq."

In the Jamaica Journal of March 13, 1824, we are told, that "two aliens were conducted to Port Royal on Thursday evening (March 11), and placed on board a vessel which sailed yesterday. The names of these individuals are Milord and Thompson, who were thus sent off, it is said, for adhering to certain dangerous political tenets, inimical to the welfare of the island. This, however, must be mere conjecture, for the examinations are kept quite private. Several other foreigners have been taken up within these few days."

Now both these men, we are credibly informed, had been slaves in Jamaica, but had, by the fruit of their own industry, effected their manumission, and were living in the enjoyment of the freedom thus honourably acquired, when they were arrested and transported as aliens. We trust that the grounds of these and of all the other illegal violences, of the same kind, which have taken place during the last three years in Jamaica, will be fully investigated by the House of Commons in the ensuing session.

reforming a system which produces such abominations as have been detailed;—such perversions of the very forms of law to purposes of cruelty and oppression, as can only find their parallel in the execrated proceedings of Judge Jefferies, or in the practical jurisprudence of Constantinople, Morocco, or Algiers.

These things must come to an end, and that speedily.—They must come to an end, because neither the government, nor the parliament, nor the people of England can tolerate them much longer; and even if the government and the parliament and the people of England should be so lost to a sense of their obligations, as to suffer them to continue, they must find their close in one of those convulsions which will involve White and Black, master and slave, the oppressor and the oppressed, in one common and undistinguishing and overwhelming calamity. Such must, sooner or later, be the effect of going on to delegate, to the colonial assemblies, the solemn duty, which Parliament alone can discharge, of giving, to the Black and Coloured Population of our colonies, the protection of law, and a pure administration of justice.

We are, at the same time, well aware of the preponderating influence which the West-Indian proprietors possess in both houses of parliament. This alone could have prevented, for twenty long years, the abolition of the slave trade. This alone could, for fifteen years more, have paralyzed every effort which was made to rouse the attention of the government and the parliament to the enormities of the slave system, and to the utter worthlessness and inefficiency of all the pretended improvements adopted by the colonial assemblies. To this cause must we also ascribe it, that almost every public functionary in the slave colonies, is either a proprietor of slaves, or the known partizan of the slave system;—that not only many governors, and judges, and attorney-generals, and fiscals, and registrars are taken from the class of slave-holders and their friends, but that, even under the new order of things this class has been made to supply protectors and sub-protectors of slaves, the very officers on whose zeal, fidelity, and disinterestedness its whole efficiency depends;—that we should be burdened with imposts, and our commerce fettered by impolitic and injurious restrictions, in order to enable the colonists to perpetuate their demoralizing and murderous system;—that the interests of one hundred millions of British subjects in India, in addition to those of Great Britain herself, should be sacrificed to about two thousand planters and merchants;—and that all the benefits which would have flowed to us from establishing international relations with Hayti should have been contemned, her overtures rejected, and her offered favours scorned, until she has at length been driven to throw herself again into the arms of France\*.

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\* No part of our policy is more inexplicable, on any rational principles, than that which we have pursued with respect to Hayti. It can only be accounted for by the predominance of West-Indian prejudices and West-Indian influence. During our war with Bonaparte we might have secured to ourselves the friendship, the commerce, and the assistance of Hayti: we were deaf to the most



We trust that the eyes of his Majesty's Government, of Parliament, and of the public will at length be opened to the real state of things;

urgent representations on the subject. By the exercise of the commonest courtesy, such as we scruple not to pay to the Dey of Algiers, or to the King of the Sandwich Islands, we might have conciliated the attachment, and made ourselves, in some degree, the masters of the destinies, of the Queen of the Antilles. We might have even succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to adopt our language and habits; as, at one time, their chiefs would have zealously concurred in promoting every measure which would have served to detach them from France.—We repelled their offers of friendship.—They went the length of even lowering their duties to the extent of one half in favour of England, in hopes of conciliating our goodwill. We treated even this liberality with disdain, and replied to it by an Act of Parliament, which prohibited all intercourse between Hayti and Jamaica.—They still persevered in their advances: they still continued to treat our commerce with peculiar favour. At length our recognition of the independence of the Spanish provinces in South America, without the most remote allusion to Hayti, whose claims for recognition were infinitely stronger than theirs; and the renewal of the insulting Act, prohibiting their commerce with Jamaica, left them no hope of obtaining that standing among nations, which they deemed essential to their independence and security, but by throwing themselves into the arms of France, and by sacrificing to her rivalry the interests of British commerce. It may not be known to our readers—it certainly was not known to ourselves, nor, as far as we have been able to discover, to any member of the House of Commons, unconnected with the West-Indians, or with the public offices of Government—that, in the very last session of Parliament, an act was passed which contains the following clause:—

“And be it further enacted, that no British merchant ship or vessel shall sail from any place in the island of Jamaica to any place in the island of St. Domingo, nor from any place in the island of St. Domingo to any place in the island of Jamaica, under the penalty of the forfeiture of such ship or vessel, together with her cargo; and that no foreign ship or vessel which shall have come from, or shall in the course of her voyage have touched at, any such place in the island of St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in the island of Jamaica; and if any such ship or vessel, having come into any such port or harbour, shall continue there for forty-eight hours after notice shall have been given by the officer of the Customs to depart therefrom, such ship or vessel shall be forfeited; and if any person shall be landed in the island of Jamaica from on board any ship or vessel which shall have come from or touched at the island of St. Domingo except in case of urgent necessity, or unless licence shall have been given by the Governor of Jamaica to land such person, such ship shall be forfeited, together with her cargo.”

When the date of this enactment is compared with that of the treaty which has been concluded with France, we cannot doubt that Boyer was influenced by it to agree to the severe terms which were exacted from him, seeing how completely he was excluded, by that galling measure, as well as by our declining all official intercourse with him, from every hope of the favour or friendship of this country.

And now let it be calmly considered what will be our situation in the West Indies, in the event of another war with France. Our possessions there would not be worth a week's purchase. The whole navy of England, and a fresh debt of one hundred millions, could not save Jamaica from becoming the revolutionized dependent of Hayti. Nothing, in such an event, could avert our loss of that and our other slave colonies, but a previous radical change of our whole colonial system. We must raise the free People of Colour to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges as British subjects; and we must proceed, with as little delay as possible, to give liberty to the slave. If we refuse to do this, the catastrophe we anticipate may

and that, no longer deluded by misrepresentation, or intimidated by menace, they will not suffer evils of such magnitude, and of such malignant influence, to be prolonged for a day, in deference to the sixty or seventy West-Indians who hold seats in parliament. Justice, humanity, a regard to our own honour and consistency, and above all the sacred voice of religion, loudly call upon us, without a moment's delay, to redeem our solemn pledges, and to take care that, "with a fair and equitable consideration, indeed, of the interests of all parties," "effectual and decisive measures" are now adopted "for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies;" and for admitting them to "a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects."

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be delayed for a few years, but it cannot, in the constitution of things, be far distant.

Those who desire to understand the nature of this new danger, and the means of averting it, ought to read two publications of Mr. Stephen, written upwards of twenty years ago, on the subject of Hayti, entitled *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies*, and *The Opportunity*; works which will now be found to wear almost a prophetic air, such was the accuracy of the author's knowledge of the circumstances of the case, and his sagacity in appreciating their effects.

## POSTSCRIPT.

WE have already mentioned at p. 20, a further Parliamentary Paper of considerable importance, of which we should give some account at the close of this pamphlet. It is entitled, "Copies of the Record of the Proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara and Berbice, in their Capacity of Guardians and Protectors of Slaves, with their Decisions in all Cases of Complaint of Masters and Slaves respectively against each other, and the Punishment inflicted, or Redress given, in consequence of such Complaints, from the 1st of January 1814 to this Time, as far as the Same relates to Berbice." It was ordered to be printed the 23d June 1825, and is numbered 476.

The Fiscal, Mr. Bennett, in transmitting these returns, observes, that until the year 1819, he had kept no minutes of the complaints of slaves; but that from that time he had taken minutes of his examinations, but not, except in a few cases, of his decisions. Since the present application was made for copies of the complaints, he has been more particular in receiving them, and he has added the decisions. The Return embraces a period from February 1819 to November 1823.

Under all these disadvantages, the materials before us are, nevertheless, very valuable. They admit us into the interior, the very penetralia of the slave system, which they exhibit in all its height and length and breadth and depth of deformity. It is out of our power, however to do more than select a few examples from the mass.

The first complaint on the list, we are sorry to say, is against a lady, Mrs. Sanders. Nine Negro men, on the 1st of February 1819, complain of a great want both of food and clothing. One man produces a bolt and shackles, with which the Negro women were often confined, the ancles and wrists crossways, by which they are bent double; and says he was twice confined in that way himself. He and three others went on one occasion to complain of hunger. Mrs. Sanders ordered them to be tied down and flogged with two drivers. It was on a Sunday: supposes he had sixty. They are made to reap cassava, and get firewood, every Sunday, till the greatest part of the day is spent. The women and children have no allowance; and the men are obliged to share their allowance, which is also a very scanty one, with them. These charges are denied by the lady. They are in part admitted, but in part denied, by her overseer. The Fiscal's judgment is not given. (pp. 5—8.)

On the 18th of August, 1820, the same lady again appears before



the Fiscal. The following is a transcript of his minute of the complaints preferred by her slaves:—

“ Negro *Sam* says, that his mistress is very bad; that the work is daily increased, so that they are unable to perform their task given them: That the last holidays when they got three days to dance at home, their mistress obliged them to work so hard afterwards as to complete the work lost in the dancing days: That his wife, named Adjuba, was locked up lately in his mistress's house for six days, her allowance being only one plantain daily, (complainant exhibiting some of their plantains); and that the very pot in which she got water to drink, was to serve her, by her mistress's order, as a *necessaire*: That his young master is very good, but his mistress is of too cruel a nature; that their allowance is very little, and that they get no clothing at all scarcely: Finally, begs that he may be sold elsewhere, as he is not able to bear it any longer there.

“ Negro *Louis* says, Mr. Hyneman bought him when very young, and sold him to Mr. Sanders; that from both of these masters he never was ill-treated; but since the death of Mr. Sanders his mistress treats them with cruel barbarity sometimes; that every Negro is obliged to bring home twelve bunches of shingles, although other Negroes bring but six weekly: That their mistress keeps them the whole Sunday employed with all sorts of trifling works: that they get only three cassava cakes a week, with a little bit of salt fish: Finally, that they get hardly any clothes;—wishes therefore rather to be sold than remain with such a cruel mistress; as certainly all of the Negroes one day or other, after so much suffering, will run away in the bush.

“ Negro *David* says, that he is cow-minder to his mistress; that lately one of the cows got sick, for which his mistress ordered the driver to tie him up as fast as he could, which caused dislocation at the time, and under which he is still suffering, (complainant looking rather sickly and having the marks of his flogging still visible on his posteriors); that he there received 150 lashes from Andrews by his mistress's order, who afterwards locked him up in the stocks in such a way that both feet and hands were fastened; that his mistress says, because he is cow-minder she gives him no Sundays, neither any allowance whatever. Requests to be sold.”

Mrs. Sanders appears before the Fiscal on two other occasions, to answer to similar complaints. On the last, 8th September 1823, the following is the Fiscal's minute of the case:—

“ Complaint of the Negro *David*, belonging to Mrs. Sanders:— That he is too much punished with the whip and tamarind rods; that he is employed to work in the kitchen, garden, and also as cook; that he is swollen; the soles of his feet flogged with tamarind rods; that his mistress says he is lazy, which is the cause of his being flogged; he was flogged with the whip lately; he has a beating at his heart, the cause of his illness; his posteriors shew that he has been lately punished, not to any excess, but the punishment much neglected: soles of his feet, examined, shew no marks of punishment;

the Negro appears to be in a dropsy, and as such is treated by the doctor who has charge of the barracks."

The son of this lady undertakes to defend his mother. He says, "that the Negro is a very bad character;"—that "little or no work is done by him, for on the least harsh word he runs away; he is a constant run-away. My mother will not allow him to be flogged, because *he bears the marks of former punishment so very evidently*; he did receive a slight punishment for running away; this punishment was inflicted by two small boys with tamarind rods, and it was to endeavour to shame him. My brother brought him to town five days ago to cook, and why he has run away I do not know; *he was flogged by said boys under his feet with tamarind rods on account of HIS BACK BEING CUT UP.*"

"11th March, 1819.

"Plantation GELDERLAND:—*Nettelje, Julia, Lea, and Mietje*, each with an infant in arms, complain that no time is allowed them to nurse their children; that during the crop an equal quantity of coffee is expected and required of them as from other women having no children, or of the men; that a similar task is given them in weeding grass with the rest of the gang, which they are not able to perform, in consequence of carrying their children on their backs; if they fail, they are beaten in the manager's presence with the handle of the whip by the driver Esperance. *Nettelje* and also *Mietje* were flogged the day before yesterday by the carpenter *La Fleur*; they, with others, were weeding the dam; they had made a fire to drive away the sand-flies; they were seen by *Mr. Toel*, the manager, suckling their infants; he inquired if they had no work to do: they replied they had just taken their children up, who were crying; they were laid down and flogged; their coats were stained with blood. *Mr. Toel* took the fire up, and threw it in the trench. *Julia* was locked up in the stocks because she did not keep with the rest of the gang, and threatened to be flogged next morning; she is a young girl, with her first child. *Lea* complains that she is not allowed to suckle her child during her work; she was threatened to be flogged next day by *Mr. Toel*, at same time with *Julia*." (p. 13.)

"*Jane*, belonging to *Mr. Bourmester*, says her master gave her to his housekeeper *Grace*, who is constantly abusing and ill-treating her; she is often in the habit of kicking her, and beating her with any thing that comes to hand, sometimes with a fire-stick, sometimes with a piece of wood. Monday morning she was sent by *Grace* to look for wood; when she returned she took a piece of crab-wood she had brought, and beat her with it, and kicked her. Her master was not at home: she got breakfast for her mistress and a gentleman, *Mr Harvey*. After breakfast, sent me for wood; I had just recovered from a fit of sickness, having had a blister on my belly, which was not yet healed; I felt faint, and was under the necessity of sitting down to recover myself. When I came home with the wood it was about 11 o'clock; as soon as I returned she began to beat and kick me, saying she hated to see me; a boy belonging to *Mr. De George*,

named Alexander, saw when she beat me, and a girl named Sophia, belonging to Sue Austerhem." (p. 14.)

"Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones:— Says, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday; after I got home he sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman, I do not know his name, but he lives in town; they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner; he said no, he would put me down and cut my —, and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip; I got a severe flogging; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman, and Mr. Kerschner, the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie of Demerara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.

"Exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaister, by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree that the court judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it." (p. 14.)

Mr. Jones said he *had* flogged her, and broke her mouth for her insolence. He had thirty-nine laid on her, and *they were well inflicted*. When he sent for her, he had no intention of flogging her; but after sending her to three persons for sale, and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging; he then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was done.

"August 23, 1822.

"Felix, belonging to Plantation Scotland, states, That he has had a Black woman upon the estate for his wife now two years; and the reason of his coming to complain is, that the manager of the estate takes her from him, although he has a wife of his own. He is always taking the Negroes' wives, particularly his wife (Felix's); for she has had a child for him; and since the child has been born, the manager is always punishing him and his wife without a cause. Some time ago ten of the gang came to complain to their master (Dr. Broer), to report to him that the manager had connection with their wives: their master promised to them that he would remove the manager from the estate, and place another one there. Upon this promise the Negroes returned to the estate; but since that they have never heard of another manager. Felix and his wife are daily punished, which has compelled him to come to your Honour for redress. He calls upon the whole gang of the estate to prove his assertions to be correct.

"On hearing this complaint, the Acting Fiscal proceeded to the estate, accompanied by Dr. Broer, the owner; and on questioning the manager and Negroes, in presence of each other, on the subject-matter of the complaint, it appeared that Felix had neglected his work, and was told he would be punished if he did not finish his task the next day, which he did not do; and therefore, supposing the manager would punish him, he went to the Fiscal to complain. This



being proved, *Felix was punished for his misconduct, and the manager severely reprimanded for taking improper liberties with the women on the estate, which it was evident he had done*; and Dr. Broer was therefore strongly recommended to discharge him from his employ." (p. 75.)

That *Felix* should be the person punished for misconduct, will appear very extraordinary to all who have not imbibed their notions of justice in slave colonies; and it is the more surprising that the fiscal should pursue this course in the present instance, as some time before he had addressed a letter to Governor Beard, then president of the court of justice (p. 15), in which he charges these very persons, Broer and his manager, specifically; first, with greatly overworking the Negroes; secondly, with severe flogging repeated on successive evenings, and with illegal instruments of punishment; thirdly, with making them work on Sunday; and fourthly, with considerably under-feeding them. The case was so gross that, notwithstanding an attempt on the part of the owner and manager to deny the charges, the fiscal ordered them to diminish the tasks of the Negroes, and to increase their food; forbade their being worked on Sunday; *threatened* the owner with prosecution; and told the Negroes if their wrongs were not redressed, they should complain again. They complain again; and this is the result.

June 26, 1819.

Brutus a watchman, belonging to plantation Providence, complained that "the manager wanted my daughter Peggy. I said, 'No.' He followed her. I said, 'No.' He asked me three times: I said, 'No.' Manager asked me again Friday night. I refused. Saturday morning he flogged me. This thing hurt me, and I came to complain."

"Peggy being sick, *Aqueshaba* her sister attended:—Says, that manager sent aunty Grace to call Peggy, and to say if she would not come I must. We said, daddy said must not go; I was too young. Grace left us and went to daddy; shortly afterwards she returned and tried to coax me to go, but I would not, as my daddy had forbid it. Grace went and told manager; manager sent to call Fanny; Fanny went. The manager was up in his room; and all of us, the Creoles, got orders to be watchmen at manager's door. I was watchman, Peggy, Frankey, and many more." (p. 30.)

The manager of this estate on another occasion (p. 80.) laid a Negro on the ground with two drivers over him, who gave him 100 lashes. His innocence being afterwards proved, he went to the manager for redress. The manager told him, "if you do not hold your tongue, I will put you in the stocks." He then went to his owner, Mr. Henery, who answered, "I cannot help it, it is not my fault, the punishment you had was the manager's fault." As he could get no redress from master or manager, he came to the fiscal. The manager endeavoured to justify himself, admitting that he had given him thirty nine lashes, (the number allowed by law for any or for no offence,) and confined him in the stocks every night for a week. The

*fiscal reprimanded* the manager for punishing a Negro on such slight grounds.

A number of Negroes belonging to Mr. Elwes complain (p. 17.) of the harsh treatment they receive from him, and the slave Fanny his concubine. They are half starved, forced to work till four o'clock on Sundays, and also on holidays. The children get no allowance of food or clothing, (even girls of eleven and twelve going naked,) and are marked with the bush rope with which Fanny flogs them. One boy, eight or ten years of age, complains that she beats him, pulls him by the nose in a cruel manner, and pinches his ears most inhumanly. He gets no regular allowance, but lives on what he can get. His master makes him mind the horse, clean his shoes, burn the coffee, &c. &c.; never gives him any clothes, and when sick, after taking salts, makes him still perform his task. "This complainant proves, by many old marks on his back and posteriors, that his statement is not at all incorrect, and that he has often been severely dealt with." (p. 17.)

A Sambo girl, Betsey, belonging to Mr. I. F. Obermuller, says, she was washing a frock given her by her mother, when her mistress took it from her. She told her mistress it was hard to take her frock from her, as she never gave her any clothes herself. Her mistress complained to her master that she was insolent. Her master flew in a passion, and kicked her on the belly, so that she could scarcely draw her breath. The next day her mistress tore her jacket off. She again alluded to the hardship it was to have her clothes taken from her, but none given her. Mistress again complained of insolence, and master flogged her with a rope, and made her brother Jacob flog her. For the least trifle, she and her sister are locked up in the stocks, sometimes for three weeks, and fed only with two plantains a day. Her sister was locked up for a fortnight by her mistress, saying she had made the bed improperly, thereby causing the child to fall. Her sister denied it. (p. 18.)

Four Negroes belonging to Cotton-tree Plantation, the property of the Hon. W. Katz, complain of not being allowed time for breakfast; that they have to go to the field before cock-crow, and work in it till gun-fire, and then have to cut grass. They are confined in the stocks, and not allowed to go out even for the calls of nature. They complained to Mr. Katz, and he flogged them. The charges are denied by the manager and overseer, the persons, in fact, who are accused; and on their denial, the fiscal finds the complaint unfounded, and orders three of the complainants to be punished with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty, in his own presence, in the market-place!!! (p. 19.)

There are complaints also against Mr. Katz, from his estate of Philadelphia. *Amsterdam* (p. 46) says, the overseer "Davies is extremely hard against him, beating him on every trifling occasion. Gave him last Monday 25 rods of a dam, and as he was not able to complete this, Davies flogged him very much; after flogging he

told him that he would go to complain, which brought Davies into such a passion that he sent all the Negroes after him to catch him, but he escaped and came to town to complain. Says they get enough to eat, but no time, on account of Davies's heavy tasks, to prepare the same. Complainant, on shewing his posteriors, proves to have had of late a severe flogging." (p. 46.)

*Murphy* came to the fiscal to complain, instead of going to Mr. Katz; because three Negroes had gone to complain to Mr. Katz, and, without sending for the manager, they were flogged, and sent back, and the next day one of them was flogged again by the manager. (p. 58.)

May 27, 1819.

Seven Negroes, belonging to plantation Rose Hall, state as follows:—

"That they all were engaged by the manager to gin cotton for himself on their Sundays, for which he promised each 3 guilders a day; when, after working three Sundays, and receiving no payment, they declined to continue with this work. On demanding the payment, the manager called the driver to give them a d——d good payment:

"That they are obliged to bring every evening, after their work, an uncommonly large sized bundle of grass, (the measure whereof the deponent deposits herewith), and that when the measure is not full they are obliged to search for more grass in the dark:

"That in telling his master the hardness of the service, he flew into such a passion that he broke one of his (complainant's) teeth:

"That in coming in the Negro houses at night after their work, and inquiring after their things, the manager, when hearing this, takes them up directly and lodges them in the stocks; adding further, that in case they are not satisfied with him, they may go and complain where they please." (p. 20.)

Mr. Grade, the manager of plantation l'Esperance, is charged by the slaves with various delinquencies. A pregnant woman, named Rosa, was employed picking coffee with some other women. Thinking they did not pick enough or well, Mr. Grade ordered the driver Zondag to flog them. The driver did so. Rosa had previously objected to working, as being too big, and being unable to stoop; but the manager over-ruled the objection, and she went to pick coffee on her knees. When Zondag came to her, he said to the manager, This woman is big with child. The manager replied, "Give it to her till the blood flies out." She was flogged with the whip doubled. This was on a Friday. She was sent to the field on Saturday, but, being seized with pains in her loins, was sent to the hospital. The doctor examined her, and ordered her to the field again. On Sunday she was delivered of a dead child, after a severe labour. The child's arm was broken, and one eye was bruised and sunk in the head. This woman had had seven children before by one husband. The driver, Zondag, and several others, confirmed the above statement. The



driver, being particularly asked, whether, on his representing that Rosa was pregnant, the manager had used the expression, "Never mind, flog her till the blood comes," replied, "Yes." (pp. 25—27.)

A Negro woman named Laura, belonging to plantation Reliance, with a very young child at the breast, complains that she is not allowed to take her child to the field to give it the breast now and then, but is obliged to leave it with an old woman at home. When she steals from her work to the child and is discovered, the manager flogs her. She brought this child into the world with great pain; it is of a weakly constitution, and requires a mother's care, which she is not allowed to bestow. The manager does not deny any of the above facts, only says, that *the women with young children are not required to come out till half-past six in the morning, and they quit the field at half-past ten, return to the field at half-past one, and leave it at half-past five.*

The complaints are more frequent from Sandvoort, formerly one of the crown estates, than from any other plantation. "*Carolus* says he is sick and swelling, and that he cannot work, though willing. When he complains of sickness, the manager licks him, instead of helping him. Yesterday he was twice licked." (p. 33.)—" *Amsterdam* says he is afflicted with pains in his bones; he does his best, but cannot work as others who are healthy. Mr. Cameron licks him with a horse-whip, curses him, and when he goes to the hospital drives him away." (p. 34.)—" *Mietje* (and her child Mars). "She says she is willing to work when healthy. She went yesterday sick to the hospital. Instead of getting physic, she received a flogging. She is still sick, and has come to complain." (p. 35.)—" *Lambert* had a bad disease, and the manager would give him nothing. He ran away. His master, Mr. Cameron, states him to be a bad subject. He is admitted to labour under disease, but is directed by the fiscal to be punished!!! (p. 55. See also pp. 57, 59, 65, 75, 76, 77.)

The complaints are also frequent from plantation Beerensteen, where some of the Crown Negroes are placed, against the driver Zealand, but chiefly against the manager, Mr. Deussen. (pp. 24, 25, 34, 36, 40, 43.)

*Samuel* complains against his master Spangenburg, that the Negroes danced during the Christmas holidays from Sunday evening till Tuesday night. He proceeds thus:

"On Wednesday they went to work, but as some of the people were still inebriated, so the large task given them was not finished; the next day their task was renewed, with the addition of the remainder of the preceding day; that he, acting as driver, told his master it was impossible to finish the same; he (*Samuel*) himself being accustomed to the field work, could not accomplish it, much less the women; but his master, who knows very little of Negro work and treatment, insisted on the performance of the task given; consequently the task was not finished, and principally the women were short in this; the next day they (himself as a driver included) were all flogged; the number of people working in the field consists of four

men and three women, and they are so overwrought by their cruel master that they are scarcely able to keep it out, which is the cause of their coming to complain, his master saying that he has no fear of fiscal or any one else, but that he will flog them when he finds it proper. The Negroes at present in town with their master, if called, would attest this. They get nothing but a small piece of pork, a little fish, two pipes and some tobacco; nothing else; no clothes or any thing more; they get also a week only a small bunch of plaintains, and are generally very indifferently treated by their master. Wishes as his master is a person who is always flogging them, and who knows nothing of the work, that he, with his wife and brother, might be sold, being assured that they would be able to please a reasonable master, who understands the working and treatment of slaves." (p. 37.)

*Quamino* complains of his master, F. Brittlebank's general ill treatment.—

"Says, that some time ago many of them came to the ferry with the intention of going to town to complain, but were prevented by the ferrymen from crossing the Canje Creek; that the fiscal then came to the ferry and ordered three of them to be flogged, amongst which the complainant was one; that after flogging, the fiscal desired his master to dress his wounds well; but that, on the contrary his master did nothing to them when he came home, but rubbed his back, with brine and salt; that in consequence he has suffered very much by this neglect." (p. 37.)

*Scipio* complains against the same master, Brittlebank, of being overwrought and severely treated.—

"Came some time ago to complain, but was taken up at Jeffery's estate and confined there in the stocks for fourteen days: when he went home he got severely flogged; he was taken to the waterside and there flogged for fear of the whip being heard; his private parts, which he exhibits, are so severely wounded by the whip he can scarcely sit or stand. The Negro appears much emaciated." (p. 57.)

*Martin* complains against Mr. Davies, manager of Sandvoort—

"That on Saturday he was almost unable, through pain in his neck, to finish his work, but nevertheless completed it; that last Monday he went in the morning early to complain to Mr. Davies to give him physic; that Mr. D., instead of assisting him, ordered Billy of Sandvoort, the driver, with four other Negroes, to lay him down; that although he told Mr. D. he was never unwilling to work when well, he was, notwithstanding, flogged." (p. 39.)

*Philip* and *Leander* complain of Mr. Luyken, the manager of Bertingdigheid, killing all their hogs. Leander had ten killed at one time. For complaining they were put in the stocks. (p. 45.)

*Jenny* complains of her mistress, Elizabeth Atkinson, that *she beats her unmercifully, kicked and trampled on her belly, locked her in the stocks, and beat her on the back. In half an hour she miscarried. Her child Philip is extremely ill-treated, and is never allowed to come near her. The child is exhibited: marks of severe flogging over the whole body.* "Says she receives a good allowance." (pp. 45, 46.)

Three Negroes come to complain of Mr. Calmer of plantation Niew Stoop. One of them says, "That it is now the third time he has come to complain; that twice he has been flogged by the fiscal at the market; that he told the fiscal the last time he went, that in case his master troubled him again he would then come to complain also; that Mr. Calmer, the last time he brought him home, flogged and kept him in the stocks during three weeks; after which, on applying to his master for relief, instead of gaining it, was severely flogged the next morning, and locked up in the stocks again; after having been there a long time he was severely attacked by the scurvy, and although he begged hard to be allowed to go out and wash himself, was refused; he grew so ill, that his master was afraid of losing him, and therefore released him; he recovered, although very visible marks remain on his back: whilst in the stocks, his master gave him nothing to eat; whatever he got was by favour of the Negroes; he was not allowed to go out and ease himself, but lived in such a manner that it was impossible for any person to come near him; his master bought a chain and block at plantation Zuidwyk merely for him." (pp. 46, 47.)

General Murray, the late Governor of Demerara, well known by the share he had in the prosecution of Smith, the Missionary, and who, in his public dispatches, has always highly lauded the treatment of the slaves, has two estates in Berbice, Resolution and Buses Lust. On the 23d October 1821, the manager of the former estate, Hopkins, was reprov'd by the fiscal for having given three successive floggings to a Negro named *Mark*, who states, "He has been flogged severely by the manager, on account of complaining he was sick three different times; once 12, another time 39, and again 25 lashes have been inflicted; shews marks of severe flogging, and much neglected." (p. 49.)

On the 29th of November there is another complaint from the same estate. Michael says he is a Negro, and knows well he must work; but that they work from morning till late in the evening picking coffee, "and when he comes home, between six and seven in the evening, instead of going home to get some victuals, he is ordered to work till twelve at night, bringing mud from one place to another. Also on Sundays they are ordered to work, and if they should refuse they would be flogged."—*Philip* makes a similar complaint.—*Thomas* "says he is an old man, and the work that the manager gives him to do is impossible for him to complete, from the weakness of his body and state; for which he is always punished and kept continually in the stocks." (p. 50.)

The result of the complaints made to the fiscal is seldom given. In this instance it is given in very laconic terms, and will doubtless surprize our readers: "*Two* (viz. of the complainants) *directed to receive SEVENTY-FIVE lashes!!!*"

Again, on the 17th November 1823, at the very time when Smith's trial was proceeding, we have a complaint from ten *women* belonging to the same plantation.



"The governor, our master, when he purchased us, gave us a task, one hundred trees to be weeded and cleansed; with this we were satisfied: the manager, however, says this is no work, we shall not have task-work; he gives each Negro a row of three trees; if we do not finish the work given us, we are made to do it on Sunday; Ziemine, Maria, and others wrought in the field on Sunday; the manager had the driver locked up in the stocks." (p. 66.) "We are content and happy when our master comes, who talks and laughs with us; but as soon as he goes off the estate we are unhappy. We have no time to eat, none to cook; we have no eleven o'clock: we are not wrought by task. Our master gave us spoons; the manager is dissatisfied with this; he says the governor is too good, he minds us as if we were children; he says he cannot flog us, because that can be seen, but he will punish us with work. If any of the women be pregnant, no attention is paid to them; they are wrought as hard as the others; for that reason there are no children; manager says *he does not come to mind children*. The rows given us have each sixty trees; the bell is rung, but we cannot leave the field, because if the work given us be not finished, we are punished; the punishment is, we are to finish our work on Sunday. We all have wrought on Sunday; not one Sunday, but every one that any field work is left undone." (p. 66.)

On the 4th September 1823, a number of women belonging to plantation Prospect came to complain of bad treatment. The manager, Paterson, overworks them and gives them no time to eat. "We are now planting and supplying canes. The ground is so dry we are obliged to throw water on the beds before we can chop the earth." The work they had done the day before was reported to the manager at noon by the driver. The manager was unable to go himself from indisposition; but he ordered the driver, when they returned to the field at one o'clock, to go out and flog each of the strong women. The women expostulated with him, shewing him the extreme hardness of the ground, which they had to moisten before they could dig it; observing, that, if the cane plant were not well put in, the manager would again order them to be punished for that. The overseer, coming up at the time, repeated the manager's order, and six of them were laid down and punished with twelve lashes each. They proceed, "We are too much punished; we have no time to get our victuals; we have every night got work, whether the mill is going or not. Sunday night even is not excepted, when we must bring fire-wood from the canal mouth. Tuesday night we had to carry corn from the great house to the horse stable-loft. We were employed at this work till near morning. We carry home wood on Sunday night as well as any other, and the boatmen are employed in bringing wood on Sunday as on any other day. If any of us go out on Sunday we must be back in time to bring home grass and firewood for the kitchen. After that we must still go to the canal for firewood for the engine.

"Mr. Ross sends two bunches of plantains for each Negro every week: one week the men get two bunches, and the women one; next week we get two, and the men one; the rest are kept for sheep and hogs. Mr. Ross sends tobacco; we get none of that; we get no molasses, although it is given to the horses, sheep, and hogs. If you are sick, or have a sore, and put in the sick-house, only one bunch of plantains is allowed, and the allowance of fish is stopped. Mr. Ross sends every thing to the estate very well, but we do not get it. The overseer's treatment is worse than the manager's; since Caajee is come home, she is confined both legs in the stocks every night. Only four of us are allowed to take the magass from the engine; in M'Cermot's time there were five of us to do this work. Our rum has been stopped for the week. Last night we received orders from the driver that we were not to come home to-day unless we finished our work; we must boil plantains then for to-day; the ground is so hard we knew we could not do it, and therefore came to complain." (p. 60.)

It appeared, on farther inquiry, that they were well supplied with either plantains, or rice, or corn; but no other part of the charges meets with a denial. The conclusion of the whole is thus given, and it will illustrate the nature of the protection which Negroes receive under harsh usage. Mr. Ross, the attorney, who was present, "expressed to the manager his entire dissatisfaction of the women having been flogged prematurely, and at the Negroes being employed on Sunday night; and promised the Negroes they should have redress in as far as their complaints were grounded, but expressed his disapprobation of their not having sought redress from him as the attorney of the estate, instead of seeking it from the fiscal; and this conduct having been also pointed out by the fiscal, as a want of proper respect to their master, who from their own account plentifully supplied their wants, they seemed to regret the measure they had adopted." (p. 61.)

Whether this be the same Mr. Ross, who is proprietor of Culcaim plantation, we know not; but the Negroes of that plantation also make bitter complaints against their manager.

"When the sun is down, if our row is not finished we get flogged. I received thirty lashes, so did Joe. We are taken to the stocks at night, and flogged next morning. We told the manager the work was too much, that we had no time to get our victuals, and begged him to lessen the task: this was the reason we were flogged. There are plenty of plantains on the estate; the manager, however, only gives us one bunch, and that is on the Sunday morning. We are very well supplied with fish. We are obliged to boil our plantains at night, and put them in a calabash to take to the field next morning; we are obliged to eat them by stealth, we are driven so hard; and before we can eat them they turn sour. When we come from the field, after this heavy day's work, we must work in the yard; the punt brings wood to the canal, and we must carry it up to the engine; other times we must haul up bullet-tree to the saw-pit. When we are grinding we know very well we must sit up late; and of this we do not complain, knowing it must be done. We have complained to our

master, and he says that the manager, he supposes, troubles us because we don't mind our work ; we had no redress from him." (p. 57.)

These heavy complaints are referred by the fiscal, on account of the distance of the plantation, to Capt. Grant, a burgher officer. His letter of instructions on the occasion will throw no small light on the principles on which justice is administered to complaining slaves. After stating the heads of complaint, the fiscal observes—

" It must be needless for me to request the most impartial investigation ; and *although I am perfectly satisfied that Mr. Ross would not permit his slaves to be oppressed by the manager, yet some of the charges of complaints may require redress* ; and in such case I certainly shall recommend Mr. Ross to afford instant relief. *I am also well aware and fully confident that such recommendation would be needless* if the complainants had not lost sight of a duty incumbent on them, to have sought redress in the first instance from Mr. Ross, their proprietor, which they had ample opportunities of doing by his frequent visits to the estate \*.

" If, however, you find that the complaints are groundless, I request you will, by every means, endeavour to convince them of the same, to point out *how very unsatisfactory, unpleasant, and expensive such complaints must be to a proprietor of respectability and a good owner of slaves* ; and that although the complaints of slaves shall always command my ready and serious attention, and that whenever they are aggrieved I will exert myself to afford them relief, yet that the duty is no less imperious on me to punish such slaves, whose only motives in quitting their estates to prefer complaints proceed from idle and wanton dispositions, whose statements prove to be groundless and vexatious.

" *I would then recommend you to direct the said Negroes to be exemplarily punished in presence of the gang ; and one of them having asserted that* \_\_\_\_\_ *was the one who induced them to come to town to complain, he ought to receive fifty lashes, and the others thirty-nine each, well applied, and cautioned to refrain from further wanton behaviour, on pain of more severe punishment.*

" I also recommend you to request *Mr. Austin †, the manager of 49, to accompany you, and afford you his aid and opinion in ascertaining the work done on the estate, and complained of.*" (p. 58.)

\* The Negroes distinctly say they had complained to Mr. Ross, and were refused redress.

† Of this Mr. Austin who is thus made Captain Grant's assessor, and in whom the fiscal reposes so much confidence, we have several notices in these papers. —Bob says, " That almost three weeks ago, the manager Austin met him in the morning whilst going to the field, and without giving him the least provocation called the driver King to lick him, which had been of such a nature, that he had been obliged to lie down some days, and on recovery thought proper to report this proceeding to his honour the fiscal. Complainant's back has yet the visible marks of this treatment." (p. 31.)

Trim says, " That he knows very well that a Negro is to work ; he does his duty but cannot please the manager, Mr. Austin ; that the driver is continually finding fault with and licking him too much ; that when complaining about this



The plantation Profit, in Dr. Pinckard's time, was a model of humanity towards the slaves. Times are now changed. The former possessor no longer lives, and the slaves are in the hands of sequestrators. The following is a specimen of their grievances:—

"Hutchinson, the manager, is too cross; that he will not give task-work, but works them by the day to that degree that they have no time to get their breakfast; he comes after 11 o'clock in the field, and says we do not work enough; the driver must give us twenty-five lashes every day. If we are flogged, we go to the burgher officer to complain; he gives us a letter to the manager; but he says I want no letter, and the complainant is laid down and flogged; two of the Negroes have letters they received from the burgher officer, which were given them by the manager after being flogged. We have no attorney, or at least we hear of none, and we have not seen one for five months; there is no fish nor salt on the estate; we have not had clothes, this makes the third year, nor have we pipes or tobacco; we make plenty of rum, but never get a glass of it; if we feel our skin hurt us, and complain of sickness, we are flogged; he then mixes salts, jalap, and calomel together, which is given to drink. Rose went to say she was sick; she was flogged with the whip, and is yet cut. The manager says we are making bargain; we do not know what he means; he makes us think upon what we don't want. Sandy shews some stripes upon his posteriors; he received them in the field from the driver by order of the overseer; he says it is for work, as we make a bargain not to work. Having made our complaint to the burgher officer, who never came to the estate, but gave us letters

to the manager, he gets for answer, 'It is your master's work;' says, that when Negroes are sick and go to the manager, instead of giving them physic, he drives them away with a horse-whip." (p. 41.)

Rose says, "She lost her husband and child lately; that the manager treats her very ill; that the child whereof she was delivered died on the third day; that the manager made her go to work too soon after her delivery; that he locked her up at night in the stocks, and made her work in the day; that she told Mr. Kewley, her master, repeatedly, of the several ill-treatments which she received from Mr. Austin; but as Mr. Kewley gives her no assistance, she is obliged to come and complain." (p. 41.)

Again, Aug. 20, 1823, "Complaint of the Negro *Harry*, belonging to J. P. Chapman, of Demerara, hired to Mr. Kewley, proprietor of 49, Corantyn Coast:—States, that he is perfectly able to do his work, but not when he is sick; that he went to the manager to say he was sick; he made the watchman take me to the field, where I was flogged by the driver. I had the fever two days; I went to complain; I was put in the dog-house, where I neither ate nor drank; there is no sick-house on 49; I could not eat nor drink from sickness. If a Negro says he is sick, two Negroes drive him to the field at five o'clock; at night we are locked up: all the Negroes treated so. Some of the Negroes, from the bad treatment of the manager, have run away. One of Mr. Chapman's Negroes was flogged so often, and had so bad a foot, that he was obliged to run away in the bush; if he is dead or alive we do not know; he was one of the firemen, and walked on his hands and feet; he told the manager he could not stand to do work; he was laid down and flogged. Manager's name Austin."—*Harry is ordered twelve lashes by the fiscal*, on the statement of the proprietor, Mr. Kewley; which, however, only goes to rebut a part, and an inferior part, of the charges.

which were not attended to, and not knowing that we have any attorney or proprietor, we come to the fiscal to complain. We do not wish to run away in the bush, but we look for help. The manager came in the field the other day after dinner; as soon as he came into the field, he laid the driver down and flogged him; next Sandy, and then me; I asked what I had done; but four Negroes were made to hold me, and I was flogged. I went to Mr. Munro to complain; he told me the manager could not have flogged me for nothing; I suppose you gave him sauce. He went next morning to the manager, who said I had been saucy. I was locked up in the stocks day and night; I think I was confined two weeks; manager said I should stop there till Christmas, because I went to complain to Munro: I asked leave to go out to ease myself, and made my escape; the stocks are now full of people. Hannah has a severe cold, and complains of pain in the stomach; she says she is locked up in the stocks; the manager says if she dies he does not lose *his* money; the Negroes went to complain to the fiscal, and he came on the estate, and what did he do? Rose said she had a pain in her side, and begged for a blister; manager said he would give her a blister on her backside; she was laid down and flogged, the marks still visible." (p. 64.)

The Negroes of plantation Foulis complain of Dr. Munro, their owner, that they are made to work in the boiling house from eleven or twelve o'clock at night till eight or nine the next evening. They complain also of want of food. The fiscal proceeded to the estate, where he says he ascertained that the complaints were *in a great measure* groundless, but that *some* irregularities were chargeable on the overseers, who were admonished, and threatened with dismissal if they were not more attentive in future.

"Two of the complainants, who, it was proved, were guilty of insolence and disobedience of orders, were punished in presence of the whole gang, who were informed that any real grievance they had to complain of would always be attended to, but that they would be severely punished whenever their conduct was proved to be refractory and disorderly. A copy of the ordinance respecting the clothing and feeding of Negroes was then handed to Mr. Munro, who was informed that penalties would be rigidly enforced if the enactments were not strictly complied with." (pp. 6, 7.)

Sixteen Negroes of plantation Herstelling all unite in complaining that the manager "turns the gang out in the morning a long time before the gun fires at the fort, and at day-light all the gang are at their work. At breakfast time, when the bell rings, before the Negroes are able to put their victuals on the fire, the bell rings again to turn out; so that most of the Negroes go in the field again without breakfast. He states, that the manager gives them more work than they are able to do; and if the work is not done in time the whole gang are flogged. That their allowance only consists of one bunch of plantains and a little fish every week, and no more. He states, that when all the gang are at work, and two or three of them have not finished their task, for the sake of these two or

three people the whole gang are flogged, this happens almost every day in the week."

The head driver, being examined, states,—

"That on Thursday last he had a gang of sixteen men with him, weeding young canes in a field about 500 rods from the buildings: That the whole gang were at their work, and had got three beds weeded before the sun rose. An overseer, Michael Harrold, came to the field at seven o'clock, reckoned the gang, and directed the driver to see the work was properly done. About an hour after, the manager came to the field, and ordered the driver to flog the whole gang, with the exception of one man, Alexander, as the work was not going on properly.

"On inquiring into the truth of this statement, in presence of the attorneys of the estate, it appeared that although the manager's conduct was, *in some measure*, reprehensible, yet the complainants had greatly exaggerated their grievances. They were therefore ordered to return home, on the attorneys promising to go to the estate the next day to see that every real cause of complaint was remedied; and to warn the manager, that if the Negroes had cause to complain again, he would be immediately discharged." (p. 72.)

On the 3d of March 1823, nine Negroes, all women, belonging to plantation Port Moraunt, appeared to complain of the manager, that they are "constantly in the field from morning before gun-fire until late in the evening; that the work the manager gives is too much; they are unable to complete it, although they work during breakfast time." "Sometimes they are obliged to work on Sunday to finish the task given during the week; and often have no time to eat, from morning till night; if the row is not finished they are put in the stocks, and kept in until morning, when they are released and sent to work; sometimes the whole of the women are flogged for the sake of two or three not finishing their task. Last Friday the driver was flogged on account of his having allowed the women to come to the house to get breakfast, and they were sent all back to their work; the manager saying to them, that they had time to eat at night, and not in the day. On Saturday last the manager went to the field, and found that they had not finished their row, and immediately ordered four women to be flogged." (pp. 78, 79.)

"On investigation of this complaint," observes the fiscal, who, be it remembered, is himself a planter, "it appeared, that although the tasks given to the Negroes of the estate were not actually more than they could do in a day, yet that the manager was very severe upon them, and too frequently inflicted punishment without sufficient cause: he was therefore informed that his conduct would be vigilantly looked after in future; and if he continued the same system, the attorney of the estate would be recommended to discharge him from the management." (p. 79.)

The following complaint, from the same estate, was heard on the 27th March 1823, and the result will further illustrate the course of judicial proceedings in the slave colonies.—



“Ness states, That he is the driver over the women, and the manager asked him last Sunday why he did not go to work, and he answered that he had not been ordered to do so, or he would have gone to work, as he did not wish to do any thing without the manager's order. The manager then offered to flog him ; but he made his escape, and came to your Honour for redress.

“*The complainant in this instance was punished by the acting fiscal for having left the estate and come to town to complain without any cause, and when he knew he had been guilty of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty: and the manager was warned of the impropriety and illegality of working the Negroes on Sunday.*” (p. 79.)

The manager is not punished for so flagrant a breach of the law, but warned of its impropriety! The poor Negro who came to complain of that acknowledged breach of the law, is punished for coming to town to complain *without any cause*.

*Not one instance occurs, in the midst of all these atrocities, in which the penalties of the law are enforced on the owners or managers!!!*

But we have done, not because our materials are exhausted, but because we have already swelled the work by our citations to an inconvenient size\*. Last year Mr. Baring facetiously observed, that “what might be called our stock stories” were worn threadbare. He was tired to hear of nothing but Huggins and Carty, and Kitty and Thisbe: they were repeated in every speech and pamphlet, till they were fairly worn out, proving also the absence of any new facts of the same kind. The fresh importation, of which we have given a specimen, will prevent, in the next session of Parliament, the offence to good taste of which Mr. Baring so sensitively complains. His commerce connects him with Berbice, the scene of these atrocities; and yet Mr. Baring, with all his assumed knowledge of the subject, was as ignorant of these transactions as the child unborn; and would have been perfectly incredulous of them had they come, not from the fiscal of Berbice, himself a planter, but from some of those persons whom he unfairly and ungenerously represents as fabricating such stories in order to curry favour with their employers. He complains too of the assiduity with which petitions are got up on this subject. And does he suppose that such transactions as these, when they come to be known, will not rouse the public to petition? The people of Great Britain cannot remain unaffected by such enormities perpetrated on their helpless fellow-subjects; nor can they continue to tolerate those fiscal regulations by which they are made to pay, in bounties and protecting duties, for the cost of this bloody and murderous system.

One word more before we conclude our painful task. A work

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\* We have given only a tithe of the atrocities brought before the fiscal of the small colony of Berbice, containing about 20,000 slaves! What a mass of horrors should we have had before us, could we have had a similar return from all our colonies, containing altogether upwards of forty times that number! Only one other colony, Demerara, has a fiscal to record, in any manner, however imperfect, such transactions; and he has kept no record!!!

has just made its appearance, of considerable labour, and considerable pretence to authority, containing 270 closely printed octavo pages, entitled "Considerations submitted in Defence of the Orders in Council for the Melioration of Slavery in Trinidad, and upon the probable Effect of sudden Emancipation on Agricultural Industry and British Capital in the West Indies, in a Series of Letters which appeared in the Star Newspaper under the Signature of Vindex. To which is annexed, the thirteenth Article in the sixteenth Number of the Quarterly Review; and the Observations thereon, in a Series of Letters which appeared in the New Times Newspaper under the Signature of Anglus." It is printed for Murray, and is addressed "to those Members of both Houses of Parliament who, whatever may be their private interests, or preconceived opinions, feel anxious for the elucidation of truth in the question of West-India Slavery." It is an elaborate, ingenious, and humane attempt to quiet the consciences of those gentlemen and their friends who, having private interests involved in the question, are desirous of having a salvo against the agony of self-accusation, and a plausible excuse to the world for prolonging the existence of that foul and disgraceful system. But all will not do. The national conscience can no longer be lulled to sleep. Its powerful voice will be heard, and will sweep away all those refuges of lies which seek to reconcile the toleration of such practices, either to the character of our country or to the paramount obligations of Christian duty.

The grand object of this bulky pamphlet is to prove to the British Parliament, that slavery in the West Indies is a better and more gainful condition of society than freedom. If this position were as true as it is false, the people of England would revolt from the idea of pocketing the gains arising from such a hideous combination of injustice, cruelty and crime. But it is as false as it is impious and inhuman.

The pamphlet to which we allude appears to have proceeded from the same arsenal which supplied the materials for Lord Bathurst's speech in March 1824; for the various articles on the West Indies in the Quarterly Review; and for the comments on the case of the Donna Paula (see above, p. 92). One of the grand arguments, indeed the *argumentum palmarium* of this school, has been drawn from a comparison of the island of Hayti with our own colonies. On this prop of their system, much of the present production has been made to rest. But, unfortunately for the author, it had vanished from under him before his pamphlet saw the light. The fact that the population of Hayti had grown, in about twenty years, from half a million to nearly a million, had already laid the axe to the root of his goodly argument; and the recognition of Haytian independence, and the price which Hayti has engaged to pay for it, has swept away the very last vestige even of the rubbish that had been falling around him.

## ERRATA.

- Page 16, line 5 from bottom, *for* p. 11, *read* pp. 8, 9.  
— 31, — 3 from bottom, *for* p. 35, *read* pp. 26, 27.  
— 33, — last line, *for* p. 30, *read* p. 29.



*The following Works may be had of J. HATCHARD & SON,*

REVIEW of the QUARTERLY REVIEW; or, an Exposure of the Erroneous Opinions promulgated in that Work on the Subject of Colonial Slavery: being the Substance of a Series of Letters which appeared in the "New Times" of September and October, 1824. With Notes and an Appendix.

EAST-INDIA SUGAR; or, an Inquiry respecting the Means of Improving the Quality and Reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies. With an Appendix, containing Proofs and Illustrations.

FIRST REPORT of the COMMITTEE of the SOCIETY for the MITIGATION and GRADUAL ABOLITION of SLAVERY throughout the British Dominions, read at the General Meeting of the Society held on the 25th day of June, 1824, together with an Account of the Proceedings which took place at that Meeting.

The SECOND REPORT, &c. with an Appendix, containing important Documents illustrative of the State and Impolicy of Slavery, and the means for its Amelioration and gradual Abolition. 1825.

NEGRO SLAVERY; or, a View of some of the prominent Features of the State of Society, as it exists in the United States, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.

AN APPEAL to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies. By WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. M. P.

EAST and WEST INDIA SUGAR; or, a Refutation of the Claims of the West-India Colonies to a Protecting Duty on East-India Sugars.

A LETTER to WILLIAM W. WHITMORE. Esq. M. P., pointing out some of the erroneous Statements contained in a Pamphlet by Joseph Marryatt, Esq. M. P., entitled, "A Reply to the Arguments contained in various Publications recommending an Equalization of the Duties on East and West India Sugars." By the AUTHOR of a Pamphlet entitled "East and West India Sugar."

A LETTER to M. JEAN BAPTISTE SAY, on the comparative Expense of Free and Slave Labour. By ADAM HODGSON. Second Edition.

SUBSTANCE of the DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS on the 15th of May, 1823, on a MOTION FOR THE MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY throughout the British Dominions: with a Preface and Appendixes, containing Facts and Reasonings illustrative of Colonial Bondage.

A REVIEW of some of the ARGUMENTS which are commonly advanced AGAINST PARLIAMENTARY INTERFERENCE in Behalf of the Negro

Slaves, with a Statement of Opinions which have been expressed on that Subject by many of our most distinguished Statesmen, including Earl Grey, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Melville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, &c. &c. &c. Second Edition.

CORRESPONDENCE between GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq. and the Rev. T. COOPER, relative to the Condition of the Negro Slaves in Jamaica, extracted from the Morning Chronicle; also a LIBEL on the CHARACTER of Mr. and Mrs. COOPER, published in 1823, in several of the Jamaica Journals; with Notes and Remarks. By THOMAS COOPER.

A LETTER to ROBERT HIBBERT, Jun. Esq., in Reply to his Pamphlet, entitled, "Facts verified upon Oath, in Contradiction of the Report of the Rev. Thomas Cooper, concerning the general Condition of the Slaves in Jamaica;" &c. &c.; to which are added, A LETTER FROM MRS. COOPER to R. Hibbert, Jun. Esq., and an APPENDIX, containing an Exposure of the Falsehoods and Calumnies of that Gentleman's Affidavit-Men. By THOMAS COOPER.

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE of the CONDITION of the NEGRO SLAVES in Jamaica; with Notes and an Appendix. By THOMAS COOPER.

RELIEF for WEST-INDIAN DISTRESS; shewing the Inefficiency of Protecting Duties on East-India Sugar, and pointing out other Modes of certain Relief. By JAMES CROPPER.

A LETTER on the injurious Effects of High Prices, and the beneficial Effects of Low Prices, on the Condition of Slavery. By JAMES CROPPER.

The SUPPORT of SLAVERY INVESTIGATED. By JAMES CROPPER.

THOUGHTS on the NECESSITY of IMPROVING the CONDITION of SLAVES in the British Colonies, with a View to their ULTIMATE EMANCIPATION; and on the Practicability, the Safety, and the Advantages of the latter Measure. By T. CLARKSON, Esq. 1823.

The SLAVERY of the BRITISH WEST-INDIA COLONIES delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern. By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

DEBATE in the HOUSE of COMMONS, June 23, 1825, on Mr. BUXTON'S MOTION, relative to the DEMOLITION of the METHODIST CHAPEL and MISSION HOUSE in BARBADOES, and the Expulsion of Mr. SHREWSBURY, a Wesleyan Missionary, from that Island.

NEGRO'S MEMORIAL; or, ABOLITIONIST'S CATECHISM. By AN ABOLITIONIST.

**ENGLAND ENSLAVED**

**BY**

**HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.**





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ENGLAND ENSLAVED

BY

HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.

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AN ADDRESS

TO

THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE

OF

The United Kingdom.

BY JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE;

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J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

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1826.





# ENGLAND ENSLAVED

BY

## HER OWN SLAVE COLONIES.

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TO

THE ELECTORS AND PEOPLE

OF

*The United Kingdom.*

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MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

WHEN it was lately supposed that you would, by an immediate dissolution of Parliament, be called upon to exercise that noble birthright of British subjects the choice of their own lawgivers, I was employing my vacation leisure in the prosecution of a work in which I have been long engaged, the “Delineation of Colonial Slavery as it exists in Practice”; having already given to the public a pretty full and demonstrative account of it as it stands in point of law.

The work, in my own estimate, and in that of most of the friends of the enslaved Negroes, I might say of all among them whose sentiments on the subject I know, is of great importance; because gross misrepresentation of the facts of the case is the main expedient which our opponents have always too successfully employed; and the object of my labours is to wrest that instrument out of their hands, by proving all the positions in my second volume, as I have done in my first, from their own evidence alone. But I was induced to suspend those labours, by an application from some of the most respectable leaders in the cause of colonial reform, who requested me to write an address to the Electors of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of pointing out to them the

critical position of that cause, and the duty of giving it their strenuous support in the use of their elective franchise. I complied; and before the decision of His Majesty's Government on the question of a dissolution this autumn was made public, had made so much progress, that I was unwilling the fruit of that new effort should be lost; and therefore have completed the intended address, with some enlargements, which I submit to you in the following sheets.

The then expected occasion cannot long be postponed; and if I can effectually excite your efforts, they will not perhaps be the less influential and successful, because your present Representatives will have a further opportunity of showing their disposition on this great and interesting subject before they again solicit your suffrages.

The House of Commons will probably not soon be agitated by questions of war or peace, or by domestic controversies of any great importance; one excepted, on which I have no opinion to offer, and from the notice of which I shall cautiously abstain: but it will very soon have to determine whether we shall advance or retrograde in the path of justice, mercy, and expiation towards that most hapless and injured portion of our species, the much-oppressed African race. Early in the approaching Session, Parliament will be called on to decide whether we shall redeem the pledge to God and man given in the Resolutions of May 1823, or, yielding to colonial influence and clamour, basely forfeit that pledge, and leave upwards of eight hundred thousand of wretched fellow-creatures, with their yet unborn progeny, to perish in their chains.

No less than eighteen years have elapsed since Parliament, in voting the Slave-trade to be contrary to justice and humanity, virtually recorded the moral title of those oppressed and degraded human beings to their freedom; for it is plain, that a bondage iniquitously imposed cannot be rightfully prolonged. Necessity alone could justify the delaying for an hour the full restitution that was due to them; and such a necessity was accordingly alleged. It was asserted that a sudden enfranchisement was dangerous, and that therefore progressive means must be employed.

But how did we follow up those views? Sixteen times had the sun run his annual course, and still beheld all these victims of injustice toiling like brutes under the drivers, in all the moral filth of slavery, and all the darkness of pagan ignorance; tortured at discretion with the tremendous lash of the cart-whip, sold like cattle in a market, and condemned at the owner's will to a perpetual exile from their native homes, their wives, their husbands, their parents, and their children. A hundred thousand at least of hapless infants had in the mean time been born of the enslaved females in our colonies; and how had *they* been treated? Exempted from that state which it was held so hard and dangerous to alter? Educated in Christian principles? Prepared for exercising when adults the rights and duties of free men?—No: but left to learn idolatry from their parents, and their duties from the driver's whip; and to hand down the vices and the miseries of slavery, with the alleged difficulties and dangers of correcting them, to other generations.

Thus, up to May 1823, had we fulfilled those obligations which national contrition had recognised, and the plainest principles of justice and humanity imposed.

A new æra then seemed to have commenced with consolatory and cheering prospects. In consequence of numerous petitions from all parts of the country, and of a motion made thereon by Mr. Buxton, Mr. Canning (the leading minister in the House of Commons) came forward with apparent decision to take this pitiable and opprobrious case into the hands of Government, and himself moved resolutions which I need not here state to you at large; for in what part of the British empire have they not been proclaimed by the press, and echoed by the voice of an applauding people? The first of them, which was the basis of the rest, was in these terms:—"Resolved, *That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies.*" They were all voted unanimously. The friends of the Slaves gladly consented to transfer the conduct of their cause to such potent hands, withdrew their own propositions, concurred in those of the Right Honourable Secretary, and gave to him their confidence, as well as their



cordial applause. He had opened to them in his speech specific plans of progressive melioration and gradual enfranchisement, which, as far as they went, were satisfactory; and which gave an earnest that further reformatations, in the same spirit and of the same prudent character, would, when maturely considered, meet with the same support.

There was however one great drawback on their hopes, and one which was the most disheartening to those among them who knew the Colonies the best; for Mr. Canning intimated his practical plan to be, not the immediate introduction of any of his proposed measures by authority of Parliament, but the recommendation of them by the Crown to the Assemblies.

The experienced friends of the Slaves must have lost their memories or their understandings, if they had entertained a hope that such a course would produce any good effect. They saw in it, if not frustration and positive mischief, at least certain disappointment and delay. Recommendation to the Assemblies!! Why, the experiment had been tried repeatedly, during a period of twenty-six years, as well before as after the abolition of the Slave-trade; and had uniformly and totally failed. The Crown, the Parliament, and that far more influential body, the West India Committee of this country, with Mr. Ellis at the head of it, had all recommended, supplicated, and even menaced, in vain. Not a single Assembly had deigned to relax one cord of their rigorous bondage; or to adopt a single measure that had been proposed to them for the temporal or spiritual benefit of the Slaves, except in a way manifestly evasive, and plainly intended, as well as proved by experience, to be useless; while some of those inexorable bodies had even met the solicitations of their Sovereign, and the resolutions of the supreme legislature, with express rejection and contempt. Recommendation to the *Assemblies!!!* to the authors of every wrong to be redressed! of every oppression to be mitigated! to Slave-masters, the representatives of Slave-masters, hardened by familiarity with the odious system in which they have been long personally engaged, and surrounded with crowds of indigent and vulgar whites, to whom slavery yields a sordid subsistence, and the

degradation of the blacks is privilege and respect! You might as well recommend toleration to Spanish Inquisitors, or Grecian liberty to the Turkish Divan.

Most reasonable therefore might the friends of the Slaves have regarded this part of the Right Honourable Secretary's plan, as a ground not only of dissatisfaction, but distrust; had he not guarded it by declaring that means should, if necessary, be employed to make the recommendation effectual, and to subdue any contumacy that might be found in the Assemblies, by Parliamentary compulsion.

Still, the well informed advocates of reformation were reasonably alarmed. They did not doubt Mr. Canning's sincerity. The general liberality of his principles is not less unquestionable than his transcendent eloquence; and he had been an early friend to the Abolition. But they saw from this hopeless project that he laboured under a gross delusion as to the true state of the colonial mind; and they knew the formidable influence, both public and private, from which he would have to unfetter himself, before he could oppose himself effectually to that storm that he was about to raise in the Colonies, and make his way to his ulterior purpose.

They knew well from long experience how little reliance was to be placed on that apparent disposition which his West Indian friends, and the proprietors resident here had, in general, manifested in Parliament to support the measures in question. These gentlemen are always on the side of melioration when it is to be referred to the Assemblies, but never when it is proposed to be effected by the only practicable means; and it is no new thing with them thus to save their own credit in the first instance, and then support with all their collective weight in parliament the opposition of their friends and agents abroad to the very propositions in which they themselves have expressly concurred at home.

Under these circumstances, the friends of the Slaves have been strangely found fault with for still endeavouring to defend their cause and themselves before the British public, and to guide by necessary information that popular voice which is their only sure ally. They well knew, that the best intensioned and most powerful Administration would, without that support, find it difficult or impossible to stem the broad and

deep tide of Colonial influence, and carry into effect any reformation worthy of the name. The abolition of the Slave-trade, after a struggle of thirty years, would have been finally lost, though supported by Mr. Pitt and many of his powerful colleagues, and the nation would have still been undelivered from the shame and guilt of that horrible traffic, if the public voice had not supported the influence of the Crown, though in the hands of such ministers as Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, against the clamours of the Colonies, and the interest of their too powerful party.

Had these views been disputable in May 1823, they would long since have ceased to be so. The experiment has again been tried; and what has been the result? To the *mother country*, disparagement of her dignity, insolent denial of her constitutional authority, aggravation of her Colonial expenses, additional destruction of her brave troops in a sickly and inglorious service:—to the *Slaves*, a procreation of hopes the most interesting that ever cheered the hearts of men in their unhappy situation, only to be cruelly strangled in their birth; to many of them bloodshed and death, and to many more the privation of those religious benefits most scantily enjoyed before, which were their only human comfort.

Yes, my generous and humane countrymen, these have been the fruits, and without the aid of your further united efforts, these, and many more such horrors as those of Demerara and Jamaica, will be the only fruits of your petitions, and of the resolutions of your representatives in parliament, that “effectual and decisive measures should be adopted to meliorate the condition of these our unfortunate fellow-subjects. Two years and seven months have since elapsed; and the condition of many of them, probably several hundreds, has indeed been effectually meliorated,—for they have been sent to a world where injustice, oppression, and cruelty can no longer reach them. The musket and the gibbet have given to them a happy, though painful manumission. Even those to whom the mercy of a West Indian Court assigned only a thousand lashes each by the lacerating whip, have been thus finally liberated, if uncontradicted and most credible report may be trusted; but as to the remainder of the eight hundred thousand hapless fellow-creatures for



whom your pity and remorse vainly interceded, their condition, with a local exception or two of small account, has if possible been altered for the worse. Bitter disappointment has aggravated their former wretchedness; and to the multiplied oppressions of avarice have been added those excited by a crafty and cruel policy, by suspicion, hatred, and revenge. Every insurrectionary movement, however occasioned, and however partial, has been treated as rebellion; every plantation broil, or *strike of work*, as insurrection; every expression of discontent, or even of hope, founded on the benignant intentions of Parliament and the Crown, as full evidence of a seditious plot; and all alike have been sure consignment to a Slave Court;—in other words, to conviction, and banishment or death. Nay the most cautious prudence, combined with the purest innocence, has been no security; for the assertion of a fellow-slave, however profligate, and however improbable his tale, has been taken as sufficient evidence against the Negroes accused. You are told by their oppressors that they are all too low in morals to be heard as witnesses against a white man, even before a West Indian jury of his own order, and when there is no temptation to deceive; and yet their testimony is implicitly trusted and relied on, when their reward for disclosing a pretended plot is pardon, if they avow themselves to have been accomplices, and if not, the irresistible bribe of freedom. If any fair man thinks these statements too strong, let him read the trial of the Missionary Smith, with the examinations that preceded it, and the trials for the late conspiracies in Jamaica, as printed by the House of Commons the last session; and if he does not entirely concur with me, I am content to forfeit his confidence as to every other fact I state.

Now, to what can these evils be ascribed, but to the fatal course that has been taken, in referring, for a twentieth time, to the Colonial authorities, a work to which they are avowedly, violently, and incurably averse? What was it, but to invite the rash and angry opposition we have found? They tell us, and they tell us sincerely, perhaps, however erroneously, that the proposed measures will be ruinous to their property, and dangerous to their lives; and yet we desire them to adopt and

frame those very measures by their own legislative power. They refused to adopt them, or any one of them, even when assured by their own agents and partisans in this country that there was no other way of preserving their then beloved Slave-trade; yet we expect compliance, when refusal can have no worse effect than the enactment of the same measures by the British Legislature. Even that consequence, we have taught them to believe or know, is not to be apprehended. In eight-and-twenty years of obstinate opposition to the sense of Parliament, its active interposition has not once ensued; and in one instance, that of Mr. Wilberforce's Register Bill, it was attempted in vain, though clearly necessary for the purpose of giving effect to the abolition of the Slave-trade.

That precedent was still more fatally instructive. It taught them that a sure way to prevent Parliamentary interposition, was to add to refusal violence, and uproar, mischief, and alarm.

These means, indeed, were then found rather costly to a particular colony. They raved so loudly and so long in the ears of their Slaves, that those poor beings at length thought them in earnest, in affirming that registration was enfranchisement, and that by the will of the mother country they were to be Slaves no longer. The insurrection of Barbadoes was therefore very naturally produced. But this was a lucky, as well as a very partial mischief. All the colonies gained their point by it. The framing Register Acts was left implicitly to themselves; and fences of cobweb, instead of adamant will consequently be found between them and the Slave-trade, whenever the high price of sugar, or the depopulating effects of Slavery, may tempt them to resume it.

After this, who can wonder at the plots in Jamaica, or the insurrection at Demerara, or the dreadful measures of fury and alarm that followed? Even Barbadoes itself, in spite of its experienced evils, saw more of convenient consequence, than present danger, in adding to the renewal of former provocatives, that of driving away the missionaries, pulling down their chapel, and laying the laws prostrate before insurgent violence for successive days under the eyes of the local Government.

Nor can we be surprised that the Assemblies in this case have treated the recommendations of the Crown, and the voice of Parliament, with more than their former disrespect; and refused to adopt any of the very moderate specific reforms proposed to them. Small though those reforms must appear in *our* eyes, in *theirs*, had not their own former pretences been grossly false, they must have been smaller still; and for the most part the mere enactment, by law, of what before was general practice. They were desired, for instance, to secure a Sabbath rest to their Slaves, which they had a hundred times boldly asserted was already possessed by them. They were desired to exempt their females from those cruel and indecent punishments, the usage of which they had as often indignantly denied. They were asked to lay aside the driving whip, which they had so positively asserted to be wholly inactive, and a mere emblem of authority, that Ministers, in the recommendation itself, soothingly gave colour to the ridiculous pretence, desiring that the whip should no longer be carried into the field by the driver, *as an emblem of his power*.

But here lay no small part of the provocation. They were caught in the mesh of their own falsehoods and delusions. The Sabbath is in fact kept only in the cane pieces; while it is a working day in the provision grounds, and in journeys to a distant market. To abolish such profanation, would be to compel the master to find food for his Slaves; or to give them another day that they might be able to raise it for themselves. The proposed immunity of the females, they knew would have been a still greater sacrifice; because they are in fact worked, coerced and disciplined in common with the males; and, as the Colonists are now driven to assert, equally or more than equally require it. As to the inactive cart-whip, the *emblem* or *symbol*, the *beadle's laced hat*, as some of them before had the effrontery to call it, it is now confessed to be the main spring of the machine; and that to take it from the driver's hand would be ruin to the master, and danger to the State. Though little therefore was asked on their own false premises, it was much, very much, in the case that really exists; and far more than the Planters or their Assemblies ever mean to concede. To repudiate their own former assertions was mortifying; but to adhere to them at the hazard



of their actual system would have been still more unpalatable ; and the dilemma was not the less provoking because it was the effect of their own previous deceptions.

But though refusal was to be expected, insult, it may be thought, might have been forborne. The Colonists (wisely perhaps if their ends were wise) were of a different opinion ; and the Ministers of the Crown, for acting under the advice of Parliament, were made the objects of coarse invective, as well as contemptuous repulse.

And what has been the consequence ? Have Ministers come to Parliament for its assistance to support its own dignity, and give effect to its own resolves ? Has that supreme legislature at length effectually interposed, and made good its promises to the unfortunate objects of its compassion and remorse, ordaining by its own authority what has been insolently denied to its mediation ? Such was the ulterior course that you were expressly warranted by Government to expect, if the Assemblies proved contumacious ; and yet if their conduct has not amounted to contumacy, it is hard to say what more they could have done to satisfy the full meaning of that term. But nothing has been enacted, nothing has been proposed, in Parliament, no communication has been made by Ministers on the subject, except the humiliating despatches of the Colonial governors containing full details of all these opprobrious facts.

It would be unjust to His Majesty's Ministers, not to distinguish here between those colonies which are cursed with representative Assemblies, and those which have escaped that misfortune, and over which the Crown possesses the power of interior legislation. In the latter, Trinidad especially, some advances have been made towards giving effect to the Parliamentary Resolutions. But even in these, the unwise and dangerous course has been taken of referring the work in its form, and practical details at least, to its known and irreconcilable enemies ; of submitting, to their advice, the time of its initiation, and its progress, and even the choice of the means and instruments of its execution.

Of all errors in policy it is the most palpable, to commit the structure and management of difficult and delicate measures to those who avowedly dislike the principles on which

they are founded; and who wish, not for their success, but their failure: nor is there in this respect any difference between Slave-holders elected into a Colonial Assembly, and Slave-holders sitting in a Council, or Court of Policy, under the authority of the Crown. It would not be more irrational to devise a plan for converting the Irish Catholics to the Protestant Church, and then submit its practical means and accomplishment to the deliberations of the College of Maynooth.

To this unhappy course of proceeding we owe the insurrection at Demerara, with all the dangerous discussions, controversies, remonstrances, and delays, which have been opposed to the execution of the Royal Instructions, not only there but in Berbice; in neither of which is the promised work, I believe, yet fairly begun.

It is due to Earl Bathurst to say, that his Lordship appears hitherto not to have been wanting in decision or firmness, in maintaining his ground, as far as the official correspondence goes, against the clamorous and pertinacious opposition he has met with from the local authorities in those Colonies, as well as from the Planters: but still nothing appears yet to be effected; nor will any thing, beyond ostensible and evasive compliance, ever be obtained, until Government changes its course, and ends where it should have begun,—by a peremptory Order in Council. The very voluminous correspondence with the Governors laid before Parliament in the last session too clearly justifies these views; and if my readers wish for full satisfaction on the subject, they may find it in an abstract of those papers which has just been presented to the public.\*

Frustration of all the hopes of the poor Slaves, and of their compassionate fellow-subjects, will not be the only ill effect of this unfortunate course of proceeding, if it is not speedily reversed. Terrible mischiefs I doubt not will ensue; and the blame of them will as usual be laid on the Friends of Reformation, not on its true authors,—those who stoop to solicit

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\* See a pamphlet published by Hatchard and Son, entitled, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain; or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves."

when they ought to ordain; or those who resist the proposed measures in the first instance, and spoil them in the second.

I cannot wholly exempt from these strictures even the particular case of Trinidad, where alone there has been any direct and peremptory exercise of royal legislation; for though there is much practically good, and more that was well intended, in the Order of Council for that island, there is much also that is very objectionable; and the executive means are bad. An adequate discussion of that subject would be far too long for my present purpose; and it might be unjust to His Majesty's Government, and especially to the able and respectable statesman who presides over the Colonial Department, to give my views of it in a partial and cursory way. It is necessary however that I should protest on my own behalf, and that of my fellow-labourers in the cause of the Slaves, against the notion insidiously propagated, that the Order is *our* work, or framed to *our* satisfaction. Whoever may be responsible for it, we are not. For my own part, I never saw it, or knew any thing of its provisions, till after it was printed by Parliament.

Had my advice been asked, I should have held, as I have ever done, that men who, as Slave-masters, have their prejudices, their habits, and their supposed self-interests, and an *esprit de corps* besides, all opposed to the success of such experiments, are not fit to be trusted with their execution; and would have added, that the masters of domestic Slaves are not less unfit to be so trusted than the owners of plantations. I would have added, and if necessary proved, that by the needless permission of domestic Slavery the predial is much embittered, and rendered more difficult to reform; for that men lose their sensibility more by the administration of a harsh servile discipline in proportion as they are more personally and immediately engaged in it; and that they unavoidably are so engaged, more in the family than in the field. I might have further remarked, that a man who has been long in the personal government of such domestics as enslaved Negroes are usually found to be, and in the numbers that commonly belong to a West Indian household, must have an excellent temper, and great self-command, if he does not



sometimes fall into those very excesses which it is the object of the Order to restrain; and that a magistrate or protecting officer is not very likely to do his duty when conscious that the delinquent he ought to punish might recriminate on himself.

I might perhaps have given, if consulted, still wider views of this subject, and told our Ministers that they ought not only to discourage but wholly to terminate domestic Slavery; because it cannot be alleged to be rendered necessary by the climate, and because its abolition, besides being productive of various other advantages on which I will not now enter, would be the most effectual means of increasing the number of the free in proportion to the Slaves, and thereby providing internal means of defence. But most especially should I have recommended that at least the servants and agents of Government should be exempted from that fatal domestic contagion which spoils their feelings, and disposes them to favour or connive at the abuses they ought to restrain; and such, if I am not misinformed, was the Spanish policy in the protection both of Indians and Slaves.

In Trinidad, however, the right course of proceeding, though not by the best measures, has at length been pursued; and I hope that in the other Colonies subject to His Majesty's legislative power, it will not be longer delayed. As a man who has laboured much, and not unsuccessfully, to prevent the Constitutions, preposterously called English, established in the old Slave Colonies being imparted to the new, I am bound to say that little or no good has been done by adopting that policy, if the Crown, instead of exercising its authority in making laws for the protection of the Slaves, is to delegate that duty to Slave-masters resident on the spot. The former sovereigns of those Colonies, whether Spanish, French, or Dutch, never called on their governors, councils, or courts to deliberate in such cases, but only to obey.

My main business, however, is with that larger class of Sugar Colonies which Parliament only can controul; and these have refused any compliance with its resolutions. Most of them have even boldly set its authority at defiance; and yet Parliament, in respect of them, has hitherto been silent and supine.

I correct myself. Much, very much has been done, but all in the way of aid, encouragement and bounty, instead of coer-

cion, to these refractory Colonists;—bounty, at the expense of our purses and our commerce, as well as of our feelings and our honour; aid and encouragement, by the renunciation of almost every principle and rule on which the value of our Colonies to the Parent State has hitherto been thought to depend. Our Navigation Laws have been abrogated for their benefit; except only in those points in which it was more for their advantage to retain them. They may now reject your manufactures, and take all their supplies from every rival state; and it depends on their own choice whether they will send their sugar to your markets; while you are still compelled by protecting duties, as they are called, amounting to a prohibition of foreign sugar, to buy from them alone. Even the long-supposed palladium of your navy has been relinquished for the benefit of these contumacious votaries of the cart-whip. The carrying-trade of your Colonies is no longer your own, but has been thrown open to every foreign and rival prow.

I stop not to inquire whether the plausible arguments on which this grand revolution in our maritime policy has been defended are not only specious but sound. They have certainly an air of liberality; and I was taught long since by one whose judgment, as well as his virtues, I held in very high estimation, my much-lamented friend Mr. Percival, to regard Mr. Huskisson as one of the most enlightened and judicious of our statesmen. Therefore, although I have been heretofore a feeble advocate for those principles which the wisdom of our ancestors handed down to us, and under an adherence to which, during two centuries, our naval greatness rose, perhaps I was mistaken. If so, I need not be ashamed to read my recantation; for it will be in a crowd of splendid converts, who have now renounced the same erroneous faith.

Let me not be understood, then, as condemning in the abstract these new principles, or the applying them, if impartially done, to our Colonial trade and navigation. But as the change was one which our sugar planters had long and ardently solicited, and as one of its prominent immediate objects was avowed to be *their* accommodation and advantage, it was certainly in that respect very ill-timed, and tended to encourage and confirm their contumacy.

Had this been all, we might have regarded it only as an

unfortunate coincidence. But unhappily this great commercial and maritime revolution had some awkward modifications, some striking departures from its own principles, and exceptions to its own rules; and upon every one of these, West Indian interests, and West Indian views, were so legibly written, that if the West Indian Committee had sat in council with the Board of Trade, and guided its resolutions, the new code could not have been better framed for the gratification of our planters.

The general principle is the favourite maxim of political economists, that trade should be perfectly free. The Colonial monopoly therefore ought clearly to have been abolished on both sides; but it was relaxed only where it was restrictive on the Planter; and continued only where it made for his advantage. He may now sell his sugar where and to whom he pleases; but the English consumers are still bound as before to buy it. Foreigners may bring us what they please, except any thing that West India planters have to sell. As to protective duties, they should no longer have a place in our Custom-house vocabularies: the very name is heretical, by the new faith; for "commerce can be protected only by itself." Aye, but our planters were here a little sceptical; and thought that 36s. per cwt. additional duty on sugar, and 84s additional duty on coffee, of foreign growth, would be better than theoretical security against rivalry in the British markets; and plain men perhaps will suspect that they were right; for they were humoured in this whim; and we are now paying on an average from 42s to 45s. per cwt. for sugar which a year or two ago we bought at an average of from 27s to 30s.

The case of our East Indian possessions, was a little stronger. We and our fellow-subjects there had a mutual and irresistible claim to be placed within the pale of this new-found liberality. The only plausible pretext before for favouring the Slave Colonies of the West, at the expense of our Eastern Empire, by imposing on the Sugar of the latter a duty which, when added to the high expense of the carriage, amounted to a prohibition, was, that we had a monopoly of the supply and navigation of the former, which was burthensome on the West India planter, and demanded therefore in justice a reciprocal pri-



vilege to him. The Assemblies themselves had expressly rested their case on this ground; and had repeatedly admitted that when the restrictions on their trade should be taken off, they would no longer have a claim to any exclusive privilege in our markets. To remove the one therefore, and retain the other, was to favour them beyond the utmost range of their own former expectations and demands.

Whilst the new principles applied to our East Indian trade in a commercial and economical view, with peculiar force, every consideration of justice and policy, entitled our fellow-subjects in the East at this period to all the favour we could justly accord to them. They had become important customers to our manufacturers, who had begun to supplant their own cotton weavers at the foot of their own looms in Bengal; and they wanted only a return article like sugar to enlarge their commercial intercourse with us to an almost boundless extent, and in a way the most advantageous that can be imagined, not only to our national wealth and maritime strength, but to the security of our Indian Empire. But all these potent considerations fell before West Indian influence; and from the benefit of the new principles, as well as the old, our East Indian trade was excluded.

There was indeed one exception. The sugar of the Isle of France was before subjected to the same duties with that produced within the dominions of the East India Company; but it is now privileged like that of our West India Colonies; though for what reason it is thus preferred to the produce of Bengal, except that it is raised by the forced labour of Slaves, it is hard to imagine. This, it may be said, is no benefit to the West India planters. No; but it is a great one to that most influential part of their body in this country, the consignees of tropical produce; and besides, it tends to increase the interest of Slave-holders in general among us; and to consolidate their union as a body for the maintenance of the common system. Of these advantages they well know the value. We should not otherwise have been cursed, not only through their acquiescence, but by their concurrence, and by their secret intrigues, with the acquisition of new Sugar Colonies on the continent of South America; by which, though our islands

were generally prejudiced as agriculturists, their political weight as Slave-holders has been much and fatally increased.

It may seem but a trivial item in this large account, when I add to it the different treatment of two Joint-Stock Companies, who applied coterminously in the last session of Parliament for legislative aid to supply their want of charters, and set their plans in motion; but small features sometimes mark more strongly than large ones the character of a partial system. The object of one of these projects was to obtain loans on sugar estates, by means of a joint stock, upon securities which individual prudence had been too well taught to decline. The object of the other was to promote also by a joint stock, and the co-operation of numbers, the raising and importation of sugar, the produce of free labour. It had an eye to the East, but not to the East alone. Some parts even of the West Indies might have been the theatres of an experiment interesting to every friend of humanity and justice. The former project was among the multitude of Joint-Stock Companies (the madness of the day), one of the most objectionable on the score of imposition on the public. It was manifest to every thinking man of ordinary information, that the sole purpose of the projectors was to pass upon the credulous subscribers securities which those who knew best their nature were unwilling to take or to hold. The plan was also one of sure and great prejudice to the Slaves; not only by subjecting them to fall into the wholesale management of perpetually non-resident owners, but because the superintendence of the estate they belong to naturally enhances their forced labour, and diminishes the means of their support; nor did these objections escape the notice of their friends, but were forcibly submitted to Parliament and the public.

But between the two plans there was this important difference; the one was advantageous to Slave-holders, and supported by their powerful influence at the Board of Trade and in Parliament; but the other had no such recommendation or support. The West India Company in consequence was patronized by ministers, and its bill passed into a law; though the only one of the Joint-Stock Company bills, I believe, that had that good fortune, after the Lord Chancellor entitled

himself to the gratitude of the country by exposing their mischievous effects. The Free Sugar Company, on the contrary, finding that their bill, though not really objectionable on the general grounds, would be encountered by insuperable opposition in the Upper House, was obliged to abandon it after it had made its way through the Commons\*.

I will point out only one more instance of this partiality. It is one which cannot be stated adequately in few words; but it was the consummation of a system of measures portentous of infinite mischief to our country, as well as a case in which not only the principle of giving freedom to trade and navigation, but with it other principles of high political importance, have been sacrificed by the same boundless complaisance to the prejudices, and the supposed particular interests, of our West India Colonies.

Here some retrospective remarks are necessary. Our treatment of *Hayti* from the moment of its first Revolution, but more especially from the time of its actual, to the momentous recent period of its recognised independence, has been one continued surrender of national interests to the narrow views and potent influence of the Colonial Party. We paralyzed our belligerent arm in Europe, when the fate of the civilized world apparently depended on its energies, for the sake of engaging in the *bellum servile* between the French Planters of St. Domingo and their Slaves. At least forty thousand, as I believe, of our brave soldiers and seamen, and as much public money as constituted, by the terms it was borrowed upon, perhaps eighty millions of debt, charged by heavy taxation on the purses of the British People, were the price we paid in that war alone for the sake of our Sugar Colonies, in the attempt to restore the

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\* It is right to admit that the West India party in the House of Commons did not openly oppose this bill; but I doubt not, the reason was, that their leaders well knew it would be thrown out if carried to the Upper House. I certainly cannot commend the conduct of its promoters in not putting that expectation to the proof: but they thought it right, I understand, to save useless expense, having *official information* that the bill could not possibly pass; and that the exception to the general rule, made in favour of the rival Company, was the result only of a promise given by His Majesty's Ministers, before that rule was adopted.



cart-whip government, lest it should be subverted also in our own islands, though disappointment, and disgrace, and calamity were the only fruits of that attempt.

The triumphs of the heroic TOUSSAINT happily drove us at length from that dreadful field; and his magnanimity gave us the olive-branch, and commercial benefits along with it, which but for our deference to Colonial prejudices might have been much greater than they were. Federal connexions with the island were not perhaps then in our choice, for he was a faithful subject of France. But the next war with Buonaparte made us from necessity associates in arms with Toussaint's brave successors; and we found them in possession of a real and asserted independence. Then was the time, when the just exasperation of the brave Haytians against that detestable tyrant was at the highest, and when we owed to France nothing but resolute defiance; then was the time, when a most happy opportunity offered to make the new people our friends, our allies, and our commercial tributaries for ever. We had but to recognise an independence which it was plain to every thinking man could never be subverted, and that "citadel of the Antilles" never again would have fallen into rival or hostile hands. All its agricultural and commercial, all its political and belligerent, faculties, would have been permanently ours. The opportunity was not unnoticed. Even the labours of this feeble pen plainly, however inadequately, pointed out its value\*. But it was neglected, as I foresaw it would; and the effects that I foretold have followed. The pestilent vapours of Creolian prejudice obscured the true interests of our country, or the fatal influence of the Colonists betrayed them.

The gross impolicy of the neglect was no short-lived error; for the opportunity continued open to us for ten or eleven years, from the time of the final expulsion of the French under Rochambeau, till our pacification with France in 1814. No rational doubt could be entertained during that long period of the ability or the determination of the Haytians to maintain

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\* In a pamphlet called "The Opportunity," published in 1804, as well as other publications.

their independency. Under our protection at least, their ability was as certain as their will. It was as manifest also then as now, to all but Creolian eyes, that Negroes were capable of sustaining, by peaceable and loyal conduct, the social edifice which their intrepidity and love of freedom had erected. Rival leaders indeed had successively started up, and by military conspiracies two of them had perished, like the early Roman Emperors by mutinies of the prætorian bands; but like the Roman populace of that æra, the black people at large had always submitted peaceably and loyally to their existing Governments. Wearied, like that unfortunate people, by the bloody and ferocious scenes through which they had previously passed, they loved their new-found repose; but the remembrance of the driving-whip was a band of union against France, stronger than the glory of the Roman name against Barbarian conquerors. The unanimous sentiment was liberty and independency, or death. For a while the question between Monarchical and Republican Government, or rather between Christophe and Petion, produced a territorial division, and an interior war; but they had the wisdom soon to sheathe the sword; and the fidelity of the people at large to their respective Governments stood the new and severe test of instigation by border enemies within the island. Before, as well as since their re-union under Boyer, it was found in vain to excite any disaffection among them that could favour in the slightest degree their restitution, either as slaves or subjects, to the abhorred dominion of France.

Their successive and their divided chiefs also manifested, in regard to exterior relations, one only and one anxious wish; and that was to cultivate the amity and obtain the alliance of England. They courted us almost to servility; they endured many insults from the Slave-masters of our islands with exemplary patience; they gave us, without any equivalent, commercial privileges of the most decisive kind, exclusive of the Americans and all other neutral nations; and they so carefully avoided every occasion of offence to their contemptuous neighbours of Jamaica, that not even a complaint, true or false, has been heard of, to my knowledge at least, from that jealous and hostile quarter. Our ships of war were received in their

ports with every honour the government could possibly pay ; and our officers (Sir Home Popham among others) were astonished at the elegance and splendour with which they were entertained on shore.

But the necessary limits of this Address will not allow me to go further into detail. If it pleases God long to spare my life, and continue my powers of labour, you shall have, in a History of Hayti, sustained by authentic documents, facts of this kind, which will show to your astonishment perhaps how worthy this people were of our confidence and friendship. But all that we condescended to do in return was to connive at our merchants buying their coffee, and selling our manufactures in their ports ; abstaining from all diplomatic or other public intercourse as cautiously as if Buonaparte had been our friend, or an enemy whom we were afraid to exasperate. Our whole conduct proclaimed to their intelligent leaders, in a style not to be mistaken, that maritime and commercial England—England, the only power able and entitled by her hostile relations with France to countenance their independence—was irreconcilably averse to it ; and they well knew that it was from motives which made us not less averse to their personal freedom.

Does any one of my readers doubt that our servility to West Indian prejudices and West Indian influence dictated such conduct ? Then let him suppose for a moment that this important island had been peopled, not with Blacks and Mulattoes, but with Whites, who had in like manner thrown off the yoke of France ; or that its Planters had succeeded in putting down the insurgent Slaves, and afterwards proclaimed their independence, and offered us their trade as the price of our recognising and protecting it ; and then ask himself whether he thinks our rulers would have acted as they did.

I will not stop here to inquire whether regard to the safety of our Sugar Colonies, and the maintenance of their interior system, might excuse or justify the policy in question. I have heretofore demonstrated the contrary ; and shown that, assuming, what the event has since proved, the invincible stability of Haytian freedom, the safety of our own islands, of Jamaica at least, not only admitted, but demanded an opposite course,



though their foolish antipathy and contempt towards the African race strongly and too successfully opposed it\*. But at present my object is to show the sacrifices we have actually made, whether wisely or unwisely, to the wishes or the interests of our Sugar Colonists: and it is an undeniable article in the account, that, for their sakes, we have thrown away the exclusive commerce, the amity, and alliance of the Haytian Republic.

We have done still worse: we have at length forced back this truly formidable West Indian power into the arms of France; and this, by persevering in the same obsequious course towards our Sugar Planters, even since they have refused to indulge us with giving a Sabbath to their Slaves, and exempting their females from the whip.

*Boyer*, menaced with the horrors of a new invasion, though fearless of its ultimate event, has, since our peace with France, persisted in courting our friendship. No stronger instance of it can be desired, than that while the flags of all maritime nations were eagerly frequenting his ports, bringing an overflow of the merchandize of Europe and North America, and taking his produce in return, he exacted from all other foreigners duties of 12 per cent *ad valorem*, and only 5 per cent from the merchants and ships of Great Britain. Nor did he withdraw this important privilege till the month of April last, notwithstanding the repulsive coldness and contempt with which we had received it, and the continued provocations he met with from Jamaica.

We were no longer indeed at liberty, without a shadow of international wrong, to enter into a treaty of alliance with this new power, while yet unrecognised by the former sovereign, with whom we were now at peace. That golden opportunity had been lost beyond recall; yet there was a middle line of conduct, such as we have adopted towards the new South American States, and to which France could not with reason, or without gross inconsistency, have objected. We might have given a national sanction and safeguard to the existing commerce, and secured the continuance of its privilege, by ap-

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\* See the work last referred to.

pointing resident consuls, and even by sending envoys to the court of Port-au-Prince, as we have done to Buenos Ayres, to Mexico, and Columbia. We might have thus acted, I may add, with greater reason and more apparent justice, towards Hayti, than towards any of the revolted colonies of Spain; because the independency of the Haytian people had been longer, and more firmly and unequivocally established in point of fact, than that of any of their continental neighbours; and no advantage could, in their case, have been alleged to have been taken of the weak and distracted situation of the Parent State. On the contrary, France during several years of peace and internal tranquillity, and when powerful enough to cast her shield over the impotent monarchy of Spain, and to occupy its territories with her armies, had practically acquiesced in the independency of Hayti, as a loss of sovereignty not to be retrieved. What is still stronger, she had herself virtually recognised its government, by repeatedly attempting to treat with it; and latterly it was well known, that the recognition of its independency was only a question of terms; whereas Spain, even in the extremity of her weakness, has not yet condescended to treat with her revolted subjects; and the royal standard is still supported among them by faithful though feeble adherents. If a further argument *à fortiori* were wanted, we were under no self-defensive necessity to secure the amity, or guard against the future enmity of the South American States; whereas a free Negro state, in the centre of the Antilles, unless secured as a friend, was obviously likely to prove to us a most formidable and dangerous enemy. Should France recover her sovereignty there, over a nation of free and military Negroes, or what perhaps was still worse, if she should gain them as independent allies and confederates, it was manifest that our West Indian possessions must hereafter lie at her mercy. But powerful and urgent as these national considerations were (immense commercial advantages on the one side, fearful public dangers on the other), colonial influence still prevailed.

The finishing stroke to our infatuated policy was that last exception, that last inconsistency, in our new system of trade and navigation, which I proposed to notice. In laying open

our colonial trade to all nations we made a special exception in the case of Hayti, highly offensive and injurious to that country, forbidding under extreme penalties all intercourse whatever between it and Jamaica. By the statute 6th Geo. IV. cap. 114, sec. 48, it is provided, first, that no British merchant ship shall sail from any place in Jamaica to any place in St. Domingo, or *vice versa*, under penalty of *forfeiture of ship and cargo*. Secondly, that no *foreign ship* which shall have come from, or in the course of her voyage have touched at, any place in St. Domingo, shall come into any port or harbour in Jamaica, *under the like penalties*. Thirdly, that if any person shall be landed in Jamaica from on board any ship which shall have come from or touched at St. Domingo (*without restriction to the same voyage even*), the ship and cargo shall be forfeited.

It can be no sufficient excuse to say that an Act or Acts to a like effect had existed before that period. True it is, that the Assembly of Jamaica, having gratified its indignant spite against Negro freedom, by an Act restraining all such intercourse with Hayti, as far as its own power of interior regulation extended, its agents soon found Government complaisant enough to lend its aid, in order to extend the penalties and right of seizure, to ships that might not be found, or cases that might not arise, within the colonial jurisdiction. A *July Bill* for that purpose, was more than once pushed, without noise or notice, through Parliament; and so effectually escaped observation, that though my attention has been pretty much given to such subjects, I must confess my ignorance of any such measure having been adopted, till the recent revolutions in our maritime and colonial code led me to look back with some particularity on the state of the former law.

But when Government so materially altered its system, the measure, though not in a separate consideration new, had in its connexion with those important changes, all the effect of an injurious and offensive innovation. A gentleman who at his country residence should choose to live retired, and receive no guests but his own family, would give no just offence by omitting to invite his nearest neighbour, who had made to him the most courteous advances; but should he reverse his



plan of life, and invite all his neighbours, with the exception of that particular person, the case would be completely altered, and would reasonably be considered as a disparagement or affront; and such has been our conduct towards Hayti. While all foreign bottoms were systematically excluded from our Colonial ports, with a few particular exceptions only, in the Free Port Acts, founded on regard to the convenience or necessities of our West India Islands, as in the supply of North American flour and lumber (articles not furnished by the Haytian people), or for the sake of favouring our valuable commerce with Spanish America, while contraband by its own laws, the interdiction of trade between Jamaica and Hayti placed the latter in a situation not materially different from that of our other foreign neighbours, whether in America or Europe: but when we reversed our ancient maxims, and threw open the doors of our Colonies, which we had before so jealously barred, to every state and every flag but one, the re-enacting of the former interdict against that particular country alone, gave it a new character, and made it a more invidious distinction.

The effect also of such sweeping and extreme penalties, under the new circumstances of the case, was unjustly to subject the commerce, of the Haytian Republic, and of all the nations that trade with them, to new and multiplied disadvantages and dangers, the consequences of which it is easy to foresee, will be highly mischievous, and productive of disputes, not only with Hayti, but, perhaps, with other powers.

To such of my readers as know any thing of West Indian navigation and commerce, this will be obvious enough; especially when they recollect that all the ports in the Mexican Gulf, and of the late Spanish continent to windward of it, as well as those of Jamaica, are now open to every friendly flag. To those who are uninformed on such subjects, it may be proper to remark that both Hayti and Jamaica lie directly across, or very near, the track of ships trading between North America or Europe and a great part of the new states of South America north of Brazil; and that from the effects of the trade-winds this proscription of Hayti is in such respects, though limited in form to its intercourse with Jamaica, not less

restrictive or inconvenient in practice than if it were extended to all our West India Colonies. It is with that British island only that the Haytians could easily or profitably trade; and there only that foreigners trading with them would often be desirous or able to touch, in their outward or homeward voyage.

In consequence of these sweeping prohibitions, Hayti will be debarred from alarge part of that commerce which would otherwise be opened to her, through her central and advantageous position, by the revolutions in Mexico and South America at large, as well as by our own change of system; and also from those benefits to which she is justly entitled by that commercial habit of visiting the West Indies in what is called a "trading voyage"; namely, a voyage destined not to a particular port or island only, but to a market, where it can best be found, or where the desired returns can most advantageously be obtained. So important is this practice deemed by the merchants of the United States in particular, that they were disposed to go to war with us for obstructing it in their trade with the Colonies of our enemies, after we had concèded the point of permitting a trade directly with them to and from that neutral country. But now, every North American or European ship bound to the West Indies or South America, on a trading voyage, must make an exception, in her papers, of Hayti or Jamaica, or both; and if Hayti be not excepted, the exception of Jamaica alone will not only be a renunciation of the new privileges that we have opened to them in that our most important island, but will leave them exposed to great hazard of being seized on suspicion, if obliged by bad weather, currents, or other causes to approach near to that island in going to or returning from any market on the South American continent. In this respect the Spanish-American revolutions, and our own more recent commercial revolution, will make the former restrictions operate much more severely and unfairly than they before did against the interests of the Haytian people. It should never be forgotten in framing such prohibitions, that their indirect and undesigned, are not less prejudicial to the interdicted country, than their direct and intended effects. A new commercial crime constitutes of course a new ground of suspicion or false imputation, and a new ground therefore

of maritime seizure and prosecution, with all the vexatious consequences that are sure to attend them in a distant part of the world; consequences peculiarly formidable when the courts that have to decide on them in the first instance are strongly disposed to favour the seizure. A prosecution in Jamaica, for trading with Hayti, is certainly not one in which an injured claimant would have the best prospects of just redress.

When a country is infected with the plague, or when a hostile port is under blockade, the necessity of the case which compels us to impose such restrictions on the commerce of friendly powers, furnishes not only an excuse, but a salvo for their dignity. But here we have the same and greater restrictions in time of peace; and on a new principle, never acted on by any other civilized power, a principle also as offensive in itself, as the practice founded upon it; for what does it plainly imply but that the Haytian Government is disposed to excite insurrections in Jamaica, though no part of its conduct, during above twenty years of actual independence, has furnished the slightest pretext for the suspicion? Where else can lie the justification of condemning both ship and cargo, not only for having touched at infected Hayti *before*, but even *after* touching at Jamaica? In this it exceeds the restrictions of the quarantine laws; and the utmost severity of the law of war in regard to blockaded ports.

It would have been enough for my present purpose that the Government has in fact from complaisance to our Slave-owners departed from its own new and favourite commercial system, by impairing without necessity the general freedom of trade. But my last remarks show that there is, in the tone and temper of the proceedings towards Hayti, enough to mark still more clearly a subserviency to all the bitterness of West Indian prejudices, at the expense not only of trade, but perhaps also of our peace with the Haytian people.

*Suppose President Boyer and his Council should choose to retaliate!* It seems due to their own independency and dignity to do so; and it would be impossible for us decently to complain if they did. We should then soon find to our cost the importance of these remarks. Not a ship from Jamaica could beat through the windward passage, without exposing herself



to a reasonable suspicion of meaning to violate the counter prohibition, so as to warrant perhaps her being brought into the Cape, or some other Haytian port, for examination or trial.

I repeat that such treatment of a country which was anxiously courting our friendship, and with which France was known to be then negotiating on the basis of acknowledging its independency, was too egregious a blunder in policy to have had its origin in any thing but the enormous influence of the West Indian party. It too well accounts for, and justifies the conduct of President Boyer, in at last indignantly withdrawing from us the favour and privileges we had so ill requited, and casting himself into the arms of France. I admit however that the Haytian people had ground enough, without this last affront, for despairing that creolized England would ever recognise their independence, or cease to be the secret enemy of their freedom; still more that she would ever be induced to enter into any connexion that might be a support to them, in the event of a new invasion, or tend to avert that calamity.

Some writers have been unreasonable enough to condemn the President for agreeing to pay 150 millions of livres (six millions sterling) to France, for the relinquishment of an empty title. But his conduct was made by our bad policy natural and right. Beyond doubt he would gladly have avoided so heavy an incumbrance on his finances; but we had taught him that there was no other way to give to the republic, in its foreign relations, the benefit of its independency, or obtain for it decent respect, even from the country it had most highly favoured. We had taught him also to apprehend, that in the event of a new invasion by France, he would be treated by the only maritime power that durst despise her resentment, and consequently by all the rest, not as a legitimate belligerent, with whom neutrals might lawfully trade, but as an insurgent and a rebel. He did well and wisely therefore, in my opinion, to prevent the evils of such a contest by as large a pecuniary sacrifice as the country could afford.

He has been blamed also for giving to France such commercial privileges as will exclude in its consequences the ships and the merchandize of other countries. This perhaps

was a necessary part of the price; but perhaps also, it was some gratification to reflect, that ungrateful and contemptuous England had rejected the same boon when gratuitously offered, and would lose what France would gain by it. If letters from Port-au-Prince inserted in the newspapers may be trusted, Anti-British feelings have already appeared from measures beyond the terms of the Treaty. "Not only," it is said, "is the duty to be increased on English goods imported, but the valuation of them, by which the amount of the duty is estimated, is capriciously *doubled*. With the French merchants, a contrary course is pursued, and the duty on goods exported has been lowered 50 per cent in their favour, while that paid by the English remains unaltered." It is added, "British goods if imported at all must be imported in French vessels, which will give them a monopoly of the carrying-trade with the island."

We have performed then that seeming miracle, the possibility of which I vainly foretold twenty years ago, as a consequence of our infatuated policy. We have made France popular in Hayti! in betrayed, butchered, massacred, blood-hounded Hayti! Nor will the matter end here. Haytian ambassadors are already arrived at the French Court, and we shall soon probably hear of a perpetual league offensive and defensive, far more formidable to the British West Indies in future wars, than the family compact ever was to Europe. The "citadel of the Antilles" might have been the bulwark of our Islands; but now it will be a place of arms, and an enormous ever-teeming barrack for their enemies. Woe to the British regiments when next we draw the sword! Twice ten thousand inglorious graves await them in Jamaica.

Mean time let us place to the account of our Slave Colonies the loss of a commerce of vast importance to our merchants, our manufacturers, and our ship-owners, and capable of an indefinite increase. For those Colonies, and by their baneful influence, we sunk many millions to reclaim the Haytians into slavery; for them and their gratification, we have cast away the compensation which the folly and crimes of Buonaparte would have given us. France, not England, will have the indemnities for the past. England, not France, will have the

dangers and mischiefs of the future. While we, my countrymen, are paying the interest of a debt probably amounting to eighty millions or more, contracted for the St. Domingo war, the French Proprietors, whose crimes and insanity we abetted, are receiving by our gift many millions of livres per annum. For the sake of Slavery, we sinned and bled and squandered ! And for the sake of Slavery, we have rejected that reparation which fortune, in spite of our folly, had placed within our grasp.

These, however, are but a part of those sacrifices which Colonial influence has cost us. Scarcely a year passes in which some West India job is not imposed on Parliament at the expense of the British people ; and all for the hopeless purpose of perpetuating Slavery, by sustaining a system, the inherent weakness and wastefulness of which makes it incapable of self-support. It is not enough that you pay an annual subsidy to your Sugar Colonies of a million and a half per annum, in bounties and drawbacks, and in prices which their monopoly enables them to exact ; and at least as much more for their military protection, even in this time of profound peace ; but whenever their alleged necessities require it, your own healthful faculties must be laid under contribution, to nourish and relieve their morbid and rickety frames, till the new paroxysm is over.

Sometimes you have had to lend them millions at five per cent, which you borrowed and funded at more than six ; at other times, they have laid violent hands even upon your agriculture and your manufactures, prohibiting the use of barley in your distilleries, that their sugar might be used in its stead ; and the loud remonstrances of your landholders and farmers were opposed to them in vain. Now they have made successfully a still further inroad on your corn-fields. Rum is to be re-distilled into British spirits, that your wheat and oats, as well as barley, may make room for their slave-raised produce. Before even the late grand revolution, your export of flour and oats to them, formerly of no small amount, was effectually precluded ; and the same benefit was taken from your North American Colonies, by opening their ports to the cheaper and nearer produce of the United States.



But was not all this, some of my good-natured readers may be here ready to ask, the result of a compassionate regard for the distresses to which the Sugar Colonies have been occasionally subjected by temporary causes, such as might fairly entitle them to relief from the Parent State? This has certainly been the usual pretext: and I am far from meaning to deny that if the pecuniary embarrassments or hopeless insolvency of a large proportion of the planters, constitutes a case entitling them and their brethren to relief at the expense of the empire at large, their claim to it has been fairly made out. I admit, nay I am ready to maintain and prove, that such a case, now and at all times, exists in every one of our West India islands. But I am at a loss to conceive on what ground, except the preponderating weight of their political influence, our sugar planters are entitled, more than any other adventurers in hazardous and losing speculations, to cast the burthen of their distress or ruin on the shoulders of their fellow-subjects in Europe. The adventurers in a state lottery, the jobbers on the Stock Exchange, nay the subscribers to the joint-stock companies of the day, do not play a more desperate game than theirs; and yet what would be said if such speculators, when distressed by the natural consequences of their own imprudence, should petition Parliament for relief at the public expense? Our more sober adventurers, in commercial and manufacturing undertakings, and our agriculturists also, sometimes are plunged into distress, from causes affecting not only individuals, but large classes of people, in a very compassionate way; yet we do not lay the nation at large under contribution to save their credit, or repair their shattered fortunes. But the much-favoured Slave-holders of the West Indies too successfully maintain, that while the benefit of prosperous adventures is to be their own, their losses in adverse times are to be borne or shared by you. Whenever their sugar is not dear enough in your markets to produce, to the more fortunate and influential of their planters, an adequate profit (which, from the nature of their ruinous system, never was or can be long made by the body at large), they come with loud lamentations to the doors of the Privy Council and of Parliament; they add their combined private solicitations

and intrigues; and some costly boon at the expense of the country at large, and sometimes too at the expense of the most important and favourite principles, is sure to be accorded to them. They are at the same time sturdy beggars; for their petitions rarely fail to be garnished with accusation and abuse; especially of those who deprived them of the Slave-trade, and who now would persuade them to improve the condition of their Slaves. They rail even at the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent duty; though it was the original price of their lands, in other respects gratuitously granted by the Crown, in the islands in which that duty prevails. They rail at our own import duty on their produce; most absurdly assuming that it is paid by themselves, and not by the British consumers. They find fault in short with every thing, except their own wretched interior system, the true source of all their evils. It is in vain pointed out to them that the exhaustion of their lands is the natural effect of the substitution of human labour for that of cattle, and the consequent want of manure; that the expenses of their culture are enormously enhanced by the same cause, and by the want of such machinery and implements as all other farmers employ; more especially as their multitudinous labourers are bought at high prices, and therefore large interest on the perishable capital so invested must be deducted from the gross returns. If the pretence were true, (would to God it in any degree were so!) that these poor labourers are fairly paid or sustained, the price given for them would manifestly be a dead loss, in comparison with free labour, from the moment of the purchase. We should laugh at the complaints of a farmer, that he could not obtain adequate returns, even from the best lands, raising the richest produce, if, rejecting ploughs and harrows and wains, he employed a hundred labourers on as many acres, maintaining them and their families to boot, and had paid besides for removing them from a distant country at the rate of eighty or a hundred pounds per man. It would not be necessary to his ruin that he had, like many of the sugar planters, bought the land itself at a high price, such as some agricultural speculation of a tempting kind (hop-planting for instance) might have raised it to.

From whatever cause, it is a clear and uncontested truth,

that of a vast majority of those who engage in sugar planting ruin is soon or late the ordinary lot. I have shown it to demonstration in a work already before the public, and am not aware that the proposition has ever been denied; but as it is a fact of great importance, and your feelings are perpetually assailed on the score of West India distresses, as if they were occasional and accidental, not permanent and inherent evils, I will subjoin a few of the many testimonies, in illustration of the ordinary case, that have been furnished by the Colonists themselves\*.

\* In one of them, we are told, that in the course of twenty years, which reaches back to 1772, "*one hundred and seventy-seven estates in Jamaica had been sold for payment of debts, and ninety-two more were in the hands of creditors, and that executions had been 'lodged in the Marshal's office for £22,563,786 sterling \*.'*" In another, that "*every British merchant who holds securities on Jamaica estates is filing bills to foreclose; although when he has obtained a Decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become proprietor of the plantation; of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences:*" that "*all kind of credit is at an end:*" and after other most impressive traits of general ruin, that "*a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature †.*"

In a third, that "*the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached an alarming extent, and are now increasing with accelerated rapidity; for the sugar estates lately thrown up, brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the Colony:*" that "*the Assembly anticipates very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and in the course of a few years that of the whole class of sugar planters ‡.*"

In a fourth, that "*estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are whole districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single resident proprietor of a sugar plantation §.*"

Lest it should be supposed that such long continued, or often reiterated ruin, was peculiar to Jamaica, take another brief extract of high authority from a Speech in Parliament of the late able and eminent Colonial Agent Mr. Marryatt: "*There are few estates in the West Indies that have not*

\* Report of the Jamaica Assembly, Nov. 23, 1792.

† Report of the same Assembly, Nov. 23, 1804.

‡ Report of the same, Nov. 13, 1807.

§ Petition of the same Assembly to the Prince Regent, Dec. 10, 1811.



After such testimonials from the Assemblies of the Sugar Colonies, their agents, and zealous partizans, as I have here referred to, how can it be pretended that their recent distress is the effect of any extraordinary or temporary cause, or that it is a case which any assistance from the Mother Country, however liberal or lavish, can effectually cure? It is manifest that the motive of compassion which has been held out to a good-natured public, as an excuse for all the costly boons so unseasonably bestowed by Parliament, was, if not insincere, at least much misplaced. All attempts to relieve the distresses of the sugar planters by such means, while they persist in their present system, are not less hopeless and irrational than those misdirected charities which the Mendicity Society benevolently labours to restrain,—they aggravate the very evils which the heedless benefactors wish to palliate or remove.

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*during the last twenty years (i. e. from 1793 to 1813) been sold or given up to creditors\*.”*

There never was a period at which the prices of sugar rose to and long maintained such very high prices, as from the time of the ruin of Saint Domingo as a sugar colony in 1791, to the end of our succeeding war with France. It was the golden age of the British planters, as Reports of Parliamentary Committees, founded on their own evidence, have attested; and yet the reader will observe that Mr. Marryatt's twenty years comprise the whole of that very fortunate period.

But lest a doubt should remain, whether at still earlier times the case was better, I give two further extracts from the works of eminent West India proprietors, the late Mr. Bryan Edwards of Jamaica, and Mr. Tobin, formerly of Nevis and of Bristol; the former writing in 1792, and the latter in 1785, and both professing to give statistical views of the Sugar Colonies in reference to their general and ordinary situation. The former, speaking of the sugar planters in general, says, “Many there are who have competencies that enable them to live with economy in this country; but the great mass are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope which eternally mocks their grasp of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments †.” And Mr. Tobin, in his cursory remarks on the Rev. Mr. Ramsay's Essay, says, “For one planter that lives at his ease in Great Britain, there are fifty toiling under a load of debt in the Colonies.”

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\* Debate on the East India Sugar Duties, 1818.

† History of the West Indies, vol. ii. book 6. chap. 5.

But the lavish and ill-timed national favours bestowed on our Sugar Colonies may be ascribed perhaps to other and wiser motives. Though they teem perpetually with individual distress and ruin, they may be supposed to have a commercial, financial, or political value to the Mother Country, such as are worth those sacrifices; and which might have led to them, independently of any bias from Colonial influence on the counsels of the State. Let me therefore entreat the reader's patience while I examine a little further what benefit or compensation redounds to this country, from all the sacrifices, and all the sins, by which West Indian Slavery is maintained.

And first, as to the boasted value and importance of the Sugar Colonies, in a view to the employment of our commercial industry and capital.—There are certainly very large pecuniary transactions and commercial dealings between the planters and the West India merchants of Great Britain. Most adversely to our cause, as well as to the general soundness and stability of British commercial credit, the two characters are in many cases united; and the capital invested in the purchase of sugar estates is for the most part lent or procured by our merchants. I do not deny therefore that our trading capital is largely so employed; but that it is profitably employed seems utterly irreconcilable with the facts already stated and proved.

Let any political œconomist explain to me, if he can, how it can be advantageous to a country to employ its commercial capital in a way that is always productive of loss and ruin to a vast majority of all the particular adventurers. National profit must be made up of the profits of individuals; and if the result to these, in a collective view, is not profit but loss, it is paradoxical and absurd to say that the nation is a gainer. It would be so, even if the Sugar Colonies cost us nothing for their government and protection. What then is the case, when it is considered that we maintain them at an enormous annual expense to the National Treasury, even in time of peace; and that in war, the average consumption of public money in their acquisition and defence, has amounted to many millions a year? The nation gains by a lottery, though a great ma-

jority of the adventurers lose by their tickets : but it is because in a lottery the public itself is a trader. It sells at a high price the chances that the adventurers buy, and gains what they collectively lose, deducting only the small charge of the commissioners and wheels. But the public is not the seller of West India estates ; and instead of wheels and commissioners, it finds fleets and armies, and governors and judges, and jobs. Even when we have at an enormous expense conquered some new Sugar Colonies, what does the public gain by them ? Not the estates ; for they are retained by the foreign proprietors. It is a transfer only of the loss attending their future cultivation, from creditors and consignees in Bordeaux and Amsterdam, to creditors and consignees in London and Liverpool. British capital is soon largely employed, in the way of purchase or mortgage, to extricate foreign capital from the same profitless and ruinous investment ; and the Treasury of England performs the same kind service for the Treasuries of Holland or France.

Here one difficulty usually presents itself to men who are happily inexperienced in colonial affairs. “ How, the case standing thus,” it may be asked, “ are new adventurers always found to embark their own or borrowed capital in West Indian speculations ? ”

No better or shorter answer can be found than by referring again to that clear illustration, the closely parallel case of a state lottery. Why do the contractors find purchasers at twenty pounds, of tickets worth only ten ?—Because there are most alluring high prizes in the wheel, though the far greater number of the tickets are sure to be blanks. Equalize the returns, by making each ticket a ten-pound prize, and no man of course would buy at a greater price than that. Add a small though certain profit, and the tickets would not easily be sold. The case is the same with sugar plantations. Such, from well-known causes, is the extreme inequality of their returns, that, though the average is at all times loss, there are particular exceptions of splendid gain, and numerous ones, of great and speedy, though commonly short-lived, success. Lottery tickets, besides, are not sold upon credit ; but sugar estates almost



always in great measure are. A man who can pay down a small or moderate part of the purchase money, may easily obtain time for the rest on the security of the estate itself.

These temptations operate on the merchant who advances the capital, as well as the planter who borrows it; for when the crops are fortunately large, the benefits of the consignments and factorage form an enormous bonus on the loan, which is added to interest at five per cent, and that compounded annually, to entice the mercantile lender, with the further benefit of commissions on the shipments outward for the supply of the Estate. He too, like the planter, can game more deeply upon a given capital in this, than almost any other line of business out of the Stock Exchange; for it is usually by his own acceptances of bills of exchange at very long sights, for instalments of two, three, four, and five years, or more, that the sugar estate is to be paid for; the seller always taking care to have the further security of a mortgage on the property sold. The main bait to the merchant commonly is, that if good crops are made, and come to good markets, their proceeds in his own hands may suffice, or nearly so, to meet his acceptances. Mean time, he is thus enabled to trade extensively on the foundation of his own paper; and then, the notoriety of his consignments and shipments, and his purchases from manufacturers, who supply the goods generally on long credit, may contribute greatly to the facility of extending his bill credit in this country; especially if he takes the common course of establishing a firm or firms in the West Indies, which, though composed of his own agents or secret partners, can draw and re-draw from that country, and thereby, even in the performance of his own engagements there, supply him with further means of bill accommodation in England\*.

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\* It may illustrate these general views to state that an eminent West India merchant, who failed some years ago for an immense amount, was liable a short time before his failure for bills, in circulation in this country, amounting together to more than a million sterling; for which the holders had no security but his own, and that of houses in the West Indies that had been set up by himself, in the names of his clerks or dormant partners, with none but his own capital. He actually applied to Government on these grounds to sustain him by a loan of public money, because his stopping was likely to produce calamitous effects injurious to commercial credit. I knew

Here then is, on both sides, the strong temptation of deep gaming, not only in the magnitude of the chances, but the facility of finding the stakes.

Further explanations might be given of the false estimates and delusive expectations in question. The prizes in a state lottery are not over rated. Every man knows the amount of what is actually gained by them, and cannot mistake a blank for a prize: but the success of the sugar planter is often a gross delusion. He comes home for a season, with the proceeds of a lucky crop in the hands of his consignees; and, either from self-indulgence or policy, exhibits the appearances of great prosperity. Like a comet from a distant region, he eclipses the regular planets of our system by his temporary blaze. He mixes with our fashionable aristocracy, and perhaps forms family alliances among them. He obtains the credit of having rapidly acquired a large fortune in the West Indies; and others are fatally excited to embark their capital or credit in the same imaginary gold-mine. When his consignees are overdrawn, and will advance no more, he returns to take for the rest of his life the lot described by Mr. Tobin,—“to toil under a load of debt, like forty-nine out of fifty of his brethren,” consigned, according to Mr. Edwards, “to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks his grasp, of happier days and a release from his embarrassments.” But the comet is now out of sight; and the seducing effect of his short-lived splendour, is not counteracted by the knowledge of the sad reverse. All who know the West Indies will recognise, in many cases within their own experience, the truth of these characteristics.

It may perhaps be objected that some West India merchants

these facts from the first authority; and knew previously so much of his history and circumstances, that I can confidently assert he never possessed an actual capital equal to a fiftieth part of that debt.

The vast sums that are lost by failures in this branch of trade, are lost, not by the planters, who are almost always on the safe side of the books, but generally by our manufacturers and private persons in this country, or by merchants who had no share in the profits, and did not mean therefore to take the risks, of West Indian commerce.

at least, have been very successful, and have long maintained their credit and apparent opulence, though largely connected with the planters, and themselves owners of sugar estates. True; and *their* example also is fatally influential in the same way: but point out to me one West India house of this description, raised within the last fifty years, and I will name in return six at least, who during the same period have either become bankrupts, or assigned their effects in trust for their unfortunate creditors. The successful few have been chiefly men who had long resided in the islands they trade with; and who have therefore been able to play the prudent game of selecting the best connexions, advancing money only to those planters who were safe for the time, and turning them over to eager novices in the same line of business as soon as their securities became precarious. Such men are able often to reap the large benefits of Colonial consignments and factorage, without any of those risks which counterpoise them; because the few prosperous planters who stand in no need of loans from their correspondents in England naturally select for their consignees the safest and longest established houses, in a trade of which they well know the perils. They are also not rarely appointed, for the same reason, receivers and testamentary trustees; and in that way profit largely even by the most embarrassed and sinking estates, obtaining all the benefits of their consignments, without risking any part of their capital.

Should any of my readers not be satisfied with these explanations, and with the strong testimonies I have cited as to the general case of the planters, and the loss of commercial capital in their hands, let them read the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the Commercial State of the West India Colonies, printed by order of the House 24th July 1807, and all doubts I am sure will be removed. They will find there, by a mass of concurrent evidence collected from the most authoritative sources, that a return of ten per cent on the capital of sugar planters is necessary to give them a living profit, after defraying their annual expenses, ordinary and extraordinary; and yet that in



a long series of years, taking good and bad times together, they had not averaged one-third of that amount \*.

It is, I am aware, a difficult thing to dislodge that prejudice long resident in the public mind, which represents the West Indies as mines of national wealth, instead of what they really are,—gulfs for the perpetual absorption of national treasure and blood, without any adequate returns. Reason and truth in such cases gain but a tardy and doubtful victory over ancient prepossessions. Witness the invincible attachment of Spain to her South American mines, and monopolies, and oppressions, the still fancied sources of her wealth and power, while all but Spanish eyes, have long seen in them the true causes of her decadency, poverty, and ruin.

It seems to be one of the appointed scourges of guilt, with nations as well as individuals, that long indulged immoral habits pervert the judgement, and give such a wrong direction

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\* The full and exact statistical and æconomical details of Mr. Bryan Edwards in his History of the West Indies, book 5, chap. 3, may also be referred to. He demonstrates from them that in Jamaica, by far the most fortunate and productive of our old colonies, the clear annual profit averaged by the planter, is but seven per cent on his capital, “without charging a shilling for making good the decrease of the Negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, or for hurricanes, fires, or other losses, which sometimes,” he says, “destroy in a few hours the labour of years.” He supposes also the comparatively rare advantages of the planter’s residing on his estate, and acting with all possible prudence; and what is not more common, on his employing a capital entirely his own, instead of his being in bondage to his consignees, or to other creditors, where the legal interest is six per cent. He speaks of ordinary times; and his data as to prices &c. are taken from the experience of ten years, from 1781 to 1791. Taking his facts, and those of the Committee together, it is manifest that the most prudent Jamaica planters, during a period of near forty years, cannot have made on an average so much as four per cent, instead of the ten which is necessary to save them from loss: and yet they generally use a capital borrowed at six per cent; or if borrowed at five from their consignees, are subjected to disadvantages that make the loan still dearer, and are charged compound interest on all arrears. If such is the average case, what must it be with the less fortunate and less prudent majority? and how can it be doubted, or wondered at, that insolvency and ruin are the ordinary perennial lot of the planters at large?

to self-love, as to make them mistake even temporal evil for good, and cling to their darling offences after the baits held out by temptation have proved to be delusive and worthless.

The miser who began to hoard and to extort, from a too anxious dread perhaps of the evils of poverty, continues to do so when sinking into his grave under loads of wealth that he cannot use, and imposes on himself by extreme penuriousness the very sufferings he feared to incur. The voluptuary persists in his intemperance, when his impaired health and debilitated organs refuse even the dear-bought gratifications he once derived from it, and give him nausea and pain in their stead. Nations, in like manner, have often been excited by ambition or avarice, or the pride of freedom, to trample on the rights of others, and have fancied the bad course advantageous, long after too extensive usurpations, and protracted wars, have exhausted their resources, enfeebled their power, and plunged them in domestic slavery and wretchedness.

An explanation I conceive is to be found in the inveterate association of ideas between the objects of temptation, and the bad means by which they are pursued: as a horse is caught by the sieve, though you have ceased to place in it the corn which was his compensation for the bridle, so men and nations who have been accustomed to find, in violations of the moral law, real or imaginary good, are prone to persist in their course when the supposed advantages have ceased, and the sin has become, to every man's conviction but their own, a clearly gratuitous evil. There arises a strong prejudice in their minds on the immoral side, which experience can hardly correct. Some measures, and systems of measures, would be plainly seen to be weak, if their wickedness did not serve to raise a false presumption of their wisdom.

The conduct of the powers of Europe in the New World presents a strong confirmation of these views. We see it in the past and present Colonial measures of Spain. What has she gained by the cruel depopulation of Hayti, Mexico, and Peru? We see it at the present crisis, when, amidst her last convulsions as a colonizing power, she is fondly cherishing her Slave-trade at Cuba, only to increase there the approaching revolutionary harvest of her revolted subjects.

Portugal and Brazil illustrate in the same way the same sin-born perversion of judgement; though it is not yet quite so conspicuous to a careless observer. Nor is the conduct of France in deluging her Windward Islands with the Slave-trade, while ratifying the independence of St. Domingo, less impressive on every considerate mind. The infatuation of our own West Indian policy, is only not so plain to us, because we view it, under the influence which I have described, with selfish and partial eyes. We have abolished the Slave-trade; yet we still dream that the Slavery of our Sugar Colonies, though guilty and opprobrious, is gainful, while the well-attested experience of more than half a century has proved it directly the reverse.

In what way, let us next inquire, is the public compensated not only for the costly sacrifices I have noticed, but for all the waste of capital that is thus invested, and all the consequent heavy losses that fall upon British creditors, and on the public purse? Not certainly by the finding employment for our industrious poor; and relieving our parishes from the charge of maintaining a surplus population. If the poorer lands in this country are cultivated at a loss to the proprietors, and had therefore better in a national view be thrown out of tillage, as some œconomists contend, there is this answer at least to their arguments,—that many hands are employed on such lands, which would otherwise be idle, and whose subsistence would augment parochial burthens. But in the West Indies, we have no such compensation: not one hard-handed man from this country finds employment in the culture of the sugar-cane. We send them a few emigrants it is true; but not of the agricultural, or even of the servile class; the employment of both being superseded by predial and domestic Slavery: but while these Colonies alone, among all our distant possessions, relieve us from none of our paupers, they contribute largely to the increase of that burthensome class. Hundreds and thousands of widows and children are cast upon our parishes by the privation of husbands and fathers who perish in that fatal climate, while serving there in our fleets and armies to make Slave-holders and their families safe.

Is the compensation we are in quest of then to be found in



revenue? If we really derived from the pockets of our planters, as is absurdly pretended, the duties paid here on the importation of their produce, it would I admit amount to some, though a very inadequate compensatory benefit. But that idle pretence is scarcely worth refutation. It is too gross to deceive even the most inconsiderate mind. It would be precisely the same thing in principle to say that we are indebted to China for our duties on tea, or for our duties on tobacco to Virginia. Nay, in the former instance, the absurdity would be less glaring; because, if China did not supply us with tea, I know not where else we could obtain that specific subject of taxation; whereas South America, the East Indies, and even the foreign West India Islands, would supply us amply with sugar. Yet to such preposterous arguments are the Colonial writers driven in defence of their ruinous system, that they never fail to exhibit with exultation accounts of the imports of sugar, and the duties received thereon in this country, assuming them as incontestable items in their estimates of the value of our Colonies, and as benefits too derived from Slavery, which we must lose by its termination. It was by the very same fallacies, and others of a kindred nature, that they deterred us for twenty years from renouncing the execrable Slave-trade.

The great amount of tonnage employed in West Indian voyages, has always been another of their favourite topics. With the loss of this benefit also, the country has been menaced; as if it depended not on our will to buy the tropical produce that we want to import, in the East Indies, or in such other countries only as permit its shipment in British bottoms; or as if an East Indian were less than a West Indian freight, or a given freight would be less beneficial to the ship-owner, because the cargo was not raised by Slave labour under a British Colonial Government. With a like perversion of the plainest commercial principles, they take credit for the whole of our exports to the West Indies (without deducting even that large part of them which, though they passed through their free ports, were destined for Spanish America); and they threaten us with the loss of this branch of our trade also, if we disturb their interior system; as if the costly sovereignty of islands peopled with Slaves, were a necessary mean of obtain-

ing, for the best and cheapest manufactures in the world, a preference from their purchasers and consumers. The flourishing state of our trade with the North American States since they ceased to be British, with the openings now made for our direct trade to every part of the Southern continent, might well suffice to refute such idle alarms if they ever had any foundation.

Perhaps, however, we shall now hear of such alarms no more; because, if they are well founded, Mr. Huskisson must recall the boons he has recently conferred on the Colonies. We have no longer any other security for a preference in their navigation and trade, than the inherent energies of our manufacturing industry and commerce.

Where then, I repeat, is the value of these Colonies to be found? or rather, what is the indemnity for all that we sacrifice, and all that we annually lose by them? One negative benefit, it may perhaps be replied, we certainly have by their defence. A large capital has been invested in them; and this will be lost, it may be said, if we abolish Slavery. But what is the capital worth to us if we *do not*? There is many a stately mansion in the building of which a large capital was spent, which the owner nevertheless finds it his interest to abandon or take down, because no rent can be obtained for it equal to the perpetual expense of its conservation and repairs. A capital so invested as to produce nothing on an average but loss, is in effect already sunk. The property of a Poyais stockholder would not be more completely annihilated, if the stock receipts and books were burnt.

I grant, indeed, that the bubble of sugar-planting by Slave-labour, has not yet lost all its credit; and therefore one individual who holds a plantation, or a mortgage on it, may still find another individual willing to purchase. So might the subscribers to a gaming-house perhaps. As between the private buyer and seller, the thing, I admit, is worth what it will sell for. But the question here is of a public, not of an individual interest; and consequently of a real, not an imaginary value; for the public has no interest in the price of the transfer from one subject to another, but only in the fructification to the national benefit of the property itself, by whatever British sub-

jects it may be held. When the Colonists put it as an argument of public policy, that a large capital is at stake in our islands, they speak, if the argument has any relevancy, of a national, not a private interest, in its conservation; and this interest I have shown to be a negative quantity. If my premises, derived from their own testimony, are sound, they might as well contend that it is for the public benefit to maintain the establishment at Crockfords; nay much better; for though that establishment produces no national wealth, it is not maintained, as those colonial gaming-tables are, at a vast expense to the country.

And now let us examine more particularly the other side of this account. How much does the conservation of this profitless capital cost to the Parent State?

I regret much that there are no authoritative public documents to show the true amount of the public expenditure in West India services from the year 1792 to the present period; or even to exhibit a fair and full account of it for any portion of that time. I am aware, at least, of no such document; and it is a desideratum which I hope some parliamentary friend of the Slaves will endeavour soon to supply, by moving for the necessary returns.

In the Preface to my *Delineation of Slavery* I noticed the defect of information on this important subject, which obliged me there to offer a conjectural estimate, that our Sugar Colonies had cost us, during the last thirty years, a hundred and fifty millions of national debt. A zealous champion of those Colonies, whose services they have publicly extolled, and richly rewarded, finds fault with this conjecture of mine as a great exaggeration, and says, "it ought to be divided by five," an estimate which, like my own, being unsupported by any data, stands consequently like that, solely on the credit which his readers may give to the guesses of its author; but surely the people of England ought to have better means of judging whether a hundred-and-fifty millions, or thirty millions only, is the nearest approach to the amount of debt charged upon them for the maintenance of West India Slavery.

Till that is obtained, I shall adhere to my own estimate in opposition to Mr. Macqueen's; and for this reason among



others, that my own is at least a sincere one, while it is impossible for me to read that strange work of his, or any five consecutive pages of it, without perceiving that the only standard of truth or probability with him, is the interest of his employers. Even when the fullest and clearest parliamentary returns on the subject shall be obtained, his pen will be as loose as ever; for if he dislikes, but cannot hope to invalidate such evidence, he will not scruple to get rid of it by dislocation and mutilation of the text. Nay, he will rail in good set terms against any opponent who presumes to cite it fairly\*.

I have not myself had an opportunity of examining with care the printed Parliamentary documents, which contain ac-

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\* To justify such a stricture on this author, whose extraordinary work has been adopted and accredited to the public by plausible resolutions of some of the Assemblies, and munificent rewards to boot, I will for once make an exception to my rule of leaving unnoticed all the personalities and effusions of controversial spite to which my labours in this cause might subject me, except they should be such as I may be bound to put into the hands of my attorney: for it may serve as a useful caution to uninformed readers of publications in defence of Slavery; and lead them to pause and inquire carefully, not only on what these Colonial champions assert, but what they affect, and appear perhaps, to prove. Mr. Macqueen, in the few paragraphs which he is pleased to bestow on my View of Slavery, ventures thus to attack its general character and credit.—“*It exhibits a distortion of facts, and MUTILATION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, such as the public have again and again seen, and again and again condemned and reprobated, in the publications put forth from the same quarter, and for the same object. Upon opening the volume at page 212, the following extract upon the subject of religious establishments in the Colonies first caught my eye: viz. ‘THE GOVERNOR OF TRINIDAD EXPRESSES HIS CONCERN THAT THERE IS NO CHURCH, OR CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN THAT ISLAND.’ Parliamentary Papers of 1818, p. 212. Astonishment,*” he adds, “*and indignation filled my mind. I had in my possession at the moment a communication from Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor of Trinidad, to Earl Bathurst upon the same subject, and extracted from the same Parliamentary Papers, 212 and 214: and let the extracts speak for themselves.*”—(Macqueen, page 398.)

And how does Mr. Macqueen let this Parliamentary evidence speak for itself, or rather for himself? Surely the “*astonishment and indignation*” which he professes to have felt will be no factitious feeling in the minds of my readers, when I show them that it is by resorting to the very fraud which he injuriously imputes, that of “*mutilating official documents;*” by suppressing those parts of Sir Ralph Woodford’s letter which clearly support

counts of the public expenditure in our Slave Colonies upon the present peace establishment : but I am assured by a friend, who has taken pains to explore and throw together such information on this subject as can be found in those documents, that the annual expense, civil and military, on the present peace establishment, (including with the bills drawn on the Treasury expressly for this branch of service, the value of the naval, military, and ordnance stores sent from Europe, the expenses of the transport service, and the pay of the navy and army employed there), considerably exceeds one million five hundred thousand pounds ; which in the thirty years in-

my proposition, and dexterously putting together distant paragraphs in it relative to different subjects, in order by a false context to mislead his readers as to the sense of the proposition itself.

Sir Ralph Woodford in the letter referred to, being an answer to a circular letter from Earl Bathurst to the Colonial Governors, with inquiries respecting the state of the *Established Church* in each island, in respect of clergymen, tithes, or stipends, writes thus :

“ I communicated to the protestant minister such parts of your Lordship’s letter as related to him more particularly, and herewith inclose a copy of Mr. Clapham’s reply.

“ *In complying with the remaining instructions of your Lordship’s signification of His Royal Highness’s commands, it is my painful duty to observe that there are no establishments for the Clergy in this island.* ”

Here the reader sees my quotation fully justified ; not in substance merely, but in terms. How then, he may exclaim, does Mr. Macqueen contrive to cite this very document in support of his, “astonishment, his indignation,” and his foul imputation of fraud ? *I answer, by the very simple and honest expedient of LEAVING OUT THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, WHICH I HAVE PRINTED WITH ITALICS, ALTOGETHER !!!*

But my *virtuously indignant* antagonist did not think even this quite enough. He wished to represent me as having quoted Sir R. Woodford not only for what he had not said, but for the very reverse of what he had actually said in that letter ; and to this end a more elaborate contrivance was wanted.

Sir Ralph, after this return to that which *was* the subject of inquiry in the circular of Earl Bathurst, viz. the state of *our Church establishment* in that government, proceeded in subsequent paragraphs to notice what was *not* the subject of it, and still less of my proposition, the state of the *Spanish Roman Catholic Clergy*, who had remained there from the time of the conquest.

Immediately after the paragraph so boldly suppressed, he writes thus ;

“ *When the Cedula of 1783 was issued, the King of Spain declared his in-*

cluded in my estimate, would amount to forty-five millions sterling, supposing them even all years of peace; whereas twenty-one of them, with the exception of the brief peace of Amiens, were times of war; and during several of them, our operations in the West Indies were of a very extensive and costly nature; and the expenditure was aggravated by frauds and peculations, afterwards discovered, to a vast amount. If we assign to those years of war, taking them together,

*tention of giving a fit salary to the Priests, and exempted his new subjects from tythe, which until now has never been paid; and the Priests have continued on the same salary of 400 dollars, which sum will not enable any person to live decently in this country: it is the wages of the poorest Negro mechanic," &c.*

"Having found the Rev. Don Joaquim de Aristimano at the head of the Catholic Church, I have only to bear testimony to his labours and to his disinterestedness, as to those of the friar José de Rícla," &c. "I have personally," he adds, "taken every opportunity in my power to countenance and support their laudable endeavours, but the erection of churches and chapels is as indispensable as the better payment of the Clergy."

How could these paragraphs be made to consist, the reader may demand, with the imputations of falsehood and calumny, even if the want of a Catholic priesthood had been alleged; for if the priests have neither churches nor chapels; nor tithes, nor stipends, beyond the wages of the poorest Negro workman, their would have been, if not perfect accuracy, at least nothing slanderous, in saying that there were no establishments even for the Catholic Church! But Mr. Macqueen's way of making "*his extracts speak for themselves*" is a cure for every difficulty. *He has actually left out these passages also!! All the words that I have printed in italics are suppressed by him; while he gives the subsequent encomium on the Spanish Clergy, as if the subject had there commenced!!!*

He could not resist the temptation of extracting from the inclosed letter of the Rev. Mr. Clapham much that is said by that gentleman against the Methodist Missionaries; though there were passages in it which, like the suppressed paragraphs in the Governor's letter, went clearly to confirm my statement; for Mr. Clapham complains of the want of *any church* in the Island since 1808, when the single one it possessed was burnt down, and ascribes to that defect his want of success among the Slaves. "*For some little time after the calamity of the fire,*" he says, "*I had no place for public worship; and the service of the church has since been removed to six different rooms, none of which could be rendered sufficiently commodious for the purpose.*" But this "indignant imputer of mutilations" suppresses these passages also!!

Having thus honestly made his "*extracts speak for themselves,*" he proceeds thus to triumph in the fancied success of his imposture.

"*Mr. Stephen may call his conduct in this instance DEALING FAIRLY*



only twice the amount of the present peace establishment, we shall have the further sum of thirty-one millions and a half, making, with the forty-five, seventy-six and a half millions of sterling money. But the reader will recollect that the estimate I made was a hundred and fifty millions of *public debt*, and that a large part of the money expended during the most expensive period of the war in the West Indies was borrowed when our funds were at the lowest points of depression.

There are also many very serious subjects of expense,

*WITH THE PUBLIC: to me it appears to be conduct such as was never before pursued by any one, to injure one country, or to mislead another. When the reader is informed that the volume in question is made up of similar MUTILATIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS, he will probably think he has heard enough of it."* And so he dismisses my work.

As the extremity of this assurance may inspire a doubt whether my exposition of it is quite correct, I hope any of my readers who are in possession of my antagonist's work and mine, and of the parliamentary document we both refer to, will take the trouble of collating them; viz. my *Delineation of Slavery*, p. 212, Macqueen's *West India Colonies*, 397 to 399, and the papers on Slavery printed by order of the House of Commons of the 10th June 1818, p. 211; and if I am found to do this writer any injustice let me be condemned as unworthy of any future confidence or credit.

After all, what is the gist of the imputation? Why, that I had untrue and calumniously represented the Colonies as neglectful of religious establishments. Now in the very part and page of my work that is the subject of the charge, I had stated as strongly in the same brief way the want of them in other Colonies acquired at or since the peace of 1763; and yet this champion of them all passes their cases unnoticed, selecting for the sole subject of his *candid* refutation, the single case of Trinidad, *i.e.* of a Colony where the Crown has retained the whole legislative power, and consequently is alone chargeable with the neglect. In fact, my purpose, as the reader who refers to the work will see, was to arraign, not the Assemblies, but rather the Ministry of the mother country in modern times, for having been less attentive to the interests of religion in the establishments of the new Colonies, than their predecessors had been in the old.

I ought however to have done them the justice to say that in this case of Trinidad, they had obtained many years ago a very large grant from Parliament for building a church or churches in that island. I think it was no less than 50,000*l.*; but the application of it was left to the Colonial authorities; and it appears from the mutilated letter of the Rev. Mr. Chapman that not a single church had been built. I hope when Mr. Macqueen next writes he will explain this awkward fact.

which, though fairly chargeable in this account with the Colonies, are not to be distinguished as Colonial expenditure in the public accounts my friend has examined.

Among them is that lamentable item, the great expense of restoring to our army and navy the multitudes of well-disciplined troops, and able seamen and marines, which perish in that fatal climate.

To treat this indeed as a mere economical consideration would be to wrong the feelings of my readers. It forms a pre-eminent substantive objection to that odious and impolitic system from which the necessity of sacrificing ingloriously and cruelly so many brave men, in peace as well as war, arises.

Here we have another desideratum that ought to be supplied by parliamentary investigation, viz. the number of British soldiers and seamen that have fallen victims to disease in West Indian service within the same period of thirty years; a true account of which would be impressive and appalling. If I mistake not, such an account as to the army was once moved for, and refused on the plea that it would dishearten the troops ordered on that dreadful service.

In the same paragraph of my late work, in which I gave as a conjectural estimate that the Sugar Colonies had cost us during the last thirty years at least a hundred and fifty millions in national debt incurred, I added, “and *fifty thousand lives*,” and Mr. Macqueen, I observe, while he represents the former as excessive by four fifths, finds no fault with the latter; but contents himself with saying, “that we may thank for the loss of lives in the Colonies my great predecessors in Negro emancipation, the Goddess of reason, liberty, and equality;” meaning, I presume, that French revolutionary principles produced the insurrection in St. Domingo; and that our vain attempt to suppress it and restore the cart-whip by British armies, was a proper and necessary consequence. He tacitly admits, then, my estimate of this dreadful loss; and admits also that it was incurred in the cause of Negro Slavery; a fact too notorious indeed to be disputed.

Now the far greater part of this shocking mortality fell upon troops raised during our first arduous war with the French republic, when it was a current and I believe mode-

rate computation that every effective soldier landed in the West Indies had cost the country in recruiting and bounty-money, training, and transport charges, and other incidental expenses, at least a hundred pounds sterling. Here then is an expense of five millions sterling, borrowed chiefly at times when our Stocks had sunk to their lowest depression; exclusive of all the charges after the arrival of the troops in that fatal field till they perished in loathsome hospitals.

Let this be added to the seventy-six and a half millions, and the amount will be eighty-one millions and a half in money, which, having regard to the terms it was raised upon, will go far, I apprehend, to support my general estimate, independently of the loss of seamen and marines, and all other subjects of unaccounted and incidental charge. The reader at least will find no difficulty in judging whether my proposition or that of my antagonist has the best title to his confidence.

My estimate of the numbers lost, however (avowedly, like the other, a mere guess, in the regretted absence of authentic information), was, I now believe, much too low; and it was therefore, no doubt, that my opponent left it unquestioned. It amounts only to about 1660 per annum, which is probably less than the average loss in the Sugar Colonies collectively, even on a peace establishment; and when the enormous destruction by disease of the large military and naval forces employed under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jarvis, at the Windward Islands in 1793, and under General Abercromby and other commanders in succeeding years (all periods of a frightful mortality), are taken into the account, with the far greater and long continued waste of life in St. Domingo, it will appear not unlikely that my estimate for thirty years, including the two last wars, was less by many thousands than the truth. What the whole number of troops embarked for West Indian service in Great Britain and Ireland was from the time of the first rupture with the French Republic to the end of the last war, and how many of them returned, are facts of which the public ought to be officially informed.

The greatest embarkations by far were during the first three years of that period, from 1793 to 1796 both included; and I am not aware of any authority to which I can refer for their amount.



From that time to the Peace of Amiens, we had very few military operations in the West Indies; our contests with the French at the Windward Islands having ceased, and our ardour for conquest and counter-revolution in St. Domingo having been so well cooled by failure, calamity, and death, that we no longer aimed at more than the defence of the few positions there which we had fatally taken and retained. The official account of British troops actually mustered in the West Indies from April 1796 to 1802, which I shall presently cite, and of the mortality by disease among them, will, in respect of actual loss, show but a small amount when we shall be enabled to compare it with that of the three preceding years. The proportion, however, to the number of troops actually employed, will enable us in some measure to guess at that of the former period. The account I refer to is given by the late Sir William Young in his "West India Common Place Book," p. 218, being a collection of papers officially presented to Parliament while he sat in the House of Commons; and the document, I presume, was furnished by Government, to justify or recommend the employment of Black troops, to which during that period it had in some degree resorted; for the object of the paper was to show the comparative mortality among them, and the British soldiers respectively, in each of the seven years comprised in it.

The general result of this official account is, that the average loss by death in our European corps, exclusive of losses in action, during less than seven years, was no less than *twenty-one and a half per cent per annum*, while in the Black corps it was only five and three-quarters per cent. But this average, frightful though it is, appears by the same paper to give a very inadequate idea of the destruction made by disease among troops newly arrived from Europe, and the consequent mortality of preceding years, when our grand expeditions took place; for in the first year (1796), computing from April, when we mustered in the West Indies 19,676 European soldiers, we lost by sickness no less than 6484, *being forty and a half per cent*, calculated on the medium of the monthly returns, in twelve months, while the Black troops lost only three per cent; and by a more particular examination of the account itself, which I will print in an appendix, it will be found that the annual

loss was always in the greatest ratio when the numbers mustered were increased from those of the preceding year, which of course must have been by new arrivals from Europe.

I find little difficulty, therefore, in giving credit to the following statement of a cotemporary historian :—"From the month of October 1793, when they (the British troops) first landed in St. Domingo, to the month of *March following*, the loss in the several engagements, or rather skirmishes, did not exceed 100; but the victims of disease were upwards of 6000, including 130 officers."\* Or even this still more appalling statement on the same authority:—"The annual mortality was at least equal to the annual importation; in other words, the deaths were always equal to the arrivals."†

If we adopt the statement of a loss of 6000 in five months, and suppose it a fair proportion of the mortality during that fatal period of our war in St. Domingo which is not included in the parliamentary account, we shall have a loss in that island alone of no less than thirty-six thousand lives; and, if we add 17,173, the subsequent loss in West India service, comprised in that account to 1802, the total would be no less than 53,173 by disease alone, without including any part of the loss in Jamaica, and the Windward Islands, prior to April 1796, the amount of which was notoriously very great indeed; not less, I am persuaded, than 8000 men. To the whole is to be added the loss from 1802 to the present period or to 1823, to which my former estimate extended; and if we reduce the annual loss in those twenty-one years to 990 per annum, the last annual loss comprised in the parliamentary return, we shall have a further amount of 20,790, making in all 81,963. Should this estimate of the unaccounted loss in St. Domingo be thought excessive, let it be observed, on the other hand, that the returns I have cited contain only the loss by disease in our regular infantry regiments. The artillery, ordnance, and other descriptions of forces are not included, nor any part of the heavy losses among our seamen and marines, nor losses in action in either branch of service.

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\* New Annual Register for 1796.

† Ibid.

These dreadful effects of the climate were by no means peculiar to those wars of ours, which may justly be called wars against Negro freedom. West India service was always terribly destructive to our army and navy, though that pre-eminently fatal disease, the yellow fever, began to scourge us when we first fought against the liberty of the Negroes, and was an ally to their cause critically and decisively important. Nor have our devoted soldiers and seamen ceased to feel the scourge of that baneful climate since they ceased to have any other employment in it than that of guarding the masters in our Colonies in time of peace from the apprehended insurrections of their slaves. In 1819 two regiments (I think one of them was the 15th) went to Jamaica, said to contain together nearly or quite 1600 men. In two months after their arrival they had lost 600. My informant was a major in the army, a friend on whose veracity I could quite rely, and who had just received the account in a letter from his brother in that island, which brought down the sad progress of mortality to the month of September or October. I afterwards had a general confirmation of it from other channels, with the addition that the loss had been extended to about 800 within the same year.

I could quote much information to the like effect from other islands, and at various periods; but unless our periodical prints could be supposed to conspire together to invent facts of this kind, and forge letters from the West Indies to confirm them, no reader of the London newspapers can well doubt the general truth that I wish here to establish.\*

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\*I will subjoin a few extracts from many of the same tendency in newspapers that I have preserved.

NEW TIMES, July 19, 1820.

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, July 17.*

“This morning arrived the *Iphygenia* of 66 guns from Jamaica. Since her absence from England she has lost 85 men, including the master, lieutenant of marines, and six midshipmen.”

MORNING CHRONICLE, November 10, 1820.

*Extract of a letter from Tobago.*

“After mentioning an alarm from an apprehended insurrection, the writer



This most lamentable of all the evils entailed on us by our Sugar Colonies (the guilt and shame of maintaining their interior system excepted) is pre-eminently, I repeat, chargeable on that system, and on their bigoted adherence to it; because it is their consequent imbecility, together with their aversion to Black corps, the only troops fit for the climate, that alone make it necessary to maintain European garrisons for their defence; though that new scourge from Heaven, the yellow fever, most remarkably and universally spares the African race, while British soldiers and seamen are its chosen victims. The destroying angel made not a more entire and accurate distinction between the enslaved Israelites and their Egyptian masters.

It might have been hoped and expected that the Colonists, before whose eyes this striking peculiarity of the new disease and its dreadful ravages among their brave defenders had been

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says, 'From the great loss of troops by the late fever our garrison was reduced from nearly 200 to 30 men.' "

NEW TIMES, January 19, 1822.

"Letters and papers have been received from the island of Dominica dated November 9. They contain the melancholy tidings of a dreadful fever, that in a few days cut off three officers, one sergeant, two corporals, and fifty-six privates, of His Majesty's 5th regiment of foot, out of 137 who landed there the month preceding. Only Colonel Emes, Captain Thysh, Ensign Wyatt, and eleven privates were free from the attack, all the rest being either dead or in the hospital."

TIMES, November 7, 1825.

"We have received letters from Jamaica, which we regret to state describe the visitation of that destructive disease the fever of that country, as being more fatal among the troops, and the crews of the ships, than it was in several preceding seasons. The following are extracts. 'The squadron has suffered much, particularly the Lively and Pylades; and the troops in consequence of their losses, particularly in Spanish Town, are to change their quarters. During the last eight months one regiment out of five (in numbers) have fallen victims to this destructive malady. The officers have fallen, out of all proportion: the 77th regiment on being embarked from Stoney Hill barracks for the north side of the island, had only one officer able to accompany them. Colonel Thornton, governor of Fort Charles, Port Royal, died on the 2nd instant, making the third victim who held that appointment in nineteen months. He had been only five weeks and three days on the island.' "

long exhibited, would from pity, if not from policy, have been disposed to relax their proud and jealous prejudices, so far as to favour the experiment of substituting in some degree Blacks for European soldiers. But in this, as in all other cases, their antipathy and contempt towards the African race were proof against the loudest pleadings of humanity. I might add, against the plainest suggestions of prudence also; if they had not been taught by experience to believe that there was no sacrifice, however dreadful and however needless, that they might not extort from the Mother Country, in compliance with their darling maxims, when stoutly maintained. They therefore persisted in opposing the resort to a soldiery exempt from that direful plague, till Government, impelled by the extremity of the case, overruled their opposition, and found, as it would do by firmness in the present controversy, that there is no difficulty and no danger in Colonial improvements, except when it drops the reins, and makes impotency contumacious, by proposing and entreating, where it ought to act and to command.

At a time when, from the dreadful ravages of the yellow fever, a British soldier's life among them was not worth six months' purchase, the Colonists inexorably objected to the expedient of raising corps of Black troops, by purchase in the different islands, to assist our sickly regiments in the more laborious duties of their defence. On an application by General Abercromby to the Assembly of Barbadoes, to which he first addressed himself for its concurrence in that plan, it gave him a positive refusal, and passed a resolution, moved in a committee of the whole House by its Speaker, declaring "that the measure would be more likely to prove destructive than advantageous to the defence of the island." If I mistake not, a like repulse was given by every Assembly to which the proposition was then made. Happily their aid, or their consent, was not necessary; for there was no law to prevent His Majesty from recruiting his army in that way if he pleased. Individual masters, therefore, were tempted by high prices to sell their slaves; and though those whom they commonly chose to part with were of course not the best and most orderly of their class, yet the Black corps thus raised (evasively

and unfairly called "the West India Regiments,") acted in both the wars in a way that did them honour as soldiers; and their services in "fatigue parties," as they were termed, saved perhaps more than ten times the number of our European troops. In no respect did their conduct afford any countenance to the fears, or rather the contemptuous prejudices, of the privileged class. Every plausible ground of objection, therefore, to this wise and happy expedient was removed. Nevertheless, Colonial influence finally prevailed so far as to obtain the reduction of these invaluable corps at the peace, and the cruel transportation of many, or most of them, to distant parts of the world. The dreadful waste to which the British army is subjected, to maintain the wretched interior system of the Sugar Colonies, is thus needlessly and wantonly enhanced, by our complaisance for the vain terrors and stubborn prejudices to which that system gives rise in the breasts of its administrators.

Whatever the feelings of the White Colonists may be on this painful subject, you, my countrymen, I am sure, will agree with me that such a perpetual drain of our bravest blood is a great public calamity; and one that strongly reinforces our other obligations to correct the grand moral evil of Slavery, from which alone it proceeds. Should we soon be called upon for great military exertions nearer home (and who that looks to the state of Ireland can deny the possibility of such an event?) during the present vastly increased extent of our distant possessions, we shall perhaps regret too late the waste of West India service. That waste indeed is not the only evil. The cruel hardships imposed on the officers and soldiers and their families, must tend in no small degree to check the honourable zeal by which our army is recruited or enlarged. To be sent on a forlorn hope or storming party, is a destination not so dangerous; and the danger is compensated by glory: but the brave men who are sent in times of peace to the West Indies, have no laurels to gain, or booty to expect. They have to use their arms, if at all, against a crowd of poor unarmed wretches, in an odious cause; and though almost sure, with few exceptions, to perish, it is not in the arms of victory, or on the turf of a well-fought field, but on the pallet



of enervating disease, or amidst the horrors of an hospital or a pest-house. For my part, who have intimately known their hapless lot, I never hear of regiments embarking for the West Indies, without sensations of sympathy as powerful as if I were sure the brave unfortunates would all perish by shipwreck on the voyage.

And here, my countrymen, let me press my appeal to those humane feelings by which you are most distinguished. The Colonists, by delusive representations and partial views, attempt to disarm them; or even to enlist them in their own bad cause. They invoke your compassion for their distress as planters, and for the total ruin with which they assert themselves to be menaced; though no thinking man among you who impartially weighs the admitted facts I have cited, can doubt that the reformation, not the support, of their pernicious system, alone can effectually help or save them. But were it otherwise, what benevolent mind could be reconciled to the support of that system, at such a terrible expense of the lives of our brave soldiers and seamen, as that by which alone, as we have seen, it is or can be maintained? They reason, in respect of the poor unpitied Africans, as if property were all, and the bodily sufferings and premature deaths of the much-oppressed Black labourers of no account. But could you adopt the same partial views, and eject from the pale of your humanity all who are not of your own complexion and lineage, still how can they hope to reconcile you to the cruel destruction of such multitudes of your European fellow-subjects as are annually doomed to perish in their hospitals, merely to save them from the dreaded consequences of extreme injustice and oppression? They alarm your feelings with affected apprehensions of danger to their own lives, and those of their wives and children, from the effects of parliamentary interposition on behalf of the Slaves; as if misery and despair were less likely to urge men into insurrection, than a mitigation of bondage, and a hope of future freedom. It is in vain that experience has universally attested the contrary, by showing that enfranchisement, when introduced by the arm of the law, has every where been safe, and disastrous only when obtained by insurgent violence. You are nevertheless desired to believe that

all the White inhabitants of our Sugar Colonies will be exterminated by the Blacks if you remove or relax their chains. But were we to meet them even on these extravagant premises, humanity would still have a larger interest on the side of justice than against it. From the facts that I have stated, it may be shown that our apprehensions for the safety of Jamaica probably cost us more British lives in a few years, during our late wars, than the entire amount of its whole White population, which its historian, Mr. Edwards, stated to be no more than 30,000; and it may with equal or great probability be affirmed, that during the last thirty-two years, one British soldier or seamen at the least, in the prime of life, has fallen a victim to the deathful service of the West Indies, for every White man, woman, and child that all our Sugar Colonies collectively contain. Their entire number, including the Colonies recently acquired, is but 67,055 by the last official returns, and the estimates of their advocates\*; and I have given reasons for believing that if like evidence could be procured of all the losses in our army and navy from West India service, the total amount since 1792 would be found at least equally, if not more than equally, large.

If it be said, in extenuation, that during this period our islands were exposed to unprecedented dangers, in consequence of the revolution in St. Domingo, and therefore required more than ordinary efforts, as well offensive as defensive, for their protection; I reply, let any reflecting reader consider the present attitude of Negro freedom in Hayti, and on the South American continent, with the known situation of Cuba; and then hope, if he can, that the next term of two-and-thirty years, compared with the last, will demand from us less numerous sacrifices of our brave troops and seamen for the security of our Slave-peopled Colonies. In one of the late manifestoes of the Assemblies, we are told that if we reform their Slavery as proposed by Government, it will require a hundred thousand British troops to defend our West India possessions; but the proposition might have been more justly reversed. It would cost us perhaps a hundred thousand men to with-

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\* Mr. Macqueen makes it 75,133; but 8078 is his estimate for the Mauritius, which is not included in any of these remarks.

hold that reformation; and the end, after all, would not be attained. Parliament would probably indeed be spared the trouble of abolishing Slavery; for after the most lavish waste of life and treasure that the country could afford to prevent it, the Slaves, aided probably by their enfranchised foreign brethren, would be their own deliverers.

Let the Colonists palliate these alarming views; and let it even be supposed if they will, that after all the late extension of our Sugar Colonies, and the portentous revolutions in their vicinage, we may possibly still sustain their wretched system in its present rigour by such garrisons as we now maintain there; and further, that no war will occur to augment the difficulty for a period of twenty years to come:—yet, unless they can change the physical effects of their climate, at least from thirty to forty thousand of their unfortunate defenders would be consigned within that period to untimely and inglorious graves. And when are such cruel sacrifices to end? On *their* views and principles, twenty, fifty, or even a hundred years, would leave the case, at best, as it now stands; for they do not disguise their claim of right to make Slavery perpetual. They exclaim loudly against the idea of providing for the freedom of infants yet unborn; and all their protests against the invasion of what they call a right of property (a property not only in existing but future generations) will remain to the full as valid at any given period, however distant, as they can be supposed to be at the present moment. Nor can any state of the world be imagined in which the work of melioration and progressive enfranchisement can be more safely attempted than now. Let them then deal frankly with us; and plainly declare, that whereas we have already in the present generation redeemed them from wilful, if not chimerical, dangers, by paying to save their property more than it would fairly sell for, and for their persons at least life for life, they expect us in every succeeding generation to renew that fearful price.

I have now examined both sides of the account between the Mother Country and the Sugar Colonies. I have shown that every supposable consideration of benefits received from them, that may be thought to justify or explain the extreme forbearance of Parliament at the expense of national dignity



and national duty, and the lavish sacrifices with which their contumacy has been rewarded, is unfounded in reason and truth. I have shown, on the other hand, that they are enormous insatiable drains on the treasure and the blood of the Mother Country; and what is far the worst of all, their present conduct and pretensions, if acquiesced in, must place us under the most ignominious and intolerable yoke that ever was imposed on the neck of any nation; by obliging us to be the abettors and sanguinary instruments of a system, the injustice and cruelty of which we have recognised, and which they deny our right to control. The *imperium in imperio* for which they contend is to cast upon this great country all that is burthensome, all that is harsh and odious in sovereignty, with an incapacity for all its moral duties, and a privation of all its beneficent rights. It is in effect to reduce us to the condition of their own drivers, except that we are implicitly to enforce their despotic behests, not with the cart-whip, but the sword. In other words, we are to be reduced to the situation defined by the title to this work—we are to be the SLAVES OF OUR OWN SLAVE-COLONIES.

From this degrading yoke, and from all the guilt attached to it, as well as the grievous public evils which we have been considering, it is my object to redeem you, by the only possible means; the calling forth, not in opposition to, but in aid of, the Government, your own zealous, determined, and persevering exertions.

At a late meeting in the county of Norfolk, convened for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on this great subject, the unanimity that ultimately prevailed, was for a while suspended; by the opposition of an honourable member, who, though he is a sincere and intelligent friend of the cause, entertained an apprehension that the proposed measure would be a virtual censure of the Government, and imply a suspicion of the sincerity of Ministers in the pledge they had given to us by the Resolutions of May 1823.

Though I have not the honour of any private acquaintance with that gentleman, I doubt not he will give me credit for the assertion, that in desiring to promote such meetings and a strong expression of the popular voice throughout the coun-

try, I am not actuated by any spirit hostile to the Administration: but the present is a case in which, to my firm conviction, the solicitations, and even the importunity, of the people at large, is necessary to enable Ministers to act up to their own professions and desires. This is no question, let us always remember, between Government and Opposition; nor could I be reasonably suspected of partiality to the latter if it were. I scruple not, indeed, to confess that our cause is, in my eyes, of such paramount importance, not only in a moral and religious, but in a political view, that if the party to which from personal predilections, as well as general political opinions, I was attached while in public life, were found more wanting in its duty in what related to Colonial Slavery than the party generally opposed to it, I should probably become an oppositionist, and a warm one. But though I certainly did see much to lament and condemn in the conduct of Ministers, in refusing their support to the bill for the registration of Slaves, and therefore felt it a painful duty to put an end to my parliamentary connexion with them, I have found nothing in the conduct of the Opposition, *as a body*, either in that instance, or during any stage of the subsequent controversies on these subjects, that entitles it to greater attachment or confidence from the friends of Colonial reform, than the party still in power. Nay, I must in justice go further, and avow that I think the Opposition in this respect more culpable than the Ministry; because if its conduct had not, from complaisance to some of its leading members connected with the Colonies, been very different from what might have been expected from Whigs, and friends of Mr. Fox, amounting, at best, to a chilling neutrality, the Government would have been better able to withstand and control that third party, powerful in its numbers and union, by which all effectual measures of Colonial reformation are sure to be perseveringly opposed.

Whether those are right who hold that a systematic opposition in Parliament on a principle of party attachment, is productive of more good than evil, I will not here inquire. But of this I am certain, that when powerful particular interests are opposed to public duty and public good, the neutrality of one of the two great contending parties, like the para-

lysis of an antagonist muscle, prevents a natural and healthful action on the opposite side; and that the distortion therefore may appear on the right hand, when the morbid cause is on the left.

In such cases however, difficult though they are, there is one possible remedy; and it is that of which, as a friend, not an enemy of the Government, and to strengthen, not to weaken its hands, I would earnestly recommend the adoption.

My countrymen, our Constitution is a most happy one, for which we all owe much gratitude to Heaven; and I am not one of those who think it can be safely and beneficially altered. But a most essential part of it is the influence of the popular voice; and never is that influence more proper or necessary than when potent particular interests are banded in Parliament, and on both sides of the two Houses, against the rights, the interests, and the duties of the public at large. The present I maintain is a case of that kind; and as urgent a one as ever called for popular interposition.

Few, I believe, but those who sit in Parliament, or who have anxiously watched over the interests of the oppressed African race, are fully aware of the formidable extent of that influence with which we have to contend. In a Jamaica newspaper, published since the present controversy commenced, much surprise and discontent was expressed at the inaction of the Colonial interest in the House of Commons; where it was asserted confidently, and I doubt not from good information, that the Sugar Colonies had "two hundred sure votes." Whether the computation was accurate I do not pretend to determine; but well-informed members of the House have assured me that there are at least ninety-six, whom they know to be either proprietors of those Colonies, or so intimately connected with them, commercially and otherwise, that their votes cannot, without private sacrifices which few men have the resolution to make, be severed from the cause of the planters. If so, it is highly probable that the Jamaica computation is not beyond the truth; for what with the personal influence that so many members must naturally have with other gentlemen sitting in the same assembly, and the widespread connexions of Colonial proprietors with the land-



holders and merchants of this country, by means of which many members may of course be influenced, it may be reasonably computed that at least twice the number of those who are known to be bound to the West Indian cause, are directly or indirectly, by particular interests, or personal feelings, attached to it.

The agent of Barbadoes, himself a respectable English landholder, boasted not long since at a public meeting of the West India planters and merchants, that they were extensively connected as individuals with the landed property of England; and it was an assertion too well founded in truth. He might have added that they comprised in their own body, many members of the Upper House of Parliament, several proprietors of boroughs, some men high in office, and others possessing the confidence and attachment of the most powerful men in the state.

It is not however by numbers only that the power of a party is to be estimated. The degree of zeal and of steadfastness with which the different members are attached to the common union, is of far greater importance than their numerical force. And it is here that the Colonial party in Parliament is truly formidable. It is a phalanx, which by its close and impenetrable union, its ardour, and its discipline, might bid defiance to a far more numerous host.

Men of experience in Parliament well know how to estimate the vast advantage of these qualities. It is a maxim among them, that a small part of the general representation, acting with determined concert and perseverance, would be capable of soon or late giving law to the House; except on questions to carry which the Government was obliged, in support of its own existence, to put forth all its force steadily against them. Where the two great conflicting parties are in contest, the case of course is different: full houses are convened, and effort on the one side is counterpoised by equal effort on the other. But when neither Government nor Opposition takes an active part as such, a particular party, firmly united by the private interest of its members, is sure, soon or late, to triumph; though if the entire representation were to be polled, it would be left, perhaps, in a small minority.

This is especially the case, I lament to say, in open questions, as they are called, of a moral kind, where there are particular interests on the one side, and a sense of conscientious obligation only on the other. Witness the twenty years of fruitless effort to abolish the now universally reprobated Slave-trade. That gross national iniquity might have been adhered to till this hour, if Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, when they came into power, had not substituted, for the shameful neutrality of the Government, its determined support of the abolition. The present controversy turns on the same principles, and between the same parties. It is in a moral view nearly the same question; and the Government has strong temptations to act the same part with Lord Grenville's and Mr. Fox's predecessors, if not even actively to oppose the only effectual means of reform, parliamentary legislation.

Never was a particular faction more united, more zealous, and indefatigable than the Colonial party on this occasion. They concurred it is true, and with tacit unanimity, in Mr. Canning's resolutions; but so they did in Mr. Ellis's of 1797. They have no objection to refer any thing to the Assemblies. Even the Slave registration, though they stoutly and too effectually opposed Mr. Wilberforce's bill for it, they readily agreed should be recommended to those bodies, who first violently exclaimed against the plan, and afterwards took care effectually to defeat it by its ostensible but evasive adoption. But whenever any motion has been brought forward tending to induce Parliament to take the work of reformation into its own hands, the West Indian phalanx has always been fully arrayed and drawn into action, not merely to oppose the proposition, but to clamour down discussion.

Let me not be understood as imputing generally to these gentlemen a disinclination to all the beneficent measures which they apparently acquiesced in, and which some of them expressly approved. I believe that there are among them many who would be glad if they could induce the Assemblies to adopt effectually the principles and the practical means recommended by His Majesty's government; but in opposing the exercise of parliamentary authority, they are nearly una-

nimous; and the sincerity of their intentions can be of no avail to the unfortunate Slaves, while they resist pertinaciously the only means by which any thing really beneficial to them can possibly be accomplished.

There are indeed a few, a *very few* gentlemen, connected with the West Indies, who act a better part. I am far from overlooking the honourable distinction that is due to them, though to mention their names here might be inconvenient, or not grateful to themselves. But they do not belong to the banded party which the West India Committee directs; and therefore are not properly within the scope of these remarks.

I know well, my countrymen, that very many of you have expressed surprise and discontent, that after the intractable and contumacious spirit which the Assemblies had indulged during two years, no coercive measures were brought forward in the last sessions by the members who are still faithful to our cause in the House of Commons; and that no discussions even, except on incidental subjects, took place. We are continually assailed with inquiries and complaints from our friends on that account. They say, and truly say, that defeat is better than inaction; and that parliamentary discussions, at least, should frequently take place, as the best means of awakening, or keeping alive, the public attention to the irresistible merits of our cause. I hope and believe that our Parliamentary friends will act hereafter on that principle; and I congratulate you that one of the most faithful and the most powerful of them, Mr. BROUGHAM, has pledged himself to bring in a Bill for carrying the Resolutions of May 1823 into effect, at the opening of the next session.

But let me, in justice to our friends, show you the extraordinary difficulties and discouragements under which they labour, and from which the loud expression of your voice can alone relieve them. It does not suit the views of our opponents that their case should be discussed at all. They are conscious that neither the situation of the Slaves, nor the conduct of the Assemblies, will bear examination. They therefore gravely pretend that it is very dangerous to discuss in Parliament topics so interesting to the Slaves, lest they should



hear from our newspapers forsooth, what every Gazette of every Colony tells them freely, and in the most inflammatory manner, every week. The remote echo it seems is tremendous, though the direct voice may be heard through a speaking-trumpet without alarm. Noise and violence are their weapons in that country; but here *Hush* is their watchword; and every gentleman who presumes to stir these subjects in the House of Commons is usually treated, by crowded West India benches, with rude clamours, such as make it very difficult for him to be heard, and more difficult still for a man of sensibility to maintain the course of his arguments, and do justice to his subject; while his antagonists, on the other hand, though speaking avowedly for what they deem their own particular interests, are cheered loudly, and heard patiently through the longest speech.

You regret, I know, Mr. Wilberforce's retirement; and some of you perhaps may blame it. For my part, I confess that I was one of the friends who advised the measure; but I would not have done so, notwithstanding the alarming decline of his health and strength, if his voice, on the only subjects worth the pain and hazard of its exertion, could have been fairly heard. Even against *him*, amiable and venerable as he is, these Colonial tactics were sometimes employed so effectually, that, enfeebled as his once sonorous and still musical voice has long been by age and infirmities, he might almost as well have uttered it *in vacuo* as in the House of Commons. Some West India members have been noticed making disorderly noises at the bar, purposely to drown and perplex him, such as the Speaker's interposition could not easily or effectually suppress.

If such a man, so pre-eminently entitled to a patient hearing on these subjects, and to the general respect of a Senate which his virtues and talents had adorned for more than forty years, could not obtain attention, our remaining friends there, you will believe, must have a very unpleasant and difficult duty to perform. The great misfortune here, and the great calamity of our cause in general, is that our enemies are numerous enough and powerful enough, on both sides of the house, to prevent our having favour or protection from either.

Such, my countrymen, is our position among your Representatives in Parliament. Yet I wish it were only there that Colonial influence prevails. It is felt even in the Cabinet; it is potent in every department of the state; and no inconsiderable part of the aristocracy of the country is, by property or family connexion, placed under its guidance or control. As to the commercial body, a great part of it, in the principal seats of foreign commerce, London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow, is, directly or indirectly, chained by private interest to the Colonial cause. Thousands who are not themselves engaged in West India trade, are much connected in business with those who are; and derive from them profitable employment, which might be lost if they were to give offence by openly acting with us, or even by refusing to lend themselves, on certain occasions, to extend the ranks of our opponents. In other political controversies, gentlemen are commonly shy of interfering privately with the conduct or opinions of others; especially when they have the known bias of self-interest to direct their own; but the Colonists, and their connexions among us, rarely in the present case show any such scruples. They are as active and assiduous to make proselytes, as any zealot for a particular creed, and as intolerant also of opposition to their tenets; and instead of disguising, they generally bring forward as a persuasive topic, their own private interests in the question. "I shall be ruined or impoverished by these measures if adopted," is a common argument among them; and it naturally tends, if not to convince, at least to silence, those who are not enough attached to our cause to expose themselves to enmity or ill-will by supporting it. With public men especially, these and other means of influence are unsparingly employed. The case, in short, is the same in England, that it was in France in relation to St. Domingo, and that it still is there in regard to the Slave-trade: the Colonists are too powerful in the Mother Country, and too active by their solicitations and intrigues in private, as well as by their public clamours, to let the claims of justice and humanity, or the interests of the empire at large, have their fair and natural weight.

Under such circumstances, you ought not to be surprised

that we have not a more numerous party of active friends among our statesmen and legislators. You might deem it strange rather that there are yet a few generous men in both Houses of Parliament, who dare to make an open stand for national duty and honour, in defiance, not only of the frowns and clamours with which they are publicly assailed, but of the private reproaches and resentments of their West Indian connexions and friends. Much praise be to them for it ! and the far richer reward of a self-approving conscience.

There is a more convenient course for them to take. A great majority of those who, in their hearts, wish well to our cause, either absent themselves from their seats when these "*delicate questions*," as they are insidiously called, are to be brought forward ; or maintain a prudent silence, and steal out before the division.

I need not claim your gratitude for those who act a better part. Their names are well known, and dear to us. But I hope DR. LUSHINGTON will forgive me for pointing out an honourable pre-eminence to which he is well entitled. Though linked to West Indian Proprietors by the nearest private connexions, and though the prosperity of his respectable family is involved in that of the Sugar Colonies, we have not a more steady, zealous, or active friend ; and he is ever ready to sacrifice time precious to him as a very eminent professional man, when by so doing he sees any probability of rendering service to our cause.

Can I say this, and not be reminded of HENRY BROUGHAM ? or can I abstain from hazarding *his* censure also, by a public tribute to his merits ? I am the rather prompted to do so, because he and I, till I took leave of parliamentary life, and of all public controversy but this, were warm political opponents, who agreed on scarcely any other subjects than Slavery and the Slave-trade ? He too, I know, must have large personal sacrifices to make in maintaining his generous and manly course. The Colonists would do any thing to gain him ; or even to suppress a voice which, from his transcendent talents, and commanding influence with a powerful party, cannot be easily put down. He too has professional sacrifices to make ;



and which nothing short of his almost preternatural industry and energy of mind could enable him possibly to make, in the time that he liberally devotes to us. But there is one peculiar, and still more honourable sacrifice, for which I have long esteemed him, and which has hitherto, I think, not been publicly acknowledged by the friends of the Slaves, though his and their antagonists have often, with their usual personalities, made the occasion of it a subject of reproach to him. It is not, I admit, untrue, that Mr. Brougham when a very young man, and as yet known to the public only by the earliest labours of his masterly pen, had imbibed some of those erroneous views of the Colonial system, and the necessity of maintaining it, which thousands of specious but self-interested tongues and pens have long too successfully propagated in the parent state. In his able and profound work on Colonial Policy, he distinguished too strongly between the Slave-trade (of which he was ever a most determined enemy) and the Slavery that it had established in the Colonies; not certainly in the way of justifying the latter, but so as to extenuate its oppressive character, and to prejudice in some degree the efforts of those who attempted its parliamentary correction. He had never been in the West Indies; and had then had no communication with those who knew that Country, except perhaps with such men as, from regard to their own credit and interest, were sure to mislead and deceive him. Is it then strange, that he, like a large part of the most intelligent of European politicians, should have adopted erroneous views of the facts on which he reasoned?

While the Colonists object to him this short-lived error, let me derive from it an argument that should warn the impartial and uninformed against similar delusions. Gross and dangerous indeed to ordinary judgements must be those mists of falsehood and imposture which such a luminary could not, even with his rising beams, at once penetrate and disperse. But it was impossible that the pervading mind of Mr. *Brougham* should not, in the progress of its investigations, discover its own mistakes, and the truths from which it had diverged. Much more likely was it, from ordinary human infirmity, that opinions once given to the public should not, when changed, be willingly and

openly renounced. But here he has added to the fame of his talents far higher than intellectual honour. He has not only combated the false views with which he was once impressed, but it was from his own lips in the House of Commons that I first heard the public notice of what our enemies perhaps had then forgot. He gratuitously alluded in a speech, now several years old, to his early error, and confessed, with manly candour, that the truths he was then powerfully maintaining were contrary, in some points, to the opinions he had once entertained. When our opponents again think fit to quote Mr. Brougham's early, against his mature opinions, let them not withhold from him the honour, or from our cause the benefit, of this free and dignified avowal.

To return from this digression.—Let me intreat my readers to weigh well that disheartening condition in which the cause of the poor Slaves at present stands in Parliament; and to inquire fairly what means their associated friends can trust to for its future success, other than the powerful influence of the popular voice. As to the good intentions of our Government, I suspect them not; and if I did, would not prematurely deny or question them. *That* would not advance our hopes; and I am bound in justice to say that there seems no good reason for doubting that our Ministers in general, more especially the noble Earl at the head of the Colonial Department, and Mr. Secretary Canning, would be heartily glad if they could carry into effect the Resolutions of May 1823, to their full extent, by any means that may appear to themselves admissible. To the former I may be naturally partial; for in addition to a sense of his Lordship's claims on the respect and confidence of all who know his manly and amiable character, I feel for him the gratitude due from a father to the kind patron and generous protector of a deserving son: but as an advocate of this sacred cause, I know neither friend nor foe in what its interests demand from me. While therefore I sincerely admit the favourable disposition of both those Ministers, I will not scruple to add an opinion, equally sincere, that they, with most of their colleagues, have been led to entertain views of Colonial Slavery greatly inadequate to its actual guilt; and to the miseries and mischiefs which it involves; and that they hav

been led, on the other hand, to magnify, in their imaginations, the difficulties and inconveniences of parliamentary measures of reform, as well as to apprehend dangers from them which have no existence.

Nor are these errors wholly imputable to the distance of the circumstances that they have to deal with, and with which they have no personal acquaintance. The search for truth, when impartially pursued, is rarely unsuccessful; but what we wish, we too readily believe; and if the views that I have here given of the formidable extent of Colonial influence in and out of Parliament be at all correct, Ministers must be too desirous to avoid a collision with it, not to receive with willing credulity all such information as may lessen, and with chilling distrust all such evidence as may enhance, the conscientious duty of risking such a conflict. That they in fact listen with too much confidence to the representations of their West Indian friends and partisans, and are more ready to repel than invite information on behalf of the poor Slaves, who have no voice of their own, I have great reason to believe and lament. Yet it must be manifest to every reflecting mind, and more especially to Ministers themselves, that upon every ordinary rule by which human testimony is estimated, the credit due to evidence on the anti-slavery side of this controversy is much greater than can be reasonably claimed on the other. On that of the Planters, self-interest is notorious and avowed:—on ours, it has no existence, except in the wilful mis-statements or distempered imaginations of our opponents.

The Colonists indeed loudly but falsely assert that Government patronage is our excitement and our prize. “No one individual of ordinary talent,” says a late Address from the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent to the Governor, “who has fairly inlisted himself during the last twenty years against the West Indies, *has failed of acquiring either rank or honours, places of wealth and profit under Government, or mercantile advantages of immense amount* \*.”

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\* Address of the Council and Assembly of St. Vincent's to Governor Brisbane, September 6th, 1823, published here by the West Indian party.



These men are ever at the antipodes of truth. Let them point out a single instance to support this bold assertion—let them name one individual who owes rank, place, wealth, or profit of any kind to his labours in our cause—and I will make a very liberal concession indeed ; I will admit that there is one page in that extravagant document that contains some portion of fact. On the other hand, let them name one writer who has ventured to expose, from his own knowledge, their odious system of Slavery, that has not suffered for it in his private character, his interest, or his peace, by their inexorable vengeance ; and I will admit that we are all actuated like themselves by self-interested motives.

They affect to complain of malignity and vituperation on our side, though there is not to my knowledge a single passage in any of the anti-slavery publications that fairly supports the charge. When oppression, cruelty, and murder are to be exposed to public view (and this is what the controversy in its nature demands from us), the speaking of them with the reprobation they deserve, is not malice to the offenders, but necessary justice to the subject, and to the moral feelings of the reader. The guilty individuals no doubt may wince, and so may the apologists or partakers of their crimes, and even all who are engaged in a system by which such odious fruits are produced : but these are consequences of which they have no right to complain. To spare their feelings by abstaining from the moral censure that the subject calls for, would be to impair the just effect.

Very different is the case when the advocate of any cause resorts to needless personalities, and brings forward against the private character of his opponents offensive imputations, quite foreign to the merits of the question. But on which side of this controversy are such practices to be found ? Certainly not on ours, in any publication with which I am acquainted at least ; though few, if any of the works of my fellow-labourers, have wholly escaped my notice. I believe they have all too much confidence in the strength of their cause, if not also too much justice and generous sentiment, to use such unfair and poisonous weapons, even in their own defence against that

disgraceful warfare. For my own part, I challenge all my opponents, though some of them, seated in the judicial chair of literary criticism, have with an insidious air of candour affected to condemn me for "a too virulent and accusatory spirit\*," to cite a single passage in any of my numerous works on this subject, that is calculated to give needless pain to any man's feelings. I have avoided the fault so carefully as even to abstain from mentioning the names of individuals whose crimes, attested by public records, it has been necessary to notice in proof of my general strictures, whenever it could be done without making my references to such cases, and to the public evidence which had reported them imperfect or indistinct†.

But on the other side, these foul practices are resorted to with the most outrageous licence. Never in any other public controversy, was there such a malignant use of personal calumny and invective as that which the Colonial party has syste-

\* Quarterly Review, No. 64.

† In the Preface to the first volume of my *Delineation of Slavery*, p. 43 and 44, I noticed this forbearance, and appealed to the reader for the general plan and character of the work, as calculated not to excite the passions of the vulgar, but to convince the understandings and consciences of the intelligent and dispassionate, especially gentlemen of the legal profession. If the strictures of the reviewer were just, this appeal would have been very unwise, and would have exposed me to well-merited rebuke; but it would have called for and fairly deserved the citation of, or reference to, at least some single passage inconsistent with the boast. The critic, however, has not condescended to support his general censure by any such specification. He accuses me of using "in almost every page *galling epithets or insinuations*;" but I believe he will not venture to adduce a single epithet in conjunction with the subject of it, in proof of that charge, lest his readers should feel an indignation at the fact, that would make the epithet seem faulty only in being too languid and cold. In the citation of iniquitous and barbarous laws I have doubtless sometimes given them a right appellation, such as might be "galling" to their authors or apologists; but as to "*insinuations*," they are foreign to the general style and character of my work, and I know not what he means.

I nevertheless owe thanks and gratitude to this unknown opponent; for if unjust to the work, he is more than just in his obliging mention of its author.

matically employed against its opponents in this cause. I except only the parent controversy on the Slave-trade, in which the humane, virtuous, and pious Ramsay, was one of the first devoted victims of the same illiberal vengeance. From his time to the present, those base arts have been invariably resorted to on that side; and the libels have progressively increased in virulence against each successive combatant on the side of humanity and truth, outraging every private feeling, and violating common decency even, to such a degree, that one of our reverend friends, after long acquiescing in their impotent calumnies on himself, was obliged at last to resort to the law, to silence attacks in the public newspapers, on the spotless reputation of his wife!

To support these shameful practices, and other delusions on the British public, large sums have been contributed by the Assemblies, as well as individual Planters. Some of our periodical prints have been taken into standing pay; and our daily press has been widely influenced in a positive, but still more in a negative manner; so that while scandal and falsehood have been profusely propagated, it has been sometimes extremely difficult, or impossible, to obtain a like publicity for defence and refutation.

Such, my countrymen, have been the rewards, and such only,—bosom applause excepted,—of those who have dared to invoke your humanity on behalf of the unfortunate Slaves! Can it be doubted that many have been deterred by them from giving a like testimony? But the system, I trust, will lose its terrors; for iteration must have spoiled its effect. Men of any reflection will not easily believe that every gentleman who, having resided in the Colonies, is an enemy to Slavery, and ventures to raise his voice against it, at the expense of offending all the friends he has there, is a profligate, a hypocrite, and a liar.

But I have detained you too long, and must hasten to my practical conclusions.

Such being the alarming posture of the sacred cause which you lately thought triumphant, and the formidable difficulties under which its associated friends at present labour, the important question is, what can we do to sustain it?



The insidious enemies of the cause, and some of its sincere, but much-mistaken friends, exhort you to be inactive and silent; but I should be inexcusable, knowing what I do, if I should concur in that advice, or not avow my firm conviction that your adopting it would be fatal.

Already the Colonists openly, though I trust vainly, boast that the popularity of the Resolutions of May 1823 is on its wane in this country; and unless there shall be a renewed and strong expression of popular feeling at this crisis, to prove the contrary, the opinion will seem to be confirmed. Let those who are credulous enough to believe that the sincere concurrence of the Assemblies is not yet hopeless, ask themselves whether such a persuasion will not be likely to reverse what little disposition may yet remain among them to adopt principles and measures to which they avow their aversion. To assist your views on that question, I will state as a fact, which I have from direct and most satisfactory information, (though for the author's sake I dare not name the source of it,) the way in which a Bill for the partial adoption of some of the reforms recommended by His Majesty's Government was lately defeated in one of the insular Assemblies. There were in that body several very influential members, who from policy perhaps, if not from better motives, were well disposed towards such a partial compliance; at least in point of form. Others were won over by their persuasion, or by the influence of the Governor; and the Bill was carried at length into a committee with such favourable prospects, that the author of it anticipated with confidence and exultation its speedily passing into a law. I know this latter fact with certainty, having seen it in a letter from the gentleman himself (whose handwriting I know) to a friend in this country. I had little or no doubt therefore that such an Act was passed; and on the recent arrival of a friend from the spot, a late member of the same legislature, I was surprised to hear to the contrary. On my asking the cause of this disappointment, he told me that the Bill had long been delayed in the committee by differences on some of its details, till at length its enemies prevailed so far as to get rid of it, for the session at least, by a suggestion, founded on information from England, that the storm was blowing over

here, and that if they took time till another year they would have no more trouble with such an unpleasant business. On this ground the Bill was suffered to drop, without its express rejection, or any report from the committee.

It is not however in a view only, or chiefly, to such natural effects in the Colonies that I deprecate your inactivity at this juncture. Its consequences in Parliament, and as I believe in the Cabinet itself, would be far more adverse to our hopes. In the Colonial Assemblies we have not a possible chance of ever obtaining any substantial good; and to obtain it here by parliamentary authority, without the continued aid of the popular voice, is almost equally hopeless. Every where your supineness would animate the enemies of our cause, and enervate, if not dishearten, its friends. The Government itself, supposing even its members unanimously with us (and this is more than we can reasonably hope), stands in great need of your assistance. It is a support which none of our friends in the Administration can solicit or seem to desire; for that would spoil its effect; but if any one of them were known to me to be really adverse to your demonstrating, by petitions or other constitutional means, your feelings on this occasion, then I own his sincerity and right intentions would appear to me very doubtful.

Never was such an exercise of the rights of the British people called for on more unexceptionable grounds. It is a privilege often prostituted to factions or party-spirited purposes; and still oftener used, by particular classes of men, to promote their private interests, when distinct from, and perhaps opposed to, the good of the people at large. But in this case, *we* have no factious views to promote, no selfish dispositions to indulge: we have none but purely national, or still higher than national, objects. For what can Englishmen more justifiably and meritoriously solicit of their representatives in Parliament, than to maintain the moral character of their country, to deliver themselves from national guilt, and to release them from the dreadful necessity of maintaining a cruel oppression, by dipping their hands, upon every resistance of it, deep in innocent blood.

Our adversaries have furnished us with a further argument; and upon their principles, though certainly not on mine, a stronger one. They allege that they shall be entitled to indemnities, the amount of which they magnify beyond all rational bounds, out of the public purse; they demand to be indemnified not only for the enfranchisement of their Slaves, if that should be enacted by law, but for every alleviation of their bondage. We ought to indemnify them, they contend, for abolishing even those aggravations of Slavery which the Mother Country was so far from having sanctioned, that she knew not of their existence, and the reality of which their own Assemblies and public agents, upon her inquiries, stoutly denied.

I will not here examine the merits of this claim; but if it has any just foundation, surely your petitions are pre-eminently right and decorous on the part of the people; and useful, instead of embarrassing, to a well-intentioned Government. They are, in that case, virtual offers to bear the pecuniary burthen incident to the reformatations which your moral feelings lead you to desire; and what can be more acceptable to Ministers sincerely disposed to such a work? If we could do them such injustice as to suppose them not in earnest, their wishes would deserve from you no regard; but on the opposite, and I trust the right assumption, the petitions of the people cannot be too numerous or importunate for their satisfaction and their ease.

And here by the way, we have another argument, a decisive, though hitherto I think a neglected one, against the course that has been most unhappily taken. The Colonists contend (and if their claims for compensation are just, they rightly contend) that the damage and the indemnity should go hand in hand; and that it would be unjust to the Slave-owner to impair his property first, and leave it for subsequent consideration and enactment, when and how he shall be compensated. *But how can this possibly consist with referring the work to the Assemblies?* What! are the Assemblies of Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, or Jamaica to dip their hands into the purses of the people of England? Can it be left to *them* to annex compensatory provisions to the reformatations they are desired to enact?



This obvious consideration might suffice to prove, if it were not otherwise sufficiently manifest, that the cry for indemnities is a mere bugbear to frighten you from your righteous purpose. They must well know that this part of the case can be examined and disposed of by Parliament alone; and yet they tell you it must be incorporated with reforms, against the interposition of Parliament in which, even to the extent of discussions upon the subject, they vehemently protest.

The opposition raised to us on this ground, however, ought not to be noticed without stronger condemnation than its mere inconsistency and insincerity deserve. Familiar though it is to us, I have never been able to regard its countenance in Parliament without astonishment, or without feeling as an Englishman ought to do when his country is degraded and dishonoured.

Let it be supposed that, as between the Planter and the State, compensation ought to be a simultaneous measure with reform, or if you will, a previous one; still, what is the reference to the one, as an objection to the other, but a shameful appeal to the avarice or economical prudence of the country against its honour and its conscience? To the moral rights of the Slave, it is just as valid a bar, as a plea of associated robbers would be against making restitution to the injured party, that it would require a contribution from the gang. Even this illustration is inadequate; for the question here is, not merely whether we shall restore, but whether, as the alternative, we shall add wrong to wrong, inflicting the same calamities on generations yet unborn, enslaving the offspring, lest we should have to pay for the redemption of the parents, and subduing all resistance from either, by the effusion of innocent blood!

Nevertheless, this base and odious argument is boldly and perpetually brought forward against us; and greatly augments, perhaps, the difficulties of those who are not only the keepers of the national conscience, but the responsible stewards of the national purse. In this view then also, the case loudly calls for popular interposition; for however powerful any administration may be in comparison with the party systematically

opposed to it, a strong league of particular interests, potent enough on both sides of the House of Commons to control the influence of the Crown with many of its own adherents, and at the same time to neutralize the Opposition as a body, may be more than it can effectually resist; especially when it will be the effect of a just measure to entail a serious burthen on the country.

There are acknowledged cases in which a strong expression of the popular voice, aided by a right use of the elective franchise, is the only remedy for public evils that our Constitution affords. I may, without offence I hope to any truly national party, allude to the well known case of Mr. Fox's Indian Bill, as illustrating the remark. I speak not in censure of that measure, or disparagement of the great and now departed statesmen who supported it. They may have been right in their judgement;—as I doubt not they were in their intentions;—but a concert of men of opposite political principles was formed, upon what were supposed to be personal and particular interests, with a view to give law to the Crown and Parliament, in opposition to what was contended to be the duty and interest of the country at large. An appeal to the people therefore was strongly made, and cordially answered; and the result was, that a new spirit appeared in the House of Commons, and the coalition was defeated. It was alleged on that occasion, that a fourth estate was about to be created, dangerous to the Constitution; but in the present case it might be with greater reason alleged that a fourth estate actually exists; not indeed under the management of a permanent East India Board, but of a West Indian Committee, which, if not dangerous to the Constitution, is so at least in a high degree to the public morals, the honour, and the prosperity of this great empire. The same remedy is therefore urgently called for, in order that public principles may have fair play; and that the Government itself may be sustained in right measures against a too powerful faction.

I call upon you then solemnly, as fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, to exert yourselves to the utmost on this great and interesting occasion. If you would prevent further

sacrifices of your manufacturing, commercial, and maritime interests, of your revenues and military means, and of the security even of your Colonies themselves; if you would maintain the independence and dignity of your Parliament, and its constitutional supremacy over the distant dependencies of the empire, without which they are a degrading incumbrance and a nuisance; if you would redeem the sacred pledges you have given to the unfortunate Slaves, and prevent the perpetuation on them and their innocent offspring of a bondage disgraceful to the British and the Christian name; and if you would rescue yourselves from the abhorred necessity of imbruing your hands in their blood, when and as often as intolerable oppression urges them to a hopeless resistance,—now, *now*, is your time to be active.

The constitutional and effectual path is plain. You are or soon will be solicited for your votes by those who wish to be your representatives in the House of Commons. Let your first question to every candidate be, Are you a Proprietor of Slaves, or a West India merchant? If the answer is in the affirmative, I would recommend to you a positive refusal, unless he be one of the very few who have already proved themselves true friends to our cause; or who, being known to you as a man of probity and honour, will give you the security of his promise henceforth to support it in the House. But whoever the candidate may be, demand of him, as the condition of your support, that he will solemnly pledge himself to attend in his place whenever any measure is brought forward for the mitigation and progressive termination of Slavery by parliamentary enactments; and that he will give his vote for every measure of that kind, not inconsistent with the temperate and prudent spirit of the Resolutions of May, 1823, and the recommendations of His Majesty's Government founded on those resolutions. Unless such a pledge is given in these, or equivalent terms, and more especially so as to exclude the subterfuge of still committing the work to the Assemblies, the engagement will be of little value, or rather of none at all. Add to this right use of your own vote, the widest and most active influence you can employ with your brother electors, to engage



them to follow your example. Let Committees for the purpose be formed in every county, city, and borough in the United Kingdom, in which any independent suffrages are to be found; and let Public Meetings be called, and the exhortations of the Press be employed, to extend the same salutary work; and that work, let me add, alone; avoiding all political distinctions, and inviting men of both or all parties, to unite in promoting that single object.

But it is not by such means only that we solicit your assistance. The petitions of the people led to the Resolutions of May 1823. Let the same means be speedily employed again for carrying them into effect. I trust that the tables of Parliament soon after its first assembling will be covered deeper than ever with new and earnest petitions from every part of the United Kingdom. Let them be temperate and respectful, but firm; and if need be, reiterated also, till their object shall be effectually obtained; and let your representatives on every occasion be requested to present and support them.

I cannot promise, my countrymen, that by such means your generous wishes will be fully and certainly accomplished; but one end at least, and an inestimable one, you will be sure to obtain. You will deliver your own consciences from any participation in the guilt which you have used your best endeavours to restrain.

To this most important end, indeed, one ulterior effort may be necessary. The consumers of West India sugar are unquestionably abettors of the iniquitous means by which it is produced; and the only excuse for our consciences in not hitherto renouncing the use of it, has been the fear of prejudicing our cause by a premature resort to such a measure. My views on that subject being already before the public, I need not dwell upon them here; but the opinion which I now share with all the friends of our cause whose sentiments are known to me is, that should we not obtain some satisfactory measure from Parliament in the approaching session, it will become the clear duty of all who regard Colonial Slavery as cruel and unjust, to renounce without further delay the use of its produce themselves, and to recommend the same measure

to others. The failure of Mr. Brougham's motion, if unhappily it should fail, ought I think to be a signal throughout the country, to all the friends of reformation, that the moment is arrived for their adoption of this last resort.

Mean time, let not any man who fears God, or loves his country and his fellow-creatures, think that this is a case in which he can warrantably be neutral or passive. It might be so under an arbitrary form of Government; but every man in this free country who has a vote, or a voice that can influence the electors or elected, has in cases like the present a conscientious duty to perform, for the neglect of which he will be justly and seriously responsible. Every degree of such influence that we possess is not merely a privilege, but a trust; and the laws made or maintained by the representatives of a free people, are virtually of their own enactment.

Let me, in conclusion, address myself not only to my countrymen at large, but to such distinct descriptions among them, as may be influenced by particular considerations not felt by all.

To you, friends of universal freedom, who glory in the old appellation of *Whigs*, and regard all absolute authority, civil or political, with pre-eminent suspicion and dislike; to you in whose eyes even the liberties of Englishmen are not perfect, or require at least additional securities; to *you* my first invocation shall be made. What a reproach would it be to your principles, if you should not be among the foremost in endeavouring to relax the heavy and degrading yoke of private Slavery in our colonies? What, in comparison with *that*, is political thralldom, even to a foreign power; or what are civil and military despotisms, in the worst forms of them known in Europe? In what region, and in what age, was grosser violation ever done to the natural rights of man? or, to avoid terms that have been abused, where or when did the institutions of mankind so completely annihilate, for the sake of the despotic few, every benefit that the subjugated mass can be alleged to have derived from the civil union?

You are zealous in the cause of the oppressed Greeks; and the feeling does you honour. You reprobate strongly the illiberal despotism that presses down its yoke on the necks of

the unfortunate Spaniards; and it is a right and generous indignation. Can you then be insensible to the far more intolerable wrongs, to the far more goading oppression, which the poor Africans suffer under your own dominion? The Greeks have not yet been driven by the cart-whip; and many a tyrant, more illiberal and ungrateful than Ferdinand, is maintained by British bayonets, as he by French ones, on the petty thrones of the Plantations. Surely, also, it ought to be a heart-stirring distinction, that the Greeks and Spaniards have not to accuse us as the authors of their miseries; while there is scarcely a Slave in the British West Indies on whom, or his ancestors, we did not originally impose the cruel yoke he wears; and that by atrocious means, which we have ourselves since confessed to have been repugnant to humanity and justice.

Take the lead then, as it will well become you to do, in the present arduous and most righteous struggle. You have, I too well know, some inconsistent partisans and leaders who would warp you from your natural course for their own private interests; but they are unworthy of the appellation they assume. The name of Whig is a brand on the forehead of every man who is a defender of Colonial Slavery.

To you whom your opponents designate by the less popular name of *Tories*, I would next appeal. The Slave-masters strive to enlist your honest prepossessions on their side. They would persuade you that their cause is that of loyalty against disaffection, and established government against democratical innovation. Not so thought your Johnsons and your Humes, your Gibbons and your Horsleys; not so your Pitts and Grenvilles, nor your virtuous and lamented Percival. The very reverse is the truth. It is the nature of the Slave system to make the masters contentious, turbulent, and impatient of all authority but their own (as Burke, though in more softened language, has remarked). You found it to your cost in America; and you find it now in the West Indies. Ask your Ministers who have presided in the Colonial department, in what part of the empire His Majesty's subjects are the hardest to govern and to please; and where they have always been the most annoyed with turbulent opposition to the con-



stituted powers, conducted with factious violence; and I am sure the answer will be,—in the West Indies. Their distance, their impotence in a national view, and the general frivolity of their subjects of dispute with their governors, have kept them in general from much public notice in this country. But their feuds are a standing nuisance in the departments of state which have the difficult duty to examine and compose them. Slave questions are so far from being the sole causes of agitation, that by placing all the Whites at present in one party, or at least in the only one that dares utter a political voice, they have rather tended to lessen than increase their ordinary interior dissensions. At a time when no such questions were depending, I once heard the late Lord Castlereagh, then at the head of the Colonial department, complain that there was hardly a single Colony in which he had not some, I think he said not one, very troublesome petty controversy between the governors and the governed on his hands.

The intemperance of their malcontent spirit is not less remarkable than its restlessness. To the most disrespectful and contumacious remonstrances, their Assemblies scruple not to add, on very slight occasions, threatenings to stop, and sometimes actually to stop, all supplies for the support of their public interior establishments; and even their trivial contributions of barracks, or other local provisions, for the accommodation of the troops which we maintain at such a fearful cost for their security. They have sometimes proceeded to suspend all legislative business till the governor at length has been compelled to dissolve them. Nor is that remedy often effectual: for resistance to the King's Government, however rude and intemperate, is almost sure to be popular among these men who punish all resistance of their own domestic government with death. The same factious representatives are re-elected; and the ultimate event too commonly is, that Ministers, wearied out with their pertinacity, and with the public inconveniences that ensue, make sacrifices to appease them, such as ill consist with a due regard to the maintenance of the royal authority, and the credit of its faithful delegates. A governor, for instance, is not rarely recalled, for a firmness of conduct that entitled him to applause; and when Ministers at the same time show that they approved

it, by appointing him immediately to the command of some other colony.

In the present case, I need not say how far they are from deserving your sympathies on the score of dutiful submission, or deference towards either the Parliament or the Crown. They set both at open defiance, and deal out menaces of forcible resistance, which, however absurd and ridiculous, do not the less manifest a turbulent and disloyal spirit.

And whose are the rights and interests that they thus violently oppose and trample on? A disaffected populace? No; but an unfortunate class, mocked with the names of His Majesty's subjects, who fondly look for protection and relief only to the King and his Government, and fain would, but cannot "fly from petty tyrants to the throne." Be not deceived then by the crafty pretences and idle clamours of these pseudo-loyalists; nor let your honourable principles be disgraced by a supposed affinity to theirs. As far as constitutional interests are concerned at all, their cause is the very opposite of yours. It is plainly derogatory to the constitutional power and glory of the Crown, that the mass of the Colonial population, like the vassals of the feudal barons, should have intermediate sovereigns, to whom, much more than to the King or his laws, their allegiance must be paid. In their degraded breasts the noble sentiment of loyalty can find no place. The master, to them is every thing, and the monarch an empty name. They find that they are subjects by the sword only, not the sceptre. They find it only when their blood is to be shed, either by judicial sentence, or military execution, in the name of the King, against whom they are preposterously said to have offended or rebelled, in most cases of insubordination to their masters.

Among other consequences of this odious system that ought to be offensive to every liberal and loyal heart, the authority of the Sovereign is so degraded as to be actually made subordinate and ministerial to that of the master; not only by enforcing obedience to him, but by the actual execution of his vindictory mandates directed to the King's officers; and that to an extent of punishment greater than is inflicted here for most felonious offences. By the master's order alone, without any examination of its justice, his Slaves are received into His

Majesty's prisons, and by his officers attached to a chain, and driven by cart-whips in a file of similar victims, and of convicts judicially condemned to that harsh punishment, to hard labour in the public streets or roads\*.

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\* See the most recent Act of Jamaica; and like Acts of other islands. See also my *Law of Slavery*, p. 251 to 354.

To show the reader how this punishment is administered by the Executive Government on the mere mandate of the master, I extract the following account of it by a Jamaica planter, and one of the public apologists of the system, the late Mr. Dallas.

"Negroes are often sent hither by their masters and mistresses as a punishment &c.; and according to the supposed heinousness of their guilt, the correction, that is, the torture of the cattle whip, is superadded."

"These unhappy wretches (I have reckoned near a hundred linked to the same chain) are employed to dig and carry stones, remove rubbish, and to perform all the most fatiguing offices of the public. The chain, being fixed about the leader, is carried round the bodies of the followers, leaving a sufficient distance to walk without treading on each other's heels; and to each it is secured by a padlock. As soon as they are thus yoked, the gate is thrown open, and the poor animals are driven out by a Negro driver, attended by a White driver, both with cattle whips in their hands. Sometimes the White driver rides on a mule.

"You may imagine that in the great number of persons thus fastened to each other, without the least attention to the differences of age or of strength, it is not very probable that an equal pace among them can be kept up throughout the day as they move about. They are set upon a brisk walk almost approaching to a trot, and woe be to those whom fatigue first forces to flag. The never-ceasing sound of the cattle whip long keeps a regularity in the slight sinking curve of the intervening links of the chain; but nature will return; the feebler will begin to pull upon the stronger, the intervening links will lose their regular curve: here they become stretched to the utmost; there they sink nearly to the ground; the weak add the weight of their exhausted limbs to the strong, and the strong tread upon the heels of the weak. This the drivers remedy as much as possible by their cattle whips, till nature, quite worn out, is at last driven back to the work-house."—DALLAS'S *SHORT JOURNEY IN THE WEST INDIES*.

Even after a Slave has been prosecuted capitally in the King's court and acquitted, the prosecuting master has been known so far to show his contempt for the authority of the laws, as to send the injured man to be punished for an indefinite time in this cruel manner, on the same false imputation; and thus compel the Crown to be his minister of vengeance, after he has been tried at the King's suit and pronounced by his own judges to be innocent. (See a case cited in my *Law of Slavery*, p. 352.)

Can a greater degradation of royal authority than this be imagined?



The pedestals of the British throne are law, justice, and well-regulated freedom; all which this odious institution of private Slavery subverts. Its most glorious and darling prerogative is mercy; but of this the Slave is no object. No royal grace can absolve him from those harsh penalties which the master thinks fit to adjudge,—not even those which I have last mentioned, of which the Crown is the executioner. How, my loyal fellow subjects, can your feelings be expected to patronize a system like this?

Servants of God, of every description, my last and surest appeal is made to you. Of whatever faith you are, Churchmen, Dissenters, Catholics, Theists of every kind; if you believe that there is a God, the common Parent of the human race, who delights in justice and mercy, behold a cause that demands your strenuous support. The Slave-masters would craftily divide you. They would avail themselves of your theological differences; and especially would persuade you, if they could, that those who earnestly maintain this cause of God and man, are all fanatics and enthusiasts. But what creed will be found to countenance a system like theirs, when its true nature is developed? Even the Mahometan faith proscribes it, though in a much milder form, except as a scourge for unbelievers.

What then! is it pushing religious zeal too far to say that innocent fellow-creatures ought not to be left in a perpetual hereditary Slavery? that unoffending men, women, and children, ought not to be deprived of all civil and human rights, and condemned to toil for life, like cattle, under the whips of the drivers? Is it enthusiasm, to hold that a Slavery so rigorous as to have destroyed thousands and tens of thousands of its victims in our Sugar Colonies, and which is still so fatal that the most prolific of the human race cannot maintain their numbers in it, ought to be lenified by law? Is it fanaticism, to regard a bondage imposed by acknowledged crime, as one that cannot be rightfully protracted, and fastened on the progeny for ever? Then let religion and wrong, religion and cruelty, religion and murder, shake hands. The *Thurtels* and *Proberts* among us may claim to be rational religionists; and rail at their prosecutors as saints, enthusiasts, and fa-

natics. Perhaps indeed they do; for it seems to be the fashion to stigmatize by those terms every degree of moral sensibility that exceeds our own.

To such of you as are deeply impressed with the truth and importance of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity, and zealous for their propagation, and to such of you as are accustomed to observe and recognise the hand of Divine Providence in the government of the world, there is much more that I could wish to say. I might appeal to the principles you hold most sacred, for the duty of lending your aid to reform an impious system which shuts out the light of the Gospel, and violates in the grossest manner all its precepts; which keeps in a cruel thralldom the minds, as well as bodies, of its unfortunate victims; and adds to its other enormities antichristian persecution. I might show the inconsistency of the charitable efforts you are making to convert your fellow-creatures in the most distant and uncivilized regions of the globe, while you suffer your fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice, but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny which your own power, within your own territories, impiously upholds. I might prove to your entire conviction how hopeless it is that the poor Slaves in general should be made Christians, in more than name, by any means that have been adopted, or can be used, without raising their temporal condition.

Many of you also, I doubt not, might be strongly impressed by a clear and comprehensive view of that wonderful chain of events, which indicates, as plainly as events unexplained by Revelation can indicate, to human eyes, the hand of Divine Providence avenging the wrongs of the poor enslaved Africans, and favouring, I trust, our feeble efforts for their deliverance. The "signs of the times" are in this respect well worthy of the careful observation of every pious mind; and it is no presumption to deduce from them, not a new rule of conduct, but confirmation and encouragement in a purpose prescribed to us by the clearest principles of Christian duty.

But I think it best to abstain at present from these important and interesting topics. To do any justice to them here, would be to extend too far the length of this address. My

views on some of them are already, though partially, before the public; and I hope ere long to present to the religious friends of our cause, in a separate publication, a defence of the Bible against the foul charge of its countenancing Colonial Slavery; to which I propose to add a summary of those very extraordinary facts and coincidences that indicate, to my firm conviction, a purpose of Divine Providence to avenge, and I trust also to deliver, the long oppressed African race.

Mean time, enough I trust has been said to satisfy not only all who are actuated by Christian principles, but all who are friends to their species at large, or to their country, if unbiased by Colonial influence, that it is now our duty to be active.

Dismiss the idle hope that Slavery will ever be abolished, or materially alleviated, by the will of the masters, or by the laws of West Indian legislators. The often repeated, and often refuted pretence of actual improvements, believe me, is all delusion. The worst and most destructive branches of this oppression (excess of labour enforced by brutal means, and insufficiency of sustenance) are as prevalent as ever; and must be so from the necessary effects of the system, till controlled by parliamentary authority. I affirm it as a man who certainly knows the case; and who is preparing to adduce such evidence of its true nature as will satisfy the most incredulous.

Reject the insidious suggestions that your interference is needless; and that it implies distrust of our Ministers. I have shown that without the aid of the popular voice their good intentions must be fruitless. The Government, and the Parliament itself, are in thralldom to the dominating influence of our too powerful enemies. Examine fairly the facts I have adduced, and you will admit they can in no otherwise be explained. It is obvious, as I before remarked, that supposing the Cabinet unanimous in desiring petitions from the people, it is an interposition which they cannot solicit, or appear to approve. While the proper effect would be spoiled, the offence to the Colonial party would be not diminished, but enhanced. You must judge of the inclination of Ministers therefore on this occasion from the reason of the case, and from what you believe of their principles; and I ask of you only to believe them sin-



cere, in the views which some of them have strongly professed in Parliament, and all of them apparently adopted. To ascribe to them insincerity in such a case would be highly offensive, and, as I believe, unjust.

But should we suspect, or know, their wishes to be adverse to ours, our duties as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, would remain the same. We should be unworthy of all those appellations, and deserve to forfeit the privileges that belong to them, if, knowing our country to be the abettor and upholder of gross injustice and oppression, we should from complaisance to any men, or any party, decline to exercise our constitutional rights on the side of the injured and oppressed.

Come forward then with your petitions; instruct your representatives; give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament; and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause.

If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution, you will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven. You may rescue also yourselves and your posterity from severe calamities, which I firmly believe are now impending over us notwithstanding our apparent prosperity, not only from the natural effects of our pernicious system in the Colonies, if longer persisted in, but from the just vengeance of a righteous and all-directing Providence.

If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could "to undo the heavy burden and to let the oppressed go free," and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert.

# APPENDIX.

EXTRACT from Sir W. YOUNG's West India Common Place Book, p. 218.

TABLES, showing the Mortality of Troops in the West Indies (exclusive of those who fell in action) during Seven Years, from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, compiled from Regimental Returns collected by JOHN SAYER, Esq. Commissary in the Windward and Leeward Islands during that period.

| European Soldiers. |                |                         |       | Negro Soldiers.  |        |       | Officers.       |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------|------------------|--------|-------|-----------------|
|                    | Largest force. | Medium monthly returns. | Died. | Per Cent.        | Force. | Died. | Per Cent.       |
| 1796. April        | 19676          | 15881                   | 6484  | 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 2495   | 75    | 3               |
| 1797. April        | 13627          | 11503                   | 3766  | 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3080   | 118   | 4               |
| 1798. April        | 9192           | 8416                    | 1602  | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 3055   | 252   | 8               |
| 1799. February     | 7654           | 7202                    | 876   | 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 3354   | 258   | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| 1800. February     | 8840           | 7890                    | 1221  | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4320   | 286   | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1801. February     | 11745          | 10315                   | 2340  | 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 4604   | 276   | 6               |
| 1802. February     | 10193          | 9038                    | 990   | 11               | 3840   | 199   | 5               |
| Original Army.     | 19676          |                         | 17173 |                  |        |       |                 |
|                    |                |                         |       |                  |        |       | 590             |

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THE  
PROGRESS  
OF  
COLONIAL REFORM;

BEING A

**Brief View**

OF THE REAL ADVANCE MADE SINCE MAY 15th, 1823,

IN CARRYING INTO EFFECT THE

RECOMMENDATIONS OF HIS MAJESTY,

THE

UNANIMOUS RESOLUTIONS OF PARLIAMENT,

AND THE

UNIVERSAL PRAYER OF THE NATION,

WITH RESPECT TO

NEGRO SLAVERY.

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*Drawn from the Papers printed for the House of Commons, prior  
to the 10th of April, 1826.*

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;

AND SOLD BY

HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

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M.DCCC.XXVI.





THE  
PROGRESS  
OF  
COLONIAL REFORM,  
*&c. &c.*

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ON the 15th of May, 1823, the House of Commons resolved, on the motion of Mr. Canning, “ to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty’s Colonies;” and expressed its hope that “ through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures,” the slaves might be prepared, “ for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty’s subjects;” “ at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.”

In pursuance of this resolution, His Majesty’s Government proposed to introduce into all the Slave Colonies the following reforms : viz.

1. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the Slave population.
2. To put an end to markets and to labour on the Sunday, and to appropriate that day entirely to rest and recreation, and to religious worship and instruction; and instead of Sunday, which had hitherto been the day on which, in most of the Colonies, the Slaves had cultivated their provision grounds, to allow them equivalent time on other days for that purpose.
3. To admit the testimony of Slaves in courts of justice.
4. To legalize the marriages of Slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.
5. To protect the Slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, and in its transmission by bequest, or otherwise.

6. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission, and to grant to the Slave the power of redeeming himself, and his wife and children, at a fair appraisement.

7. To prevent the separation of families by sale, or otherwise.

8. To prevent the seizure and sale of Slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong.

9. To restrain generally the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

10. To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

11. To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority, or as a stimulus to labour.

12. To establish Savings' Banks for the use of the Slaves.

Besides these important changes, as to the propriety of which, little difference of opinion has appeared to exist in this country, and even the West-Indian body have generally concurred,\* there were two other points which formed the subject of much discussion, and to the expediency of which it was understood that His Majesty's Government assented.

One of these respected the question of relieving Negroes and persons of colour, from the operation of that unjust principle of Colonial law, which subjects them to be dealt with as Slaves, unless they shall be able to establish, by legal proof, their right to freedom. The other respected the policy of not permitting future governors, or judges, or attorneys-general, or fiscals, or religious instructors, in the Slave Colonies, to be holders of property in Slaves.†

The views which were taken of the condition of the Slave population by His Majesty's Ministers, and by the Anti-Slavery Society, may possibly have differed in some respects, and the former may have been led to think more favourably of it than the latter. But, thus far they were agreed; that that condition was such as to require those sweeping reforms which the above propositions involved, and which virtually conceded to the abolitionists the substance of their case. It was clearly impossible to maintain that such reforms were called for in our Slave Colonies, without admitting that the state of society existing there was at war with every acknowledged principle of natural equity, of common humanity, or of British constitutional law, and with the whole spirit

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\* Lord Bathurst affirms repeatedly, in his dispatches to the Colonial governors, that the measures he was anxious the legislatures should adopt, had "in almost every instance, been recommended by the principal planters resident in this country."

† See substance of the debate in the House of Commons, 15th May, 1823. Preface xxvi—xxxiii.



and genius of the Christian religion, and that therefore the most prompt remedial measures were called for.

His Majesty's Government appeared to have felt so strongly the force of this necessary inference from the facts of the case, that a fortnight was not suffered to elapse, after the resolution of the 15th of May, 1823, had been adopted, before brief instructions were sent to the governors of the different Slave Colonies, to have it forthwith carried into effect; and these were followed, in a few weeks, by further instructions still more ample and peremptory, to the same purport.\* The abolitionists are accused of impatience, because they complain of the delay of three years which has already taken place, and of the much greater delay which, on the present plan of proceeding, is likely to take place before the proposed work of reform shall have even effectually commenced. But what was the language of Lord Bathurst, His Majesty's Secretary of State, as early as the 9th of July, 1823, in conveying to the Colonial governors His Majesty's commands?—"I have most earnestly to impress upon you," says his lordship, in his circular letter of that date, "*the NECESSITY of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only WITH ALL POSSIBLE DISPATCH, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of His Majesty's Government.*" "If you should meet with any serious opposition, you will lose no time in transmitting to me the necessary communication, *in order that I may take the EARLIEST opportunity of laying the matter before Parliament, and submitting for their consideration such measures as it may be fit to adopt in consequence.*"

It may be inferred from the language of this dispatch, as well as from that which His Majesty's Ministers held in parliament, that at this time they were not fully aware of the real state of things in the West Indies, or of the general temper and feeling of the Colonists; and that they relied on a ready compliance with requisitions so reasonable and moderate in themselves, and so consonant to the universal sentiment of the British parliament and public. They were in vain warned, by persons who assumed to be better informed upon this point, that they had embarked in a hopeless undertaking; that the Colonists would prove inflexible by any recommendations which could be addressed to them, or, indeed, by any considerations short of authoritative interference, on the part of the Government, and of Parliament; and that the course it was determined to adopt, must end in delay and disappointment, if not in insurrection, and all its concomitant evils.

Even in those Colonies in which (having no local legislatures) the King alone possessed the power of framing laws, it was deemed right

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\* See for these instructions, the Society's Second Report, Appendix D.

not to issue the requisite orders on the subject, but to submit the propriety of adopting the proposed changes to the Colonial authorities, and to await their decision. The result was such as those who knew them best had fully expected. The clamour against improvement was no less loud, the resistance to the Royal recommendations no less unqualified, in the Colonies subject to the Crown, than in those possessing assemblies of their own. The universality of this opposition on the part of the Colonists, the occurrence of tumult in Demerara, the fabricated plots in Jamaica, and the bullying remonstrances which burst concurrently from every part of the West Indies, appear to have had no inconsiderable effect on the measures of His Majesty's Ministers. Instead of coming down to Parliament to complain that the recommendations of His Majesty had not been carried into effect "with all possible dispatch," and "in a spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with His Majesty's Government," and to ask for further counsel, they determined on delay; in the hope that when the existing irritation had subsided, the Colonists would be induced to act from a sense of what was due to the dignity of the Crown and the authority of Parliament, and to the recognized claims of humanity and justice. The single measure, to which, in the second year, they limited themselves, was to embody their plan of reform in an Order of Council, which should take immediate effect in the island of Trinidad, and be presented to the other Colonies as the model of their legislation. This expedient has proved equally abortive with that which was first resorted to; and, at the end of three years, the work of reformation which Lord Bathurst so properly and so peremptorily required should be proceeded in with all possible dispatch, has, as yet, scarcely commenced in any of the Colonies, excepting Trinidad; and even there it was found impossible to induce the Colonists to pursue it in the required spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with His Majesty's Government. It became necessary to resort to compulsion, as affording the only means of carrying their plans into effect. No discretion was allowed to the local authorities. The Order in Council was imposed and enforced by the peremptory mandate of the Sovereign. Trinidad, therefore, is the only Colony where the proposed reforms have been carried into any thing like effect; and even there they have had to encounter from the first, and they are still encountering the decided and avowed hostility of the whole White Population.\*

As the Trinidad Order has been exhibited to all the Colonies, as the

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\* See the Parliamentary Papers, *passim*, under the head Trinidad; the Society's Second Report, p. 1—7; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 80. It is the second edition of this last work, which is quoted throughout.

model to which they are to assimilate their Slave codes, it is important exactly to ascertain the degree in which it may be considered to have successfully embodied the various reforms, which were originally contemplated by Ministers, as the first step in their progress towards the final emancipation of the Slaves. To this end it will be necessary to take in succession the different points mentioned above, and to show how far they have been effectively provided for by the Order in Council.

1. The Order speaks of some future time, when effectual provision shall be made for the religious instruction of the Slaves ; but it contains itself no regulation whatever either for the instruction of adults, or the education of children.

2. It is not until the effectual provision, thus indefinitely spoken of, shall have been made, that Sunday markets are to cease ; and, meanwhile, they are to be held only before ten in the morning of Sunday. The master is at the same time forbidden, except in the case of domestics, cattle-keepers, &c. to compel his Slaves to labour for his benefit on the Sunday ; and whatever necessary labour the Slaves may be induced voluntarily to perform for him, on that day, is to be paid for at fixed rates of wages. The Order therefore does not prohibit Sunday markets, except prospectively, and when religious instruction shall have been provided for the Slaves ; and yet it institutes no means whatever of such instruction. It further leaves the very important question of the Sunday labour of the Slave, in his provision grounds, for his own sustenance, wholly untouched. It has been most justly assumed by His Majesty's Ministers, as an undeniable position, that Sunday must be considered as a day belonging to the Slave : and this position has been clearly laid down by Lord Bathurst, in one of his dispatches to the governor of Trinidad. A question had been put to him by the planters of that island, as to their right of *compelling* lazy and turbulent negroes to work their grounds on Sunday, " as had," they say, " been the practice hitherto." His Lordship tells them that they are prohibited from using compulsion in this case, because they are entitled only to six days labour of the Slave in the week ; and out of the profits of these six days, the Slave must be supported. The master, therefore, can have no possible claim for the services of his Slave on the Sunday, either on his account, or with a view to the sustenance of the Slave. And for the time during the week which he may appropriate to his Slaves for their provision grounds, he can have no claim to compensation ; as the arrangement of allowing them land, and sufficient time for cultivating it, is adopted, adds his Lordship, in order to supersede the necessity of purchasing provisions for them.\*

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\* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 81.



This view of the subject is clear and intelligible; and the fair inference to be drawn from it is that the Sunday should be given wholly up to the Slave, while, to use Mr. Canning's language, *equivalent* time should be secured to him on other days, for cultivating his provision grounds. But this equivalent time has not been assigned to him in the Trinidad Order in Council.

It had hitherto been the practice in Trinidad, and indeed in all Colonies that pursued the plan, which is there pursued, of making the Slaves support themselves by the cultivation of their provision grounds, to allot the Sunday and a certain portion of time besides, varying from 16 to 26 days, for that purpose; the master assuming a right of compelling the slave so to employ not only those week-days, but the Sundays also; and it being often a part of the ordinary duty of the inferior overseers on plantations to visit the negro grounds on Sunday, in order to ascertain and report which of the Slaves were engaged there, and which were not. What precise number of days, besides Sundays, were allowed to the Slaves in Trinidad, for the purpose of raising their own provisions, is no where specified. Had the Spanish law been adhered to, as it ought to have been, the Slaves would then have had 52 week days and 30 holidays, besides the Sunday; which they might have called their own, and which they might have employed in raising food, and in acquiring the means of effecting their own or their children's manumission.\* This merciful law, however, has not been enforced under the English government; and it is believed that the number of week days in the year, allowed to the Slave, has at no time exceeded 26, if it has even amounted to so many. If this apprehension be erroneous, it will be easy to correct it by producing the law of Trinidad on the subject.

What then is the situation in which the Trinidad Slave is placed by the Order in Council? The Sunday ceases to be a day of compulsory labour: Lord Bathurst justly affirms the right of the Slave to its absolute and undisturbed enjoyment; and yet no provision whatever is made by this Order for giving him equivalent time in lieu of it. The Slave, it will, perhaps, be said, may still work his ground as formerly on the Sunday. Without doubt he may. But was this the intention of His Majesty's Government, or of Parliament? Was it not intended, *bona fide*, that the *Sabbath* should be what its name designates—a day of rest, as well as of religious worship, to the Slave? And let the fact be supposed that the clergymen, or missionaries, who visit Trinidad, should succeed in conveying to any considerable number of Slaves proper impressions of the sanctity of the Sunday, and of the duty of devoting it to purposes of religious worship and instruction, would not the

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See for proof the Society's Second Report, Appendix A, p. 72 and 77.

effect necessarily be that such Christian Slaves would at once have the pittance of time applicable to their own purposes, (at least, which they could conscientiously thus apply,) reduced from 78 in the year to 26. Seventy-eight week days in the year, however, is obviously the smallest number which, if the supposition that has been made respecting the practice which had hitherto prevailed in Trinidad be correct, can in justice be appropriated to the Slaves for their own use. They will otherwise be placed in a worse situation than before, as to time for cultivating their grounds. The Order in Council specifies no time which is to be secured to them, but leaves them either to the possession of the number of days, whatever it be, which, in addition to the Sunday they had hitherto been allowed, or to the tender mercies of their master for an increase.

The continuance of the Sunday market, even till ten o'clock, is, without doubt, greatly to be deplored, whether it be regarded as a voluntary and unnecessary desecration of that day, by the supreme authority of the state, or as a mere question of policy. The Government clearly possessed the power at once to put an end to this immoral and irreligious practice, and no good reason has been assigned for their not putting an end to it. The limitation of the market also to ten o'clock, while it does not save the day from desecration, imposes peculiar hardships on the Slaves. Many of them have to travel ten, fifteen, and twenty miles, with their loads for sale. In what way is it possible for them to attend the market, and to effect their sales, and to make their purchases, before ten o'clock, without sacrificing a night's rest, after a week of labour, in order to reach the Sunday market in due time? The regulation is therefore a cruel one to the Slaves, if it were possible to observe it; and if the Sunday markets are still to be continued, it can only be wished that the regulation may not be enforced.

The reason for this most objectionable prolongation of the practice of Sunday markets, is said to be an apprehension lest, until religious instruction shall have been provided, the Slaves should abuse the day to purposes of riot and licentiousness. But how is this effect to be obviated by fixing the market on Sunday, and above all by the limitation of that market to ten o'clock? On the contrary, is not this arrangement more likely than any other to produce the effect which it proposes to avoid? The slaves are drawn together in great crowds, from distant parts of the country, at an early hour on the morning of Sunday; and after a fatiguing walk, the length of which they must again retrace before they reach their homes, and with the money obtained by marketing in their pockets, are they not much more likely to be tempted to spend a part of the day idly and dissolutely, and, perhaps, after getting drunk, to unite for purposes of disorder, than if they had been induced, as they would have been had not the market drawn them to town, to remain

quietly at home, to repose themselves after the labours of the week, or to attend to their grounds or to other domestic occupations? It is an arrangement therefore both impolitic in itself, and most injurious to the slave.

The abolition of Sunday markets is made, by the Order in Council, to depend on a very vaguely defined, and most dubious contingency; namely, the making effectual provision for the religious instruction of the Slaves. Until that is provided, much, it is true, may be said for not interfering to prevent their labouring moderately in their gardens, or grounds, on that day; but no good reason can be assigned for continuing on that account the Sunday market.

It is chiefly, however, when the effect of this part of the Order in Council for Trinidad, upon the conduct and feelings of the other Colonies, is contemplated, that its regulations are to be deplored. It is exhibited to them as an *example*; but they do not find in it the proof of any high regard for the sanctity of the Sabbath; on the contrary, Sunday markets are, for a time, expressly sanctioned by it. It contains no provision for giving to the Slave equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, though it forbids his compulsory labour, even on his own grounds, on that day. It, moreover, does not contain a single regulation requiring or enforcing the religious instruction, or Christian education, of the Slaves, in any degree however limited. To those also who are adverse to the abolition of the Sunday markets, being the great majority of the resident planters, it actually holds out an inducement to abstain from providing that religious instruction, on the existence of which the abolition of them is made to depend. Can it then be any subject of surprise, that with this example before them, only one of the Colonies should have abolished the Sunday market? In the unfortunate laxity of their model, do they not find a sufficient apology, at least, for delay? Would it not be unreasonable to blame them for not being in advance of the wishes of Government, as those wishes are to be traced in its own acts? Before improvement in these important respects is to be looked for in any of the Colonies, there must be a revision and correction of those clauses of the Trinidad Order which bear on this subject. Their malign influence on the progress of reform, in the other Colonies, is too plainly visible to be denied. Notwithstanding the appointment of bishops and archdeacons, and additional clergymen, only one Colony, throughout the whole range of the Antilles, has abolished the Sunday market. And, even in the two Colonies, which are the immediate residence of the Bishops, no measures have yet been adopted for abolishing it.

3. The next head, in the list of proposed reforms, is the admission of the evidence of Slaves in courts of justice. When the council of



Trinidad were asked what was the state of the existing law on this point, in that particular colony, they replied, in their minute of the 9th July, 1823, that the evidence of Slaves was now received there *quantum valeat*; and to this rule they do not state any exception. Now, if this be a correct account of the matter, and it does not appear to have been disputed, then the condition of the Slave, in respect of his admissibility as a witness, seems to be deteriorated instead of being improved by the Order in Council. For though it be true that the Order in Council has declared that "nothing therein contained shall extend to take away or diminish any power or authority which any court of criminal jurisdiction now hath to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons being in a state of slavery;" yet it seems difficult to conceive, that the special regulations respecting the admission of the evidence of slaves, introduced into the Order, were intended to have no operation whatever. It is there ordained, that any slave, whom any clergyman, priest, or religious teacher shall certify to understand the nature of an oath, shall be recorded as entitled to give evidence in courts of justice, in all cases civil or criminal, excepting in civil suits where the master is concerned, or in trials affecting the life of a *white* man. Is it not fair to ask, Did these exceptions exist under the old law of Trinidad? If they did not, then a positive injury is inflicted on the Slave by this (so called) amelioration. But it may be said, that these exceptions were not intended to operate in Trinidad, to the prejudice of the Slaves of that island, whose rights have been reserved by a saving clause in the Order, but were inserted in order to furnish a convenient exemplification of the provisions, on the subject of Slave evidence, which it was desired that the other Colonies should adopt. Even on this ground, each of the proposed exceptions is liable to some formidable objections.

In the first place, with respect to the non-admissibility of the evidence of Slaves in those civil suits in which their master may happen to be concerned; it is not denied that a Slave may be liable to a strong bias in favour of his master in cases of disputed property between him and third parties. Neither is it denied, that where an action of debt or trespass is brought by a Slave against his master, a species of suit which the Trinidad Order legalizes, the evidence of his fellow Slaves ought to be received with great caution, whether it be for or against the claim. But to shut out that evidence entirely, instead of leaving the question of its competency or credibility to be decided by the proper tribunal, seems to be a rule of very dubious import.

Another of the exceptions, however, is of a still more objectionable nature, namely, that which renders the evidence of Slaves inadmissible in trials affecting the life of a *White* man. Why, the *White* man, in par-

ticular, should be protected against the evidence of Slaves is not explained. If it be on the ground of his freedom, or of his proprietorship, these are grounds which apply with as much, if not more strength, and especially in Trinidad, to the Brown and to the Black who are free, and who are proprietors of Slaves, than it does to the White class. Throughout the West Indies, the judges and jurors, at present, are all White, and the White class, therefore, possesses, in this very circumstance, a peculiar guarantee against the evil effects which are to be apprehended from the admission of the evidence of Slaves on the trial of free persons accused of capital offences. If any class of proprietors could be regarded as more endangered than another, by admitting the evidence of Slaves in such cases, it would be the Black and the Brown classes, who are at present wholly excluded, in all the colonies, from a seat either on the bench or in the jury-box.

But this novel principle of legislation is liable to a still more formidable objection. The cruelties, mayhems, mutilations, and murders, which have taken place from time to time in the Slave Colonies, have been chiefly perpetrated by *White* men. The very strong feeling which has been excited in this country, in favour of the admission of the evidence of Slaves, has arisen from an anxious desire and hope of thereby guarding against the recurrence of these evils. The exception in question puts an extinguisher on that natural and reasonable hope, for it tends to confer impunity on the very parties whom it was desired, by the admission of Slave evidence, to restrain. A White man, under the operation of this exception, might safely murder his Slave, though a hundred or a thousand other Slaves were present. And by the peculiar construction of the Trinidad Order, a temptation seems actually held out to him, (of course undesignedly and through mere inadvertence) to do so in certain supposable cases. If, for example, a White man should be accused of cruelty to a Slave, Slaves may testify against him and convict him. If the same man should be convicted, as he may also be on Slave evidence, of a second offence of the same description, he would be condemned to the forfeiture of all his Slaves, and rendered incapable of ever holding such property, or being entrusted with the management of it. Is it not a possible case, that to avoid this ruinous result, he should be tempted to kill the maimed Slave outright? He would then be secure from conviction, if no free persons were present, although the whole of the Slave gang should have witnessed the murder.

It is the more extraordinary that this particular exception should have been admitted into the Trinidad Order, because, in almost every instance where the West India Legislatures have themselves chosen to relax, in any degree, their stern exclusion of the evidence of Slaves, it has included those capital cases in which the Trinidad Order has

rendered their evidence inadmissible. In Tobago, for example, the evidence of Slaves has been admitted, against free persons, without exception, in one case and one case only, and that is on their trial for the mayhem or murder of a Slave. In the latest Grenada Act the evidence of Slaves is also admitted against all free persons, but only when they are tried for capital crimes; and the abortive Bill of the Jamaica Legislature limited the admissibility of Slave evidence to capital offences. The Planters themselves in these islands must have perceived the groundlessness of those apprehensions which have led the Government to introduce so dangerous an exception into the Trinidad Order.

But there is a third exception, which has not yet been noticed, namely, that which requires the certificate of a clergyman or religious teacher, in order to entitle the Slave to be heard in evidence in any case, civil or criminal. Ought such a certificate to be required? Was it required under the Spanish Slave Code? Was it required in Trinidad under the old law? Is it now required in Cuba or Porto Rico? Has it ever been required under the operation of the civil law, in the Colonies planted by Holland? Is it now required of any one of our numerous subjects in Hindostan or in Africa, whatever be the gross and revolting form of idolatry which they practise, or the ignorance in which they are sunk? What could be more decisive than the language which was held, during a late discussion in the House of Commons, by Mr. Peel on this subject? He is reported to have said, that there was one topic above all others, upon which he could not avoid expressing a decided opinion—the qualification of Slaves to give evidence in a court of justice. Of that he would say, that he hoped not one year, no, not even a single session would pass by, without the enactment of some regulation on the subject. For, who were the persons to whom that evidence was to be offered? Why, they were the Whites. Could it be said then, that those who were to judge of the value of such evidence were unreasonably prejudiced in favour of the Black population? Quite the contrary. What he wanted was, that the responsibility of rejecting a Black man's evidence should rest, not on the law, but on some known tribunal. Such a measure would be the first step to invest him with those rights which that House considered it right to bestow upon him. And if they were resolved to carry their intentions into execution, and raise the Black population to the rank of human beings, he could not understand any reason why they should delay giving effect to their views, upon this subject, for a single moment. The Slave would be liable to be summoned just in the same manner as an idiot might be in this country; and it would lie with the jury to determine, when he appeared before them, whether his testimony should or should not be believed. For his part, he could not conceive a mind, even the most deeply imbued with West Indian



prejudices, who could see any danger likely to accrue, to the life or property of the White man, by investing the Slaves with such a privilege.

Such is in substance the language which Mr. Peel is reported to have held on the 1st of March, 1826. The language is worthy of his enlarged and liberal mind; and it is most ardently to be desired, that the principle which it maintains may form the basis of all future legislation on this subject, whether by the British Parliament, or by the Colonial Assemblies.

4. The fourth measure of reform proposed to be adopted, was to legalize the marriage of Slaves. This object appears to be effectually accomplished by the Trinidad Order, as far as regards the intermarriage of Slaves with each other—but no provision is made for legalizing the intermarriage of Slaves with free persons.

5. By the Trinidad Order, the Slave is protected in the acquisition, possession, and transmission of property, and is empowered to hold land as well as every other species of property, whether real or personal. This is, without doubt, a most important enactment, and fraught with the most beneficial consequences, provided the equivalent time to which the Slave is entitled, in lieu of the Sunday, is fairly and effectually secured to him; and provided also his industry is relieved from the cruel restrictions under which the law of Trinidad, in common with the law of every other Slave Colony in the British empire, has placed it. By that law the Slave is prohibited, under severe penalties, from cultivating or selling any of the staple productions of the island,—any articles, in short, of exportable produce. It is perfectly obvious, that under the operation of this law, if it is allowed to remain in force, (and Lord Bathurst himself admits it to be now in force\*) the new regulation, liberal as it is in its terms, which gives to the Slave the power of holding land and of acquiring other property, is deprived of a great part of its value and efficiency, while a powerful motive to industrious effort, on the part of the Slave, is most unjustly withheld from him. At least, this principle of unqualified exclusion, which is now exercised towards the Slaves, throughout the Colonies, with respect to the liberty of cultivating or selling any articles of exportable produce, surely might, without prejudice to the interests of their immediate owner, admit of very extensive modifications.

6. The next point respects the removing of all obstructions to manumission, and the empowering of the Slave to effect the redemption of himself, and of other members of his family, at a fair appraisement. Upon this vital point, the provisions of the Trinidad Order, are, as far as they go, full and effective. They enable the Slave, if he has the

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\* See the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 82.

means of paying the appraised value, to compel the liberation of himself, of his wife, or of his child. The beneficial effect of this regulation, however, would be greatly promoted, if it were combined with that admirable principle of the Spanish Colonial Code, which enables a Slave to purchase his freedom by instalments, and if measures were also at once taken for fixing, by anticipation, the maximum of price, which could be required for the different classes of Slaves, according to their age, sex, and acquirements.\*

7. It was understood that the separation of families by sale, would be entirely prevented by the Trinidad Order.† This separation, however, is there prohibited only in the case of *judicial* sales. On what principle it is that the power of separating by sale, or otherwise, husband and wife, parents and children, which is denied to courts of justice, should be continued to the private owner, is not very obvious. On the contrary, it seems to be still more imperatively requisite to restrain the exercise of this cruel power, in the case of private individuals, than even in that of courts of justice. The latter are only occasionally called to interfere in such sales. The former enjoy, and may exercise the power at any time, when interest or inclination may prompt them to use it. There is no restraint on their sales or bequests; and the very threat of a separate sale by the owner may paralyze every exertion of industry in the Slave.

Neither by the Spanish nor by the Portuguese law can the husband and wife be separated, on any account whatever, except for crime. So jealous is the Spanish law especially, on this point, that it even enacts, (as may be seen in the Cedula of 31st May, 1789,) that "Slaves are not to be hindered from marrying with the Slaves of other masters;—in which case, if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, (by appraisers,) and if the master of the husband does not agree to the purchase, the master of the wife shall have the same facility." The same principle is made to regulate the sale of husband and wife residing on neighbouring estates, but belonging to different owners.

How far short of these regulations the Trinidad Order falls, which merely forbids the separation of husband and wife and children by *judicial* sale, it is unnecessary to point out.

The Trinidad Order further provides, that not only the husband and wife and children, but the *reputed* husband and wife and children shall

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\* See on this subject the Society's Second Report, p. 77—79, and a communication from Mr. Kilbee, the British Commissioner at the Havannah, to Mr. Canning, printed in the Parliamentary Paper, respecting the Slave Trade in 1825. Mr. Kilbee's Report will be found at the end of the Tract, entitled Negro Slavery, No. XV.

† See Mr. Canning's Speech on 16th March 1816.

not be separated by judicial sale. This provision seems to render it indispensable, that some subsidiary regulations should be forthwith adopted for ascertaining and recording these relations by repute, and for giving them a legal sanction; otherwise extreme confusion must, in no long time, necessarily arise in carrying into effect the existing law. Such a measure might, moreover, be rendered eminently useful in putting an easy termination to the unlawful and injurious practice of polygamy in all our Colonies.

8. The eighth head of reform proposes to prevent the seizure and sale of Slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belong. The Order in Council for Trinidad does not contain any provision to this effect, nor has such been adopted by any of the other Colonies.

9. The Trinidad Order contains some judicious regulations for restraining the abuse of that arbitrary power of corporal punishment, at the will of the master, which is still left to him. It limits the number of lashes which he can inflict on a male Slave at one time, and for one offence, to twenty-five, and no fresh punishment can be inflicted until former lacerations are completely healed. It requires that twenty-four hours should elapse, after an offence has been committed, before it can be punished; and when punishment is inflicted, it must be in the presence of a competent witness, besides the person by whose authority it is inflicted. It further requires that, on all plantations, a record should be kept specifying the crime which has been committed, and the kind and extent of punishment which has been inflicted; this record to be signed by the parties present, and copies of it to be regularly transmitted, certified on oath, to the Governor, and by him to the Secretary of State. The above regulations apply only to punishments which exceed three lashes; but it is not said how often punishments to that amount may be inflicted, nor is the instrument of punishment defined.

One of the clauses connected with this subject, which, in the Trinidad Order, is numbered the twenty-first, is extremely important. It provides that if any owner or manager is prosecuted for cruelly and unlawfully punishing a Slave, and if the Slave, alleged to be illegally punished, is produced in court with the marks of recent flogging or laceration, and such Slave shall make a consistent statement of the circumstances, then the owner or manager shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his consent, or that it was a lawful punishment and was lawfully inflicted; and in default of such proof, shall be adjudged guilty of the offence imputed to him.

It is one of the evils of the system of Slavery, that the British Government should thus feel itself compelled to regulate the manner in which private caprice may inflict the torture of the cart whip on the bodies of human beings, without even defining the offence for which it is to be inflicted. It is impossible that a system can long be maintained



which is considered to impose on that Government the painful necessity of placing so tremendous a discretion as that of inflicting on a fellow subject twenty-five lacerations of such an instrument, in the hands of an individual, whatever be that individual's character, who may thus combine in his own person the offices of accuser, jury, and judge, and if he will, executioner also. This is, indeed, a dire necessity, the ground of which ought to be anxiously considered by the Government and Parliament of this country, under a sense of the weighty responsibility which is attached to the rash delegation of such a power.

But not to dwell on this painful part of the subject, it seems important to remark, before closing the observations on this head, that the record of punishments is confined to *plantations*. The number of *personal* Slaves, however, in Trinidad, that is to say, of Slaves not attached to plantations, is considerable. *Their* owners are exempted from all the controul arising from the necessity of keeping and returning a record of the punishments they inflict, and from the formalities with which, in the case of plantations, those punishments must be accompanied. But is this exemption either expedient or just? Are a third or a fourth part of the Slaves in Trinidad to be thus abandoned to the tender mercies of their owners, without even that degree of protection which this part of the Order in Council affords to the remainder? Jobbing gangs, the Slaves of mechanics of various classes, and domestics, are all thus left out of the pale of this beneficial restraint on the arbitrary power of the master, while they are subjected to the immense disadvantage of being more under his eye, and therefore more exposed to the effects of his passion and caprice, than the others. Why should not the infliction of punishment in these cases be taken out of the hands of the master; and placed in the hands of the magistrate? It cannot be deemed right that it should remain on its present footing.

10. The entire abolition of the degrading and indecent corporal punishment of female Slaves, which is secured by the Trinidad Order in Council, must be hailed as a great improvement.

11. The abolition of the driving whip is another most important improvement. It would be well, however, if we were informed what is the precise substitute now practically adopted for that powerful stimulus, which the Planters of Trinidad have declared to be so indispensable as to be, in fact, identified with the very existence of Slavery. It is no question of idle curiosity to ascertain this point. It would, therefore, confer an essential service on humanity, if those who deny that the Negroes will work from any other motive than coercion would inform the public what are the precise means, which, in the absence of the driving whip, and without the temptation of wages, have procured from the Slaves in Trinidad, during the year 1825, the quantity of labour

which they have yielded to their owners. It would be important to know the whole process of this extraction ; the nature and extent of the task ; the criterion of its fairness ; the penalty annexed to its non-performance ; the advantage accruing from its speedy and correct execution ; the proportion which the defaulters bear from day to day to the whole gang, with various other problems connected with the subject.

12. The establishment of Savings' Banks, under proper regulations, cannot be too highly applauded.

On the question of the effect, on the freedom of an individual, of his inability to establish his right to it by evidence, nothing is said in the Order for Trinidad ; nor was it necessary : the registry act which is in force there, has settled that point in favour of freedom.

The Trinidad Order likewise recognizes the important principle that a man is disqualified for the office of protector and guardian of Slaves by being himself a planter. But while this principle is recognized, it is much to be regretted that its application should have been so limited as to divest it of much of its utility. It is true, that the protector and guardian of Slaves in Trinidad is prohibited from owning, or from being concerned in managing, a plantation cultivated by Slaves, in that island ; but then he is not debarred from being the owner of plantations, and plantation Slaves, in every other Colony in the Antilles. He may be more deeply interested, in the maintenance of the Slave system with all its evils, than any planter in the island ; and yet merely because his estates are not locally situated within its limits, they constitute no disqualification for an office, which, of all others, requires to be filled by an impartial and disinterested functionary. Nor this is all. Though he may not possess a plantation, worked by Slaves, in Trinidad itself, he may, nevertheless, not only possess plantations worked by Slaves in other Colonies, but be a master of Slaves within that Colony to almost any extent. He may be the owner of a jobbing gang ; he may possess numerous mechanics ; his domestic establishment may be filled wholly by Slaves ; and though not a *proprietor* of estates within the island, he may, for a number of years, have been a manager of the estates of others, until he has become imbued with the worst prejudices of the system ;—but none of these circumstances, nor all of them together, will form a ground of disqualification for this important office.

It may be argued, that without the liberty of holding domestic Slaves, it is impossible to live with comfort in the West Indies. But there is no Colony in the West Indies where domestics of free condition may not be obtained for hire, and in Trinidad especially, where there are 15,000 free Blacks and persons of Colour, the argument is preposterous. But, independently of this circumstance, so long as this country continues to garrison its Colonies with European soldiers, it is absurd to maintain

that the requisite number of European domestics may not also be procured by public functionaries. By such a course, a part, however small, of the excess of our population at home would find beneficial employment, while the safety of the Slave Colonies would be promoted by thus diminishing the disproportion between the free and the enslaved.

To permit the protector and guardian of Slaves, therefore, to hold Slaves of any description, or in any part of the world, is as unnecessary, as it is manifestly unfavourable to the progress of Colonial Reform,

The case is still worse as it respects the assistant guardians, for they are not debarred, by the Order, from being the possessors of plantations, and of Slaves, within the Colony, whether domestic or predial. Now as in all the Colonies, all the larger Colonies especially, the main duties connected with the office of protector and guardian must of necessity devolve on his assistants, it is plain that the whole intentions of the Government may be, and probably will be, frustrated by such an arrangement. The Slaves will be no better off than before. They will be as entirely and unreservedly as ever in the power of functionaries who are Slave-holders, and who will still be without efficient check or controul. The picture drawn by Mr. Dwarris of the operation of the former guardian act of Grenada, will thus be realized in all the Colonies. "It is not," says the attorney-general of that island, "a dead letter," (though the symptoms of its life have certainly not been very visible,) "but the misfortune is that proper persons *cannot be found* to carry it into effect. *They are those who may be liable to it themselves who are the guardians.* Perhaps a man may be a guardian one year, and his neighbour the next, which would prevent his acting strictly according to the act." The governor of Grenada testifies to the same effect. "*There are no persons to be found to fill the situation of guardian, such as must have been contemplated by the act, who are, as they ought to be, independent. They are chiefly overseers or managers. Can THEY be expected to say, that the clothing or food furnished by their employers is insufficient? Or if they do, may they not be afraid of the charge being retaliated?*"\* And this is said of Grenada, the most liberal and enlightened, as we are told, of all the Colonies. What then must be the case in Trinidad under a similar constitution of things? With an immense list of naval and military officers on half-pay, is it impossible to apply any remedy to this evil? Is there not to be found in that list a sufficient number of highly respectable and meritorious men who, at a small expense, might be most beneficially employed in filling these important offices in all our Colonies, and whose remunera-

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\* See Mr. Dwarris's Report, p. 96 and 98, and the Society's Third Report, p. 34.



tion might be made to depend on the regularity of their returns, and the propriety of their conduct?

There still remain two points of objection to the Trinidad Order in Council, which it will be convenient briefly to notice in this place.

One is that the hours of labour are not fixed. It is possible that there may already exist some law in Trinidad for that purpose: it is desirable, however, that it should be known. But whatever may be the limitation of the hours of field labour in Trinidad, it is manifest that *there*, as in the other Colonies, is superadded the oppressive task (after the labours of the field are closed) of collecting, and bringing to an appointed place, bundles of grass for the horses and cattle on the estate. It is difficult adequately to describe the vexatiousness of such a task; and it is evident, from the returns of punishment in Trinidad, that there is no part of the duties required from the Slaves which leads to more frequent inflictions of punishment than this. Instead of employing, during the day, an individual or two to cut and carry the grass which is needed, the whole gang, men and women, at the close of a day of exhausting toil, under a vertical sun, must be engaged, for an hour or two after it is dark, in cutting and carrying large bundles of grass, perhaps thoroughly wet with rain, for a mile or two on their heads; till having all assembled, (possibly after long waiting,) and delivered their bundles, they are dismissed to their homes; some of them, perhaps, first receiving a few lashes, or being punished with a night in the stocks, on account of the scantiness of their bundles. This is an enormous abuse, which ought not to be endured for a day longer.\*

But there is another, and perhaps a still more important, blemish in the Order in Council. It consists in a supplementary enactment, which directs that upon the complaint of a Slave to the magistrate, of an illegal punishment having been inflicted, the accused, if convicted, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds; but that should the complaint prove groundless or malicious, the magistrate shall return the Slave, with a written declaration of the cause of dismissing the charge, to his master, who thereupon may inflict punishment, at his discretion, to the extent of 25 lashes; or, if deserving of a higher punishment, the Slave may be remitted to the proper tribunal.

It is impossible not to feel that this system of making Slaves liable to punishment when they fail to establish, by satisfactory evidence, the truth of their complaint, (a system which prevails throughout the whole of the West Indies,) is radically vicious, and ought not to have been

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\* See Collins's Practical Planter; Watson's defence of West Indian Methodist Missions; the Tract, Negro Slavery, No. 1; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 30. and p. 86—90.

sanctioned by His Majesty's Government. A Slave fails to prove the truth of a complaint, involving, even if established, a penalty not exceeding ten pounds; and for this failure, the complainant may be subjected to 25 lashes of the cart-whip, inflicted by an exasperated master, and that without his being arraigned, or tried, or having any opportunity afforded him of preparation, or of producing witnesses in his favour, but merely on the ground of what may have transpired before the magistrate, not on an examination of a specific charge against himself, but on the trial of a charge against his master. It may be perfectly proper to punish *malicious* complaints, but surely the punishment ought to follow a regular arraignment, and a regular trial and conviction, after all fair means of disproving the charge of malice have been allowed to the accused. The attorney-general, in a recent debate, expressed most strongly, in common with Mr. Canning and Mr. Peel, his sense of the obligation which lay on Parliament to provide that the Negro should enjoy the same protection from the law, both in its substance and its forms, as the White man. But what can be a more direct contravention of that principle, than the provision that has been mentioned; a provision, not only radically unjust in itself, but pregnant with the most disastrous effects on the happiness of the Slave population. Of the extent of those effects, some idea may be formed from the proceedings which took place in Trinidad itself, as detailed in the papers before the House of Commons, in the case of two slaves, Marquis and Regis; but still more from the returns of the fiscals of Demerara and Berbice. In the report of this last, especially, are to be found numerous instances of Slaves having been severely punished on the pretence that, supported only by the evidence of the very individuals against whom they complained, their complaints were unfounded.

It has been necessary to dwell at so much length on the Order in Council for Trinidad, because it is professedly the model on which the Government has declared its intention of acting, with respect to all the Colonies directly subject to its own legislation. It is extremely important therefore that its defects should be understood. In five of those Colonies, however, nothing has yet been done for giving effect to any one of its provisions, although it has been stated to be the intention of Ministers no longer to delay the necessary measures for that purpose. These Colonies are BERBICE, ST. LUCIA, HONDURAS, the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, and the MAURITIUS. Of them, therefore, nothing need now be said; as the legal condition of their Slave population remains still in precisely the same state in which it was on the 15th of May, 1823. In DEMERARA alone has any thing as yet been done for assimilating its Slave laws to those of Trinidad.

It was Lord Bathurst's instructions to the governor of Demerara, that

the whole of the provisions of the Trinidad Order should be introduced into that Colony; and it might have been introduced there, as easily as as it had been introduced into Trinidad, merely by exercising the same act of the Royal authority in the one case as in the other. It was thought expedient to pursue a different course, and to prevail, if possible, with the Demerara Court of Policy, to adopt and promulgate the new code as their own enactment. Two years were passed in efforts to this effect, until Lord Bathurst was at length obliged to intimate to them, that "however desirous His Majesty's Government might be that the origination of this measure should proceed from the Court of Policy," it was necessary to explain that if they did not adopt his suggestions, His Majesty's Government "would feel it their paramount duty to issue, without further delay, an Order in Council for the purpose of carrying them into effect."\* This intimation led to the adoption, by the Court of Policy, of the draft of an Order, which was transmitted to Lord Bathurst by Sir B. D'Urban, on the 14th of March, 1825; and of which an analysis with observations will be found in a former publication of the Society.†

On the 9th of July, 1825, Lord Bathurst returned this draft to Demerara, with a strong expression of His Majesty's approbation of the zeal with which the Court of Policy had proceeded to give effect to his wishes; and although he admits that the law will be imperfect until some important additions shall have been made to it, he nevertheless directs that a law, expressed in the terms of the draft, should be forthwith promulgated; his Lordship being anxious that the chief civil authorities of the Colony should appear to the Slaves to be the immediate authors of the beneficial change in their condition. He guards them, however, against considering the adoption of this course as, in any degree, admitting the claims of the Court of Policy, or compromising the rights of His Majesty, to the legislative authority in Demerara; or, as implying that Government meant to abandon any of the principles of reform enforced and acted upon in Trinidad, as nothing short of a complete compliance with those principles will satisfy them.

These observations are accompanied by a repetition of the arguments that had been already used by his Lordship in his dispatch of the 20th November, 1824, ‡ in reply to the objections of the Court of Policy; and he closes with expressing a hope, that they will spare him the necessity of introducing, into the Order in Council, regulations which the Court of Policy shall not have previously adopted.

The Court of Policy having taken this dispatch into their consideration, refused to modify any part of their draft, excepting the clause

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\* See Lord Bathurst's letter to Sir B. D'Urban, dated 20th Nov. 1824; and the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 25.

† Slave Colonies, &c. p. 27—33.

‡ Ibid, p. 25.



relating to the marriage of Slaves, which they have now agreed shall when solemnized in the prescribed mode, "be held, and considered binding, valid, and effectual in law; provided nevertheless, that such marriages shall not confer, on the parties or their issue, any rights inconsistent with the duties which Slaves owe to their owners or to the government, or at variance with those rights which the owner or the government are by law entitled to assert over Slaves and their progeny, or subject such Slaves, so intermarrying, to any penal infliction the effects of which might destroy the rights or injure the property of their owners."\*

The Demerara Ordonnance has been promulgated in this state of mutilation, and came into operation on the 1st of January, 1826.

The defects of the Order in Council for Trinidad, have been already pointed out. These defects, of course, remain in the law which has been adopted in Demerara, and they remain there in greater force in consequence of the omission, in the Demerara law, of several of the most important and most beneficial of the provisions of the Trinidad Order.

On the subject of these omissions, Lord Bathurst addressed the Governor of Demerara, in a dispatch, dated February 25, 1826. The first to which he adverts, respects Sunday labour, various kinds of which, as pottng sugar, turning and drying coffee and cotton, &c. the Court of Policy contend it is necessary to continue, compulsorily, and without wages. Lord Bathurst, in commenting upon this statement, observes, that it is necessary to maintain inviolate the maxim that the owner of a Slave has no title to his labour, except during six days of the week.† All labour, therefore, on Sunday, for the preservation of the crops, must be *necessary* to that end, and must both be voluntary on the part of the Slave upon any estate, and must be paid for at a regulated rate by the master. This principle of remuneration to the Slave for Sunday labour cannot, his Lordship says, be departed from; and that remuneration must be paid, not in a small portion of the produce, but by ascertainable wages. Lord Bathurst is, therefore, of opinion, that the reasons alleged by the Court of Policy for permitting, in certain cases, the compulsory labour of Slaves without wages on Sunday, are insufficient to justify the practice.

With respect to the Slave's right of property, Lord Bathurst seems disposed to concede, that Slaves should be debarred from cultivating or

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\* See Papers of March, 1826.

† The transcribing of these and similar expressions, is not to be considered as implying an acquiescence in the justice of the principles which they involve. It would obviously be difficult for the owner to establish, on any very satisfactory ground, his just title to the labour of his fellow-men for six, or for any, days in the week.

selling the staple articles of sugar, coffee, and cotton, on the ground alleged by the Planters, both of Trinidad and Demerara, that a permission to cultivate or sell the staple commodities of the Colony, would tempt the Slaves to commit depredations on their owners' property. But even such a restriction as Lord Bathurst proposes would fall far short of that imposed by the law of Demerara, which enacts that "All slaves, as well males as females, are prohibited from selling or bartering with any one whatever, any produce, sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, rokow, syrup, rum, bottles, or flasks, *or any thing else*; being permitted to sell only vegetables and ground provisions, the produce of their garden, or stock which they are permitted to rear; on pain of their being severely flogged, on the plantation to which they belong, for the first offence; and, for the second, to be punished by sentence of the court, according to the exigency of the case."\*

If this law, or even the modified version of it proposed by Lord Bathurst, is to be maintained, what hope can reasonably be entertained of productive industry, beyond the mere supply of their necessities, on the part of the Slaves? What would be thought of a law in this country which should prohibit labourers, who might be the owners or occupiers of a few acres of land, from cultivating upon it any of the staple articles of production? But the Planters say, that if the existing prohibition were removed, a door would be opened to depredations on the Master's property. If depredation is practicable, the Master will be liable to it, whether such a law exists or not. But even if all the weight were allowed to the argument which is claimed for it, it does seem altogether unwarrantable to make the prohibition, as it now is, universal and unqualified. Why should the slaves of a sugar estate be debarred from growing coffee, or the slaves of a coffee plantation from growing cotton, or the slaves of a cotton plantation from growing coffee, ginger, and other exportable articles? The law, as it stands at present, is conceived in the very worst spirit of a pure and unmitigated monopoly; and if it shall be deemed necessary to continue it, it will only serve to convince the people of this country, more fully than ever, of the untractable nature of Slavery, and of the necessity, on every sound principle, whether of morals or of political economy, to effect its utter extinction. The Court of Policy had also brought forward an array of objections to the allowing Slaves to hold property in land, or to the giving them a power of civil action in regard to their property; to some of which objections it is to be regretted that Lord Bathurst seems to attach sufficient weight to incline him to modify, in some degree, the provisions of the Trinidad Order.

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\* Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 26.

The third grand omission in the Demerara Order respects the right proposed to be given to the Slave to purchase his manumission. On this point Lord Bathurst justly observes, "no system of measures would satisfy the feelings of this country, or execute the purposes of the House of Commons, which did not contain some direct provision, some acting principle, by which the termination of Slavery may be gradually accomplished." He regards therefore the right in question as "a vital part of the whole measure," which "cannot be dispensed with." His Lordship then discusses at some length, and refutes, the reasoning of the Court of Policy on this subject, though occasionally on grounds which are themselves liable to very considerable question, and with occasional concessions which expose even his main principle to the risk of becoming practically inefficient. His Lordship's dispatch thus concludes—

"This principle of emancipation will proceed on presumptive evidence of the Slave having acquired habits of industry which may fit him for an independent existence, while it will secure to the owner that compensation to which it may be found by experience, as the measure advances in operation, he will be fairly entitled; and it is by experience alone that this can be truly ascertained.\*

"A manumission of Slaves under these regulations will be in conformity with the concluding Resolution of the House of Commons in 1823, which declares that the great object of emancipation must be accomplished 'at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.

"But the Court of Policy must recollect, that if, on the one hand, Parliament and His Majesty's Government stand pledged to give the Planters an equitable compensation, they stand equally pledged to take such measures as may ultimately, though gradually, work out the freedom of the Slaves.

*"The Court of Policy may be assured, that from the final accomplishment of this object this country will not be diverted.*

"It remains for me only to add, that I now, for the last time, bring these regulations under the consideration of that Court, with no other alternative, in the event of their declining to admit them, than that of

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\* This proposition is not a very obvious one, although its tendency is scarcely to be mistaken. But, after all, is not the real value of any article, whether it be a machine, or cattle, or the human animal, if we must so degrade him, the amount which it will command in the market?



my humbly submitting to His Majesty the expediency of enacting them by direct royal authority.”\*

There is, however, a fourth most important omission not noticed in the dispatch of Lord Bathurst, though mentioned by him on former occasions, namely, that clause numbered 21 in the Trinidad Order, which directs that on the prosecution of any Owner, &c., for inflicting any illegal punishment on a Slave, if the Slave so alleged to be punished shall be produced in open court, and if the marks of recent laceration shall appear on his person, and if the Slave shall make a consistent and probable statement of the facts, the accused shall be bound to prove either that the punishment was not inflicted by him or with his privity, or that it was a lawful punishment, lawfully inflicted; and in default of such proof he shall be convicted.

But besides the defects belonging to the Trinidad Order in Council, and which are also attributable to that of Demerara, and the further important omissions which have now been noticed in the latter, there are to be found in it some minor but yet material deviations from the Trinidad model, which ought not to be overlooked in any Royal Order it may be necessary to issue.

The interval between an offence and its punishment is altered from the definite period of twenty-four hours in the Trinidad Order, to “after sun-rise” of the day next following that of the offence; which may allow an interval of only six or seven hours. Again, instead of requiring, as in Trinidad, a free witness of the punishment, it is made sufficient that six Slaves shall witness it. It is surely a hazardous innovation to make the witnesses in such a case persons so wholly dependent on the punisher as his own Slaves must be; and the pretence for it, too, seems inadmissible, namely, that it may be impracticable to obtain, in any reasonable time, a free person, White, Brown, or Black, to attend and witness the infliction. If free persons are so extremely scarce

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† See the papers laid before Parliament, March 1826.

The author of a pamphlet, more largely noticed below, has justified the course of referring this matter to the Court of Policy, by pointing out the important influence which will be produced, on the other Colonies, by the example of a local legislature like that of Demerara appearing to take into its own hands the *initiation* of such an Ordonnance. But those Colonies are not in ignorance of the real facts of the case. They know them as well as the author of the pamphlet. He cannot throw dust into their eyes on this subject, as they may have done too successfully into his. They well know that, whatever *appearance* may be given to the transaction, both the *initiation* and the *completion* of it belong to His Majesty's Government, and not to the Court of Policy. The attempt, therefore, to exhibit it to them under such a semblance, can serve no rational purpose whatsoever.

in Demerara, as to require such an arrangement, it is only a proof of the importance of imposing additional checks on arbitrary punishment, instead of granting additional facilities for its exercise. A delay of forty-eight hours is allowed in recording punishments, on what account does not appear. The penalty for failing to deliver, every six months, a copy of the record on oath, is only 300 guilders, or 25*l.* sterling.

The hours for *field work* in Demerara are made to extend from six in the morning till six in the evening, with an interval, in the whole, of two hours for rest and meals; being half an hour less than in the other Colonies. But, as has been already observed, *field work* by no means comprises the whole of the labour exacted from Slaves. One of the most onerous, vexatious, and injurious of the tasks daily imposed on them follows after the cessation of field work. We speak not of the labour of crop, as grinding and boiling sugar, pulping coffee, &c., which are allowed to be continued for half the night, thus depriving the Slaves, for several months of the year, of a great part of their natural rest; but of the prevalent practice, when the field work is over, of obliging the Slaves to collect food for the horses, cattle, and other live stock—a task which necessarily consumes from one to two hours of the evening in a most troublesome and unhealthy occupation; bringing with it also a needless multiplication of penal inflictions.\*

In Demerara the Fiscal has been appointed the protector and guardian of Slaves. The two offices seem not to be very compatible; and if we may judge by the returns, already received from this very gentleman, of his decisions on the complaints of Slaves, they certainly present no satisfactory ground of confidence that he is peculiarly qualified for his new office.

After having pointed out the comparative defects of the Demerara Order, as compared with that of Trinidad, it is but an act of justice to state wherein it has improved upon that model. A record of punishments is directed to be kept not only on all *plantations*, as in Trinidad, but by all persons having gangs of Slaves exceeding six. Those who possess a smaller number are not subject to any such regulation; and yet persons in low circumstances are both less likely to be accustomed to restrain their passions, and less liable to observation than others. Their slaves, therefore, if no record of their punishments is to be kept, ought surely to be exempt from any arbitrary inflictions (at least beyond the three lashes which may be given in all cases without a record), unless by the order of a magistrate.

The Demerara law of evidence is also more favourable to the Slaves than that of Trinidad, inasmuch as it admits the evidence of Slaves in

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\* See above, p. 18.

civil suits in which the Owner is concerned, and on the trial of Whites charged with capital offences.

Such, then, is the actual extent of the improvements effected in the seven Slave Colonies subject to the crown. In Trinidad an Order has been promulgated, comprizing many beneficial regulations, but falling short of even that measure of reform which the public had been led to expect. In Demerara an Ordonnance has been published, which, as has been seen, falls, in some very important respects, below that of Trinidad. In the other five Colonies nothing has as yet been done.

The Colonies having Legislatures of their own are thirteen in number. To these the Trinidad Order was transmitted by Lord Bathurst in the year 1824 (full instructions to the same purport having been sent out in the preceding year), recommending it to them, in the strongest manner, to frame their Slave Codes accordingly. The result of these recommendations will now be explained.—Nine of these have done nothing, viz. Antigua, Barbadoes,\* Bermuda, Dominica,† Jamaica,‡ Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, and Tortola, or the Virgin Islands.

In these nine Colonies, therefore, not one of the twelve or rather fourteen heads of proposed improvement specified above (p. 1, 2.) has been adopted, in consequence of the recommendations of His Majesty.

There remain, however, four Colonies in which *something*, it appears, has been done. We proceed to shew to what that something amounts.

\* In the paper laid before Parliament, containing a "Statement of Slave meliorating Provisions recommended by His Majesty's Government," and enacted in the Colony of Barbadoes, the word "*none*" is affixed to each separate head of improvement.

† In the same paper several particulars are given of a Bill that had been proposed to the Legislature of Dominica, but had not yet passed into a law; but these cannot be regarded in the light of actual, but merely of projected ameliorations, which may or may not be adopted. Dominica has, however, at length repealed its tax on manumission, which Barbadoes has not done.

‡ Some trifling regulations have been adopted in Jamaica, which cannot be considered as meeting any one of the recommendations of His Majesty's Government, and which tend rather to relieve the master than the slave. Of what benefit, for example, can it be to the Slaves, generally, that they are free from arrest on Saturday as well as Sunday, unless their masters are pleased to do what they are not now obliged to do—to give them Saturday as well as Sunday for their own use? So, the facilities given to manumission are facilities for the accommodation of the master, in his voluntary acts of manumission, but which convey no rights to the Slave. And as for the power which is given of bequeathing money or chattels to Slaves, it is only permissive to the testator and executors. It conveys to the Slave no right of property even in the bequest which is made to him, and it expressly excludes him from the power of instituting any action or suit at law or in equity for the recovery of such legacy.



## I. THE BAHAMAS.

The papers laid before Parliament would shew that improvements had been introduced into the law of the Bahamas, passed in 1824, in six particulars, namely, religious instruction, manumission, regulation of punishment, female flogging, marriage, and the separation of families. With respect, however, to the first three of these heads, they ought to have been entirely excluded, for reasons which shall now be given.

1st. All that the new Act says on the subject of religious instruction is to this effect:—"That all Masters, or, in their absence, their Overseers, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to instruct their Slaves in the Christian Religion; and shall do their endeavour to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently may be, shall cause to be baptized all such Slaves, as they can make sensible of a Deity and of the Christian faith." Now these words, which form the 9th clause of the Act of 1824, are the very identical words which form the 6th clause of the Slave Act of the Bahamas of 1796, and which will probably be found in every general Slave Act passed before or since. Precisely the same words, without any variation, stand as a part of the Jamaica Slave Act of 1696,\* and have continued to be transferred to each successive Act down to the last which was passed there in 1816. The very same clause, therefore, which is now produced as an amelioration, has stood a perfectly dead letter in the Bahama Code for at least thirty, and in the Jamaica Code for 130 years. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The clause provides neither time nor means for performing the prescribed duty, and attaches no penalty to its neglect. Be its value, however, what it may—and it is not apprehended that any man will contend that it has had any practical operation whatever—it is not a new or even improved enactment, but one almost as old as the Colonies themselves; standing on their statute books, not as a monument of their zeal for religious instruction, but of the utter inefficiency of all such mere *recommendatory* provisions. The same worthless and wholly inoperative clause meets the eye in the codes of several of the other Islands.

2. The clause with respect to manumission has, if possible, still less claim to be exhibited as an improvement. It professes to *suspend* all acts imposing a tax on manumissions, when, in point of fact, no such acts were in existence. This is gaining credit for amelioration at a very moderate cost. Whoever will take the trouble of looking at a paper ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 14th of May, 1823, and numbered among the papers of that year, No. 347, will find there, at p. 151, a return from S. Nesbitt, the Secretary of the

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\* See Privy Council Report of 1789.

Bahamas, dated 5th November, 1821, which states that there are "no taxes imposed on manumissions in this Colony," and that the fee charged for recording an act of manumission is only five shillings.

3. The pretence to improvement with respect to the regulation of punishment is equally destitute of all foundation. The 18th clause in the Bahama Act of 1824, which is quoted as justifying this part of the statement, is to the following effect, being in fact a literal transcript of the 11th clause of the printed act of 1796, viz.—"*In order to restrain arbitrary punishment,*" "no Slave shall receive more than TWENTY lashes at any one time, or for any one offence, unless the owner or employer of such Slave, or supervisor of the workhouse, or keeper of the goal be present;" and these several persons are then restricted from inflicting more than THIRTY-NINE lashes at one time and for one offence. But surely the framer of the abstract of ameliorations which has been laid before Parliament, must have been aware that this enactment was no amelioration, though it is represented as such. Thirty-nine is the greatest number of lashes which any law of any Colony has permitted to be given, at the will of the master. And the number TWENTY, which the driver in the Bahamas is allowed to give, is double the number to what he is now limited in almost all the other Islands, and has been limited in Jamaica for at least thirty-eight years.\*

4. The clause relative to whipping females is to this effect, not that females shall not be flogged, as all Slaves may be flogged, with twenty lashes by the driver, and with thirty-nine lashes by the master, and, if it so please them, as heretofore, on the bare body; but that no female slave, above the age of twelve, shall be so punished otherwise than *in private*. In short, the Bahama Legislators, by way of improving their penal code, have borrowed a leaf from that of the Spanish Inquisition: their punishments of females are henceforward to be in secret.

5. The clauses respecting marriage direct that marriages of Slaves, or of Slaves and free persons, may be solemnized (one free witness at least being present) by *clergymen* or justices of the peace, without publication of banns or licence; but *only on Sunday*, between eight and twelve, a fortnight's notice being given; and provided the parties profess the Christian religion, and produce the written consent of their owners. Such marriages are to be registered, and are declared to be valid, and their issue legitimate; "saving always the just rights of ownership, which in no case whatsoever shall be hurt, prejudiced, straitened, or otherwise affected thereby;" and also, "provided that the marital power and authority to be thus acquired, shall in no such

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\* See the Jamaica Act of 1788, limiting the driver to ten lashes, and the owner to thirty-nine.

case impugn, diminish, or interfere with the rights or authority of the owner or owners in, to, and over such slave or slaves, in any manner whatsoever." It is a remarkable part of this provision that it debars from the benefits of the marriage tie all slaves who are not Christians, or who are married by any religious teachers but clergymen, and this in a colony where but for the labours of the Methodists there would be few if any Christians. The legislators of the Bahamas might have known that, in other parts of the British dominions, among the many millions of our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects, for example, and even in Great Britain itself, the profession of Christianity is no necessary condition of a valid marriage. Jews and others may there form valid marriages without any such profession, nor is any thing of the kind required even in that most religious part of the empire, Scotland. One would have expected that wise legislators would rather have been desirous of removing all possible impediments to marriage, than of thus multiplying them. The present limitation is one, which, through the utter insufficiency of the clause enjoining religious instruction, must shut out a large portion of the slave population of the Bahamas from the benefit of this provision.

6. The regulation with respect to the non-separation of families is less liable to just exception than any that has been mentioned. Slaves being husband or wife, or reputed husband and wife, and their child, or reputed children under fourteen, *being the property of the same owner*, are not, whether by private contract, or public sale, or by virtue of any mortgage, execution, or other legal process, to be sold separately, or otherwise than in one lot, and to the same person; and the same rule applies to slaves passing by bequest. This law supplies one great defect in that of Trinidad on the same subject, prohibiting the separation of families by *private sale*, as well as by *judicial process*. The remarks already made on the subject of *reputed* marriages, (see p. 13.) are applicable equally to the Bahamas as to Trinidad. Such marriages ought at once to be registered and rendered valid.

It is unnecessary now to refer to the many unjust provisions of the new Slave Law of the Bahamas. They are pointed out in the pamphlet entitled the Slave Colonies of Great Britain. (p. 4—11.) But, besides these, it has not provided for the religious instruction or Christian education of the slaves; or for the observance of the Sunday (equivalent time being given to the slaves on other days); or for the admission of slave testimony; or for the protection of slave property; or for facilitating manumissions; or for preventing the sale of slaves detached from the plantation; or for restraining the power of arbitrary punishment; or for abolishing the corporal punishment of females; or for putting down the driving whip; or for establishing saving banks.



## II. TOBAGO.

Tobago has been the first of the Colonies, having legislatures of their own, to adopt any of the proposed ameliorations. A brief view of some very serious objections to various provisions of its recent act, may be seen in the pamphlet already referred to, the Slave Colonies of Great Britain (p. 78). At present the object is to shew wherein its legislation has been improved. The points in which any improvement is alleged to have taken place are—the observance of Sunday; the admission of slave evidence; the right of property; the regulation of arbitrary punishment; and the sale of Slaves detached from the estate.

1. The observance of Sunday. In this island alone have Sunday markets been as yet abolished. In future the markets are to be held on Thursday. It is not however provided that the slaves shall have the Thursday on which to go to market; neither is equivalent time allowed them in lieu of the Sunday. The allowance of time to the slaves, indeed, for the cultivation of their grounds, besides the Sunday, is more liberal than in any other colony. It amounts to thirty-five week days in the year: but even this is far below what the equity of the case calls for; for the Sunday being now no day of labour, as formerly, the addition to the preceding allowance of week days, whatever it was, ought to have been fifty-two.

2. Slave evidence is admitted, by the Tobago act, in no civil case whatever, and in no criminal case, excepting where a free person is charged with murder or mayhem of, or cruelty to, a slave; and when no free person was present, or can be produced to prove the facts. In that case, if two slaves testify to the same fact, and their credibility be unimpeached, their testimony is to have the effect of the testimony of one White; and the slave suffering the mayhem, &c. may be one of the two.

3. Slaves are declared to be entitled to hold personal property, "*fairly acquired*," and to sell the same, and to bring all actions personal for recovering the same, slavery being no plea in abatement of such action. Here, however, no means are pointed out by which a slave shall proceed in asserting his right, nor any penalty affixed to his being hindered or molested in doing so.

4. The regulation of punishments consists in limiting the power of the owner, &c. to the infliction of twenty stripes, being fewer than any other law authorizes, and in requiring that a free witness should be present whenever the punishment exceeds twelve stripes. Drivers are restrained from punishing without express orders; but those orders, it is obvious, may be renewed from day to day. One clause, the 25th, appoints the President of the Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, guardians, to inquire

into complaints of cruelty towards slaves, and to direct, if need be, their prosecution by the Attorney General. The uselessness of such a regulation may be seen in the case of Grenada as stated above (p. 17). Indeed Grenada has just repealed its Guardian Act.

5. It is said that the separation of slaves from the land was prevented by a former law of Tobago. There is, it is true, a law of some standing which makes slaves, as well as cattle, real estate; but then this appears to be only for certain special purposes. They are to be real estate, in so far as to descend to the heir at law, and that widows may be endowed thereof; but they are still to be chattels, if the owner's other goods are not sufficient to pay his debts.

Here then we have the amount of improvement in Tobago. No means are provided, and no time set apart for religious instruction. Equivalent time in lieu of Sunday is not given to the slaves. Their testimony is admitted in a very partial and restricted manner. Their marriages are not legalized. Facilities are not afforded to manumission. The separation of families by sale is not prevented. The flogging of females is not prohibited. The use of the driving whip is retained. Saving banks are not established; and free persons are not adequately protected in the enjoyment of their liberty.—And yet the authorities of Tobago declare, in the most peremptory terms, that they have reached their ultimate point in the scale of improvement, and that they will not, in deference to a wild fanaticism, sacrifice their inalienable rights by proceeding another step.

### III. GRENADA.

The points in which, since May 15th, 1823, the Legislature of this Colony has adopted the recommendations of his Majesty, are stated, in the papers recently laid before Parliament, to be eight; namely, religious instruction; the observance of the Sabbath; the evidence of slaves; manumission; the non-separation of families; the regulation of punishment; the driving whip; and the slave's right of property. These different points are mentioned, without doubt, in an act recently passed in Grenada; but how far they merit to be mentioned as ameliorations, will more clearly appear on an examination of them in detail.

1. Religious instruction. On this head, though it is so stated in the abstract, there is really no amelioration. The Grenada slave act of 1788 contained a clause on this subject, which was far more specific than the corresponding clause in the recent act, and had penalties annexed to it which the new act has not. The penalties and specification of the old act have been abandoned, and the barren generalities of the Jamaica act of 1696, the established form of evasion throughout the West Indies, have been substituted. Nay more, the former Grenada acts were prefaced by an imposing preamble, recognizing in solemn

terms the obligation to introduce among their slaves a knowledge of the Christian religion (see the act of 1797); and yet so utterly useless, so devoid of all force and vitality has been this parade of legislation, that the clergymen of that island, in making their returns to Lord Bathurst of the state of religion (see Papers printed by the House of Commons in July 1818), admit that very few of the slaves attend divine service. "Sunday is the general public market day," "and almost the only one on which slaves have an opportunity of bartering the produce of the provision grounds allotted to them for other commodities." "These markets are generally at their height during the performance of divine service, and being holden on the Sabbath day, little attention or respect is shewn to the religious duties of the day." "When I remonstrate," says one of these gentlemen, the Rev. W. Nash, "they reply, that if they come to church they must starve, as Sunday is the only day they have to cultivate their garden. The plea is so reasonable that I cannot oppose it; but I heartily wish their masters would deprive them of it by allowing them one day in each week to labour for themselves." "If they have not time for instruction," he justly remarks, "ignorance is unavoidable"—though "to human beings whose moral feelings and intellectual faculties have been suspended for ages unknown, and at length almost annihilated by an execrable system of oppression, under which, in order to endure existence, it was necessary to suppress every generous sentiment, to stifle every tender emotion, to forget they were men, every consideration that the horror of their situation can suggest, and the benevolence of the Christian religion inspire is certainly due."\*

Now if the more stringent clauses of 1788 have produced no effect, and have never been alleged to have produced any, are we to be deluded into a hope of amelioration by the repetition of words which have been repeated to satiety, and without effect, for 130 years; which point to no means; prescribe no time; and are accompanied by no sanctions? Here the movement is absolutely a retreat and not an advance.

2. At the time that Mr. Nash wrote the report which is cited in the last paragraph, it is obvious that there was in Grenada no observance of the Sabbath, that first preliminary requisite to effectual religious instruction, and which would have done more for religion than all its other specious but hollow enactments.

Had the Slaves come to church, in quest of the religious instruction the act required to be given to them, Mr. Nash tells us, they must have starved, as Sunday was the only day they had to cultivate their grounds.

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\* This passage, with many others of the same description transmitted to Lord Bathurst at the same time, lay unheeded on the table of the House of Commons for five long years.



The law, it is true, allowed them even then one day in fourteen out of crop, or about eighteen days in the year. Mr. Nash does not say that those eighteen days, though allowed them by the letter of the law were, like the religious instruction, in practice withheld from them, though his language seems to imply it. But, whether that were the case or not, it is still plain from his statement, that, in his opinion, with fifty-two Sundays in the year at their own disposal, they could not have come to church without the risk of being starved. But what does the new Act do to remedy this state of things? Does it give the Slaves equivalent time for their fifty-two Sundays, so that Sunday may be left for repose and instruction? No. The act merely prescribes, that the Slaves shall have twenty-eight days in the year, that is ten more than they were allowed before. Now, to fulfil the purposes of Government as to religious instruction and the observance of Sunday, and to give the Slaves equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, seventy days in the week ought to be given them, whereas they have only twenty-eight. This is a singular mode of improving their condition and of rendering common justice to the Slaves.

The Sunday market, however, is not abolished in Grenada. Something is said, indeed, about extending the market hours on Thursday, and it seems to have been assumed, by the framer of the abstract, that the clause on this subject is intended as an amelioration of the condition of the Slaves. But the clause has nothing whatever to do, necessarily, with the Slaves. It is to this effect—

That, “whereas by the laws at present in force” (what are those laws?) “for regulating the public markets, the hours thereby limited may not afford sufficient time for the sale of provisions and other articles necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants, be it therefore enacted, that in addition to the time already appointed for holding such markets,” (what is that time?) “the market hours on Thursday, throughout the year, shall be extended from six o’clock in the morning till six o’clock in the evening.” And what does this clause do for the poor Slaves? Does it give them the Thursday on which to go to market? No such thing. They, for aught that appears to the contrary, are occupied wholly in the field in that day. Nay, it may be even impossible for their masters to allow them on that day to travel to market for fear of arrest. The clause has not the slightest immediate bearing on the condition of the Slaves, except as it serves to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England. With precisely the same effect, as respects them, might the market have been extended from six to six on every day of the week, as well as on Thursday. Sunday would still of necessity be the Negro’s market day. He can have no other unless it is specially given to him by law, or by the special favour of an unincumbered owner. As for the clause that no stores are to be kept open on Sundays, under a penalty

of £10 it is an enactment of precisely the same description ;—it may do to be read in England, but cannot, in present circumstances, be acted upon in Grenada. A law, precisely in the same terms, was passed in Jamaica in 1816, but it could not be rigidly acted upon, as the markets continued to be held on Sunday. Indeed, how is it possible, that while Sunday continues the market day for the Slaves, and no other has been appointed, that this law can be enforced ? If it were possible, it would to them be most cruel.

A clause forbids the employing of the Slaves on Sunday. If this mean nothing more than that they shall not work elsewhere than in their grounds on that day, which is, in fact, working for their masters, nothing is gained by it ; for this has always been the law and the general practice in all the islands in which the Slaves are fed from their own provision grounds. But, if it means that they are not to work on their own grounds on that day, then a positive wrong is done to them : they are deprived of their Sunday without an equivalent. So much for the amelioration in respect to religious instruction, and the observance of the Sunday, in Grenada.

3. The evidence of a Slave is only admissible by this new law against a free person on a charge for a capital offence ; and even then, he must produce from the clergyman a certificate of baptism, and of competency as a witness, and also of good character from the proprietor, &c., who may be the very man against whom the charge is made. But no free person shall be convicted, unless two Slaves shall clearly and consistently depose to the same facts, and unless their evidence shall be corroborated by circumstantial evidence to the satisfaction of the court and jury. It may be fairly assumed, that few convictions will take place on evidence so fettered.

4. The Slave's right of property. The clause which is cited in the abstract as giving this right, does not in fact give any such right. It merely provides, that if any owner or any other person shall unlawfully take away from, or deprive, any Slave of any personal property by him possessed, such person shall forfeit £10 over and above the value of the property taken away. And this is all. It is not enacted, that a Slave may legally hold and enjoy property, or legally transmit it to others, or may sue for it by himself, or any one else in his name, or that he can cite others as witnesses in his behalf, or that to take it unlawfully from him is theft or robbery, as the case may be ; but whatever be the circumstances, the person so unlawfully taking it, forfeits ten pounds. As the matter ought not to be treated as a debt, but a crime ; the penalty is rather a protection to the free person against the legal consequences of such a crime, than of the Slave against lawless depredation.

5. In the clause also which pretends to afford facilities for manu-

missions, all that is done is to permit the owner of an estate, upon which there may be a mortgage, to manumit a Slave, provided he can put in his place another Slave of equal value, to be ascertained by appraisalment. This clause can produce little or no benefit to the Slaves generally. Its chief practical effect will be to enable mortgagors in possession, or their representatives, to redeem their own spurious offspring, or the mother of such offspring from slavery.

6. It is enacted, that no married Slave, or unmarried female Slave, having a child or children under twelve, who may belong to the same owner, shall be sold by judicial process, except together and to the same person. But thus far, according to Mr. Dwaris, Grenada had previously gone. His words are, "Unattached Slaves are ordered to be sold one by one, except mother and child under ten years of age." The necessary condition of being actually married in order that husband and wife may not be separated, is peculiarly hard in a Colony, the returns from which shew that no marriages had taken place there for fourteen years.

7. The regulation of arbitrary punishment, by the master, consists in his not being allowed to inflict beyond fifteen lashes, except in the presence of a free person; or more than ten without a record to be produced only when called for; or more than twenty-five for any one offence on any one day, or till the Slave has recovered the effects of the former whipping. But, if the owner thinks that the Slave's *fault, though not cognizable by law, is of such enormity* as to deserve a more exemplary punishment than twenty-five lashes, it shall be lawful for the owner to carry the offending Slave before ONE or more justices of the peace, *who may direct such corporal punishment, not extending to life or limb*, as the offence shall in HIS or their discretion merit; and all this without appeal. This enactment is itself an enormity. What then are the crimes, *not cognizable by law* (the West India Penal Laws, as they affect slaves, are surely sweeping and comprehensive enough) of which a Slave can be guilty, which shall be of such enormity, as to require that ONE justice or any number of justices, shall have the power of inflicting upon him an exemplary corporal punishment to any extent short of life or limb? Is it impossible to imagine two neighbouring owners or managers, each in the commission of the peace, agreeing to execute this summary and terrible justice on the slaves of each other, *for crimes not cognizable by law*, and therefore violating no law? Is there not enough in this single enactment to shew not merely the uselessness, but the criminality, of continuing to commit the well being and happiness of so many thousands of our fellow subjects to persons capable of framing, apparently without a feeling of its cruelty and injustice, such a provision as this? And then, with respect to the record of punishment, directed to be kept by the owner or the



justice, there is no penalty imposed for its not being kept, and no return required on oath, or otherwise, of its contents. They are to produce it only when called for, but without any penalty for refusing to do so.

8. The 12th clause, respecting the driving whip, affords a happy instance of legislative evasion. It enacts that, "*no Slave or Slaves shall carry any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, as a mark or emblem of his, her, or their authority, while superintending the labour of any slaves on any estate, and the persons so offending, and each and every person who shall or may direct, instigate, or abet such illegal use or exhibition of any such whip, cat, or other instrument, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof convicted, shall suffer such punishment as the Court before which such misdemeanour is cognizable may direct.*" Now, let this miserable, unmeaning, and worthless enactment be compared with the corresponding clause in the Trinidad Order, which the Grenada legislators had before their eyes at the time they framed it.—"And it is further ordered, that it is, and shall henceforth be illegal *for any person or persons, within the island of Trinidad, to carry any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, while superintending the labour of any slaves in or upon the fields or cane pieces upon any plantation, or to use any such whip, cat, or instrument, for the purpose of impelling or coercing any Slave to perform any labour of any kind or nature whatever, or to carry or exhibit, upon any plantation or elsewhere, any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature, as a mark or emblem of the authority of the person so carrying or exhibiting the same over any Slave,*" and then all persons doing so, or authorizing, or aiding, or abetting "*such illegal driving, or use, or exhibition of any such whip,*" shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, to which is attached *a fine not exceeding £500 nor less than £50 or imprisonment for not more than six months, or less than one month, or both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.*

In the Grenada act, it will be seen that the prohibition as to carrying a whip is confined to Slaves, as if no one but a Slave could be employed as a driver. The crime prohibited too is not the *using a whip to impel or coerce labour*, but the carrying and exhibiting it as an emblem of authority. The evasion is of so gross a kind as to defeat its object; but it shows the reluctance which prevails to part with the driving-whip.

In one point the framer of the abstract has not done full justice to the Grenada act. He has omitted to notice that it contains a clause *permitting any Slave, who may be desirous of intermarrying with any other Slave belonging to the same owner, to apply to any Clergyman of the Church of England, or any Catholic priest, or "other persons thereto legally authorized," who are required to solemnize the same,*

provided a written permission is produced from the owner; and the clergyman, &c. shall consider the Slave to have an adequate knowledge of the nature of the marriage vow. It is unnecessary to repeat the observations already made (p. 28.) on this strange restriction. The clause, however, after all, while it *permits* marriages of Slaves in certain cases, dexterously avoids conferring upon them any legal validity. It was, perhaps, on this account that all notice of it was omitted in the abstract.

Another reason for the omission, no less valid, may have been that this clause, instead of being an ameliorating provision, falls far short of the Grenada law of 1788, which not only authorizes the marriages of Slaves, but imposes penalties on the clergyman who shall refuse to solemnize them; and furthermore imposes penalties of a still heavier kind, on all who shall violate the purity of married females, being Slaves. Thirty-four years after this law had been passed, in the returns laid on the table of the House of Commons, in March, 1823, we are told by one clergyman of Grenada, Mr. Nash, that "the legal solemnization of marriage between Slaves in this island, is a thing unheard of;" by two others, Mr. Webster and Mr. Macmahon, that no application had ever been made to them to marry Slaves. The former, during an incumbency of 12 years, and the latter, during one of 37 years, had "never heard of such a thing" as the marriage of a Slave. And yet, in the ameliorating Slave law of Grenada, the same enactment as to marriage is again inserted, but divested of all the penalties which seemed to afford some chance of its efficiency, and without any provision for giving a legal effect and validity to Slave marriages.

This act sweeps away the whole system of guardians of Slaves, which the legislators of Grenada had exhibited in their former Slave acts, as the very perfection of West India legislation; and which, as they have repealed it, Tobago has taken up. This is another curious illustration of the uncertainty of Colonial legislation. It would be endless to go through the different clauses of this act, in order to shew the gross injustice of many of the provisions which it retains, and which are to much the same effect as those which will be found in the Slave acts of the Bahamas and Barbadoes.\* A few instances will suffice.

By clause 7, The hours of labour are fixed from day-break till sunset, with an interval of two hours and a half for breakfast and dinner (half an hour more than Demerara gives), and slaves are not to be compelled to work beyond that time, except in "manufacturing such produce as necessarily requires night or extra labour," or "in the carrying a bundle

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\* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 4—19.

of grass or stock meat from the field to the stable or other place where the same is consumed.”\*

By clause 15, A slave complaining, and whose complaint shall appear to the justices to be groundless, shall be punished, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes.†—A person taken up as a runaway slave, but claiming to be free, may (by the 22d clause) be sold by order of a meeting of Justices, even though no one prefers any claim to his services. And this is the more remarkable, because one clause, the 48th, throws the onus probandi on the claimant of a slave in a question of slave or free. But the Justices, by this act, may sell a man to whom no one else can establish a claim, merely because they are not satisfied he is free.

By clause 29, Any person carrying off or attempting to carry off from the island a slave without the owner's leave, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

By clause 33, Swearing, committing *any indecent act in any place*, getting drunk, quarrelling, wilfully galloping, cantering, or trotting a horse in the town of St. George, may be punished in a slave with twenty-five lashes by any justice.

By clause 35, Black men and women pretending to communication with the devil, or (clause 37) *compassing or imagining the death of a free person*, may be punished with death.—A slave breaking loose from prison, when committed for felony (clause 38), is punishable with death, without benefit of clergy.

By clause 40, Slaves executed or transported, or condemned to hard labour for life, are to be valued and the price paid to their owners.

Such are some of the barbarous provisions contained in this new act, passed in 1825, and they make it the more to be regretted that Lord Bathurst, while he objects to many of the clauses, should have expressed himself so strongly as he has done in approbation of it. “I cannot but be sensible,” he says, “that it falls short of what has been recommended, yet it deserves to be considered as an important improvement of the existing code.‡ *Its provisions are all of a beneficial nature as far as they go.*”—“I instruct you, therefore,” he writes to the governor, “to convey to the legislature his Majesty's gracious approbation of what has been done; to recommend first that they should revise those enactments in the late act to which I have more particularly called their attention in a separate dispatch, and secondly, to take into their serious consideration the important measures which are yet wanting to fulfil the expectations entertained from them.”

\* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 30, and 86, and above p. 18.

† See above, p. 18, 19..

‡ As compared with the act of 1788, it is the reverse of an improvement.



The acting Governor, Mr. Paterson, who is himself a planter, in a letter dated the 21st Nov. 1825, tells his lordship that there are some points which seem to Lord Bathurst to be indispensable, with which he fears it will be "impossible to comply," namely, "the total prohibition of the whip as an instrument of correction of females, and the right of slaves to purchase their freedom." Other things, he says, may admit of being modified or explained—but to cease from flogging women, or to give a slave a power of purchasing his freedom, are, in the estimation of this public functionary, ruinous innovations. The women, he says, are the most turbulent of the slaves; and to allow slaves, he adds, to purchase their freedom would be tantamount to gradual but ultimate ruin!—Now, what hope can be entertained of beneficial enactments, on these subjects, from men who can thus speak and judge? Mr. Paterson argues against the appointment of a Protector of slaves as unconstitutional: he is "an officer unknown to the British constitution." How such an officer *could* be known to the British constitution which suffers no slavery—Mr. Paterson will perhaps explain. But what makes this objection on his part the more extraordinary is, that he must have taken a part in renewing, if not in framing, the boasted Guardian Act of Grenada, by which men's eyes in this country were for a time blinded. Now, however, he has acquired new lights on the subject: neither guardians nor protectors are any longer wanted. "The magistrates," he says, "men of the first note," all interested in the welfare of the slave population, "can afford the injured slave more immediate redress than he could receive" from a protector in town. Let the reader look back to the conduct of those Grenada magistrates, as certified by the Governor and Attorney General of the colony (p. 17), and then judge of the delusive nature of the acting Governor's representations.—Equally unsound and delusive is every syllable of his defence of Sunday markets; and if all he says were true, yet how inconsistent is it with his reasoning, to impose a fine of £10 on every one who keeps open his store on Sunday! How are the poor negroes to make their market if that law is enforced on the only market day allowed them? Mr. Paterson does not even pretend that it was meant to give them any other day at present for their markets.—On the subject of the whip, he observes, "that its use was not intended to be prohibited, but the exhibition of it to be interdicted, not only as the emblem of authority, but as an instrument of coercion, excepting when sent for, or taken to the field, for the purpose of punishing an offence previously committed, and requiring immediate correction." This is not a fair representation of the Act, as may be seen by referring to the transcript of it above, (p. 36.) Besides, Mr. Paterson must have known that the principle of immediate correction, for which he manfully contends,

and the benefit of which he exemplifies by a reference, (which, we believe, is wholly unfounded,) to the army, navy, and public schools, is in the teeth of the principle of the King's recommendation, that an interval of 24 hours shall always pass between the offence and the punishment.—He defends the discretionary power, given to a single magistrate, of inflicting any punishment, short of life and limb, on offences not cognizable by law, by saying, in the usual style, that “the magistrates are the lawful and willing protectors of the Slaves.”—“It would be contrary,” Mr. Paterson further tells us, “to the whole system and very existence of Slavery, to admit a right of action in a Slave against his owner, and what no West Indian legislature would or could concede.”

Then follows some metaphysical reasoning to prove the wisdom of the Grenada legislation in admitting Slaves to give evidence in the case of *capital* offences, but refusing to receive such evidence in civil suits, or in petty cases of assault, or of trivial crimes.

Is it right that men who can thus reason, and thus feel, should be the representatives of His Majesty in protecting, and in administering justice to so large a portion of His subjects; or should be entrusted with the delicate task of legislating for them?

#### IV. ST. VINCENT'S.

The new act of St. Vincent's resembles that of Grenada in several respects. It contains a similar clause on the subject of religious instruction. It limits markets to *ten* on Sundays, and yet shuts up shops on that day, under a penalty of £10; appointing no other day for marketing. It does not give equivalent time to the Slave in lieu of the Sunday. It protects the property of Slaves in the same inadequate manner as the Grenada act, and follows it in adopting, in nearly the same terms, the same evasive enactment respecting the driving-whip. It says nothing of manumission, except that free Black and Coloured freeholders are not to be freeholders for any other purpose than that of holding and assigning their freehold property; thus disfranchising, by a stroke of the pen, a large class of His Majesty's subjects, whose only crime is the colour of their skin. It says nothing of preventing the separation of families by sale. Slaves are declared, by an old law now renewed, to be real estate and not chattels, and as such shall descend to heirs, and widows be endowed thereof; but if there be not chattels to pay debts, then Slaves shall be taken and sold as chattels. It does not modify the power of arbitrary punishment by the master, but leaves the Slaves, men and women, subject, in all respects as before, to 10 lashes by the driver, or 39 by the owner or manager. It requires a register to be kept *on every estate*, but it is to be produced only when called for, of all punishments above ten lashes. It requires

clergymen to solemnize the marriages of Slaves, producing the consent of their owners, and understanding the nature of the marriage vow; but it gives no *express* validity to such marriages, and declares that they shall confer no rights inconsistent with the duties of Slaves, or subject them to penalties, the effect of which may injure their owners. It admits, in capital cases alone, the evidence of a Slave, provided he produces a certificate of baptism and character; provided also that two Slaves clearly and consistently depose to the same fact, being examined apart, and that the crime is prosecuted within the year. But no Slave is to give evidence where his owner, or manager, or any *White* person, is charged with a capital crime.—How strangely the principles of West India legislatures vary, even on such a point as this. Grenada and Tobago admit the evidence of Slaves in the very case in which St. Vincent and Dominica exclude it. But besides the defects which have been noticed, more numerous and still greater violations of all just and enlightened principles of legislation are to be found in the new law of St. Vincent, than even in that of Grenada.

The whole of the alleged improvements, in the Slave codes of our different Colonies, has now passed under revision, with the exception of Dominica. The parliamentary papers, however, having given only the draft of a bill for that Colony, with the blanks not yet filled up, it would answer no purpose to examine it. And even if, as has been stated, that bill has actually passed the different branches of the legislature, it would constitute no improvement in the legal condition of the Slave, as compared with the act of the same island, passed in 1788. There is nothing in it really new, except that females are not in future to be whipped *in public*, and so as to occasion any *indecent* exposure; and that a register is to be kept of punishments. The clauses in the new act about religion, and the observance of Sunday, fall even below those of the old act, which are admitted to have been wholly inoperative; while the clauses in the former act on marriage, and the violation of the purity of married females, so much vaunted at the time of its passing, are wholly omitted in the new. The clause on Slave evidence appears to be of the same restricted kind what was passed eight or ten years ago.

Such then is the result of that reference of the great work of Colonial Reform, which was made to the local assemblies nearly three years ago. The most cursory reader will at once perceive how widely different is that result, not only from what was originally proposed by the Government, as the first step in the progress of that reform, but even from the statement recently made, as from authority, in the House of Commons,\* of the ameliorations that had actually been effected.—

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\* On the 28th of February, 1826.



That statement is reported to have been to this effect, viz.—*That, since May, 1823, of the Colonies having legislatures of their own, EIGHT had taken measures with respect to religious instruction; the observance of Sunday; the giving security to the property of Slaves; the modification of punishment; and the abolition of the driving-whip:—That SEVEN had admitted the evidence of Slaves; and had given facilities to manumission:—That FIVE had legalized marriage; prohibited the separation of families; and abolished the flogging of females:—That FOUR had prohibited the sale of Slaves detached from the estate: and That TWO had established saving banks.*

Now, instead of having this flattering picture of improvement realized, it turns out, that, even if we include Dominica in our estimate, only FIVE of the Colonies, out of thirteen, having legislatures of their own, have done any thing whatsoever towards carrying the resolutions of the 15th May, 1823, into effect; and

Of these five,

NONE have done any thing with respect to religious instruction.\*

ONE (Tobago) has abolished Sunday markets.

FOUR (Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Dominica) have given a very limited protection, in certain cases, to the property of Slaves.

TWO (Tobago and Grenada) have lowered the scale of arbitrary punishment by the master.

TWO (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have made a mere shew of abolishing the driving-whip.

THREE (Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent's) have admitted the evidence of Slaves in a very limited degree.

NONE have given to the Slave the power of effecting his manumission by purchase.

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\* We are aware of the statements on this head which have been made, both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons; but they do not go in the slightest degree to invalidate the position, that nothing has been done by Colonial legislation for the religious instruction or for the education of the Slaves, since May, 1823. The passing of a law to regulate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop, or the raising money to build a church, are both very proper measures; but they do not constitute either religious instruction or education, except in the view of those who conceive that when a clergyman has received 4500 dollars for baptizing 9000 Slaves in a year, or two years, he has made them all Christians. Barbadoes, for example, has had eleven, and Jamaica nineteen, Churches, for at least a century. It is stated, as a proof of the religious zeal of the people of those Islands, that they are about to build another. This is very laudable; but will this twelfth or twentieth church do for the Slaves more than the former eleven or nineteen? The bishops and clergy lately sent may, without doubt do much, if they are so disposed, for the religious instruction and education of the Slaves: but they are appointed by the Crown, not by the Colonies.

ONE (Bahamas) has legalized marriage, and two (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have permitted it in certain cases.

ONE (Bahamas) has prohibited the separation of families, either by private or judicial sale; and ONE (Grenada) has prohibited it by judicial sale.

NONE have abolished the flogging of females.

NONE have prohibited the sale of Slaves detached from the estate.

NONE have established saving banks.

And now, after reading this meagre statement, let any man look carefully at the vain and inefficient, and often contradictory and unjust provisions, by which it is pretended to ensure even the scanty measure of improvement which the most partial advocate of the Colonies can deduce from these papers, and he must feel convinced, that no useful or consistent legislation is to be expected by continuing to pursue the present course. Delay and disappointment can be its only results.

In the first place, the great mass of the enactments are framed in direct contradiction to the admirable principle involved in the following passage of one of Lord Bathurst's letters to the Governor of the Bahamas:—"Since the superiority of rank and education which belongs to the White inhabitant, is an aggravation of the offence committed by him, there is *an injustice* in assigning to the aggravated offence the minor punishment." He also condemns those clauses which enact that a severer punishment should be inflicted on a crime committed by a Slave, "whose ignorance is an extenuation of his guilt," than by others, "for whose guilt no such extenuation can be presumed." And yet it is the uniform character of the, so called, *meliorating* laws which have now been reviewed, that they are built upon this reprobated principle.

The enactments in question are further at war with the important principle laid down in a late debate,\* by such high authorities as Mr. Canning, and the Attorney General, namely, that it was indispensable to the ends of justice, that there should be, both in form and in substance, an equal administration of it to White and Black. These enactments proceed on a totally different principle.

Further, even those provisions of law which wear the semblance of amelioration, are almost all destitute of adequate sanctions, or of an executory principle; and they are all confided to the administration of the very men whose power it ought to be their object to controul, and against whom it is the universal feeling of the country, that the Slave requires to be protected.

In short, if such impotent and evasive enactments, as most of those

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\* On the motion of Mr. Denman, the 1st of March, 1826.

now laid before the public, are to be represented, under the sanction of the highest authority in the state, as "Slave meliorating provisions;" and if some of the views, as far as we understand them, which have been developed, or rather hinted at, in certain quarters, are henceforth to regulate the measures to be taken in respect to Slavery, the hope of an early and effectual reform, not to say extinction, of that opprobrious condition of society, is, to say the least, very greatly discouraged.

But here the Colonists, and their friends in this country, meet every call for parliamentary interference, by using, in order to combat the expediency of that line of policy, the very arguments which have been advanced in its favour. "It is utterly impossible," they say, "and your own statements prove it, that Parliament can legislate effectively for the Colonies, unless the Colonists become the willing and concurrent executors of its enactments. No benefit can be hoped for, from laws, however excellent, which the courts and juries of a country combine to frustrate or to elude. The feelings and prejudices of the community will triumph over the most skilfully framed statutes."

It would be vain to deny that a very formidable difficulty is here brought forward, and that if it admits of no satisfactory solution, the evils of Colonial bondage are irremediable, except by one of those convulsions which shall suddenly and irresistibly burst the chains that bind the Slave, involving, perhaps, him and his master in one common ruin. For that the Colonists will of themselves frame and execute laws, which shall carry into full effect the recommendations of His Majesty and the wishes of the nation, is what no one, who is acquainted with their sentiments, can be weak enough to suppose. *They* see nothing but ruin in every measure *tending* to emancipation; and they will not, they plainly tell us, be themselves the artificers of that ruin.

But "what," it is asked, "can Parliamentary legislation effect, to obviate this formidable and fatal difficulty?" The question requires, and shall receive, a distinct answer.

1. In the first place, it will be admitted that good laws are better than bad laws. In as far as the Colonial statutes are chargeable with a want of uniformity and consistency; with gross inequality and injustice; and with the absence of adequate sanctions and executory provisions; it would clearly be in the power of Parliament to apply a remedy. The object of Parliament would be to give effect to its own wishes and resolutions: the object of the Colonists, in all the Colonies, is rather to resist, and, if they cannot resist, to elude, their accomplishment. Here, at least, would be a manifest advantage on the side of Parliamentary legislation. And when it is considered how very contracted is the White population of most of the Colonies, and how large a portion



of that class are necessarily in low and servile situations ; and, of the remainder, how few are qualified, by their rank in life, and by the union therewith of intelligence and high principle, to form wise and enlightened legislators, in points at once so difficult, and so deeply affecting their pride, their passions, and their interests ; it would evince an extraordinary disregard of the claims of humanity and justice, if, after experience has so fully confirmed all the deductions of reason on this subject, we should continue to delegate to them the task of legislating for the entire Black and Coloured population of our Colonies.

If it be doubted whether any good may be done by means of checks and sanctions, introduced into the Colonial Acts by some paramount authority, it is only necessary to refer to the Trinidad Order in Council. It is there provided, that the Protector of Slaves shall not be entitled to receive his salary until the returns, which are required from him, have been made in a complete and satisfactory manner. This single provision will serve to illustrate what may be effected by the judicious regulations of willing legislators, in enforcing even those laws which are obnoxious to the general feelings of a community.

2. But, in the second place, however well the laws may be framed, as to their letter, it must be admitted, that if the judicial administration of the Colonies remains on its present footing ; if the Judges are still to be Planters, and to be dependent for their salaries on assemblies of Planters ; comparatively little good would result from the improvement. But is it not the duty of Parliament to provide, not only that the laws should be good and just, but that they should be justly, and equitably, and faithfully administered ? Would it make no difference in the character of that administration, if the offices of Judge, Attorney General, and Fiscal (to say nothing at present of Governors, and of Protectors and Assistant Protectors of Slaves), were filled by barristers of a certain standing, wholly disconnected from Colonial interests, with fixed and suitable salaries, altogether independent of the local assemblies, and receiving their authority and their instructions from the Crown ? Would it make no difference, if the whole judicial administration were placed under the superintending care, and the responsibility of such intelligent and independent functionaries, receiving regular reports of every judicial proceeding from the inferior tribunals, and transmitting them, together with their own records, to the supreme authorities of the State, to be by them laid before Parliament ? Would not the institution of this universal system of record, report, inspection, publicity, and consequent responsibility, go far, of itself, and still more when combined with the suggested change in the executive department of the law, to reform many of the existing evils of the Colonial system ? And is it not in the power of Parliament to follow up its enactments for the improvement of the law, by such improve-

ments in the administration of that law as have now been hinted at? And if in the power, is it not also, the duty, of Parliament to do so?

3. But it will be argued that, though something may be done, by reforming the judicial administration of the Colonies, to correct the existing evils of the Slave system, yet the juries must still be composed of men actuated by the prevailing Colonial prejudices, and equally ready as now to render nugatory every obnoxious law. Neither the Judge, however able and upright, nor the Parliament itself, can prevent the powerful influence of the *esprit de corps* on the minds of jurymen.

This is to a certain degree true. There is, however, a large department of the judicial administration which is entirely in the hands of the judges, independently of juries; and even in that department of it which rests wholly on the decisions of a jury, it cannot be supposed that the presence and dicta of an intelligent and unbiassed judge, and the system of revision and publicity which has been suggested, would not produce a very powerful and salutary effect on those decisions.

Besides this, there is another and obvious palliative at least, if not remedy, for the evil under consideration, in the admission to the jury box of those free Blacks and persons of colour, who are qualified by their property, and intelligence, and acquirements, to take a share in the administration of justice. Why should *they* be excluded? Have they not interests, and large interests too, at stake? Even foreigners have a right, when tried, to have a moiety of their peers foreigners like themselves. By what strange anomaly in British jurisprudence is it that native born subjects, men possessing a common interest in the state, shall, not on account of the want of a qualification as to property, or intelligence, or loyalty, but on account of the varying shades of their complexion, be excluded, as a degraded caste, from the first and dearest right of the British Constitution, a trial by their peers?

That such reforms are in the power of parliament; and that, if made, they would improve the administration of justice, and afford increased security to the slave, and thus obviate the only solid objection to parliamentary legislation, cannot be questioned; and without parliamentary legislation, what hope exists that slavery will either be materially mitigated, or finally extinguished?

The object of these pages has been fulfilled. It would therefore be out of place to enter upon a variety of questions, foreign to its immediate purpose, though connected with the general subject, to which the public attention has recently been directed by various publications, particularly by a pamphlet entitled "The West India question practically considered," and to which rumour has assigned somewhat of an official origin.

This pamphlet, though it be impossible now to enter upon it, may

require an early discussion. This remark, however, has no reference to the pains the author has taken to convince the world that the views entertained by the leading abolitionists, in 1826, on the subject of the necessity and expediency of legislative interference with the colonies, has undergone a great change since 1792, and even since 1807. This fact is not only admitted, but stands forward as the very ground of their recent proceedings.\* But if they then placed, it may be, an unwarranted, but nevertheless, a liberal, confidence in the purposes of the colonists, with respect to the improvement of the condition of their slaves, are they, or those who have entered into their labours, to be blamed as wanting in good faith, because the painful experience of twenty years has satisfied them that their confidence was misplaced, and all hope of improvement, except from parliamentary interference, vain and illusory?

On this point the author may enjoy his victory undisturbed. There are other questions however from which not only the Anti-Slavery Society, but the whole British public will dissent, and which are either distinctly stated, or may be deduced as fair corollaries from the reasoning employed in this and some other kindred writings. Such, for example, are the following:

That because the British parliament and people have participated largely in the crime of slavery, they ought not, though convinced of its guilt, to cease from that crime, lest some of their accomplices should be losers.

That because great cruelties are among the *necessary* incidents of slavery, it is our duty not to make a noise about what cannot be prevented.

That though it is of the very essence of despotic power to be abused, and its existence has hitherto been deemed a curse, yet such is the peculiar character of our colonists, that the most unmeasured despotism ever exercised by man over his fellows is converted, in their case, into a blessing to the subjects of it.

That though it may be proved that the slave population of our colonies are in the singular situation of being a diminishing population, yet we are bound, in common courtesy, to believe that they are leniently treated, moderately worked, well fed, clothed and lodged; because many *honourable* men, the masters of these slaves, have affirmed the fact.

That it is so great an evil to irritate and provoke the colonists, that we must not call the crimes they commit by their appropriate names, but regard them as the unhappy accidents of their unfortunate situation.

That on the same principle, we must be content to indulge them for a few years longer, until they can be weaned from former habits, with

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\* See substance of the debate of 15 May 1823—Preface, p. xi.



the privilege of lacerating the flesh of men and women, and of urging them to their labour like cattle by the lash.

That though the colonial legislatures have hitherto framed their laws in such a manner as to deprive the Slave of all effective legal protection; and though they protest against an extension of his civil rights as utter ruin to themselves; they are still to have the abused trust of legislating for him confided to their hands.

That though it is admitted that slavery is a bad and vicious system, debasing the slave and corrupting the master, and though it cannot be affirmed that those who are born of slaves are incapable of being reared for the duties and rights of freemen, yet the government and parliament of Great Britain are bound to retain, in all the acknowledged vices of slavery, the successive generations of the negro race, until it shall have been ascertained that the value of an acre of land in Demerara may not suffer some depreciation from educating them for freemen.

That for Black men, especially if they live on the edge of forests, and on a fertile soil, slavery is a condition of life infinitely preferable to freedom.

That though sugar planting, as conducted in our colonies, has been proved to be the most deathful of all the branches of slave culture, those, nevertheless, are guilty of cruelty and injustice, who refuse to buy the sugar thus raised at the price of blood, or who protest against paying largely in bounties and protecting duties to enable the planters to continue thus to raise it.

That though this deathful occupation has been over and over again admitted by the planters to be unprofitable, nay ruinous, still we are bound, in deference to their wishes, to apply large sums to its support.

That though our manufacturers are starving for want of a market for their productions, and though India opens an indefinite field for the consumption of those productions, we must dam up this easy channel of relief, lest we should be deprived of the pleasure of paying the West India Planters a compensation, in bounties and protecting duties, for the destruction of Negro life, caused by sugar planting and sugar manufacturing.

That though it cannot be denied, that the free Blacks and people of Colour, of Jamaica, Grenada, Trinidad, &c. (themselves emancipated Slaves, or the descendants of such,) have been growing in wealth, intelligence, and respectability, notwithstanding a variety of heavy restrictions and oppressions under which their industry labours, it still remains a problem to be solved, whether, as a tropical sun is hot, and tropical soils productive, emancipated Slaves will ever think of bettering their condition, or whether, on the contrary, they will not merge again into an inert and savage state.

That although, according to West Indian statements, the Negro

Slaves, who are all, of course, well fed and clothed by their masters, and therefore stand in need of nothing, do, nevertheless, while they continue in slavery (such are the blessed fruits of that state), employ their small pittance of time so industriously and to such advantage, that many of them abound in wealth and luxuries; yet, the same Negroes, also, if manumitted (such is the baneful effect of freedom) would make no effort whatever to better their condition, but would sink into penury, and wretchedness, and into a greater degree of moral degradation than ever.

That though it is admitted that the British nation and the Colonists have been guilty of a great crime, in subjecting the Negroes to Slavery, yet compensation is due, not from the criminals to each other, or to the victims of their crime, but is due from the Negroes to their oppressors; and that in order to furnish this compensation to the criminals, the unoffending victims of their crime must be retained, for ages if need be, in their present abject and degraded state.

And lastly, that though some of the executive officers, entrusted with the administration of the Colonies, may entertain and promulgate such views as these, Parliament, and the electors of Parliament, are bound still to wait, in patience and silence, the developement, in some future age, of their wise and philanthropic plans.

Leaving these and similar positions of our author and other Colonial writers to produce their effect on the Electors of Great Britain, it will be sufficient to say, that as the Colonial interests have found in him a zealous and certainly an able advocate, so neither will there be wanting, both in and out of Parliament, advocates, if not so able yet no less zealous, of the interests of the Negro race, who will be ready to expose such positions as these to the reprobation they merit. Let justice, indeed, be done (and who resists it?) to the claims of the Planters upon the British nation; but let it not be done at the expense of their wretched bondsmen. These, Mr. Dwaris, himself a West Indian, has told us, with an emphasis and eloquence we should in vain attempt to rival;—these poor outcasts from the pale of humanity, in one at least of our Colonies, even when “MAIMED, MUTILATED, DISFIGURED, AND DISMEMBERED;” have their “WOUNDS,” as “THE ONLY TONGUE TO RELATE THEIR WRONGS.”—But they will find, in free and happy England, if no where else, some who will put a tongue into those wounds, which will make all the cold-blooded sophisms and unstatesman-like and unchristian paradoxes that have now been exposed, to shrink into their due dimensions of littleness and imbecility.





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THIRD  
R E P O R T

OF THE  
COMMITTEE

OF  
THE SOCIETY

FOR THE

MITIGATION AND GRADUAL ABOLITION  
OF SLAVERY

THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

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*Read at a Special Meeting of the Members and Friends of the  
Society, held (on the 21st of December 1825) for the purpose of  
petitioning Parliament on the Subject of Slavery.*

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WITH NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

AND SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; AND  
J. & A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

1826.

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PRINTED BY ELLERTON AND HENDERSON,  
GOUGH SQUARE.

At a General Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Society, held at Freemasons' Hall, on Wednesday, December 21, 1825, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery;

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. in the Chair;

The Report having been read, it was unanimously Resolved as follows:—

I. That the substance of the Report now read be printed without delay, under the revision of the Committee; and that they be requested to circulate it as widely as possible.

II. That this Meeting desire to express their satisfaction with the Resolutions on the subject of Colonial Slavery, which, on the motion of Mr. Canning, were unanimously adopted by Parliament, and which were to the following effect, namely:

“ That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population of his Majesty's Colonies.

“ That through a determined and vigorous, but at the same time judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for the participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

“ That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of these purposes at the earliest period that may be consistent with the welfare of the slaves themselves, the well-being of the Colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.”

That this Meeting desire further to express their high sense of the ability promptitude, and zeal, with which, as appears from Earl Bathurst's official correspondence with the Colonies, his Majesty's Ministers have laboured to carry these Parliamentary Resolutions into effect; and they deeply lament that the opposition of the Colonial authorities has hitherto succeeded in almost wholly frustrating their benevolent purposes and efforts.

That the various official documents on the subject of Slavery, and the treatment of Slaves, recently laid before Parliament by his Majesty's Ministers, afford additional and incontestible evidence of the injustice and cruelty of the system of Slavery now prevailing in the Colonies, and render desperate the hope of its extinction, or even of its effectual mitigation, without the direct and authoritative interference of the Imperial Legislature.

That from the same authentic sources of information, this Meeting have learnt with regret, though not with surprise, that the Colonial Legislatures have either treated the recorded wishes of Parliament, and the beneficent recommendations and urgent remonstrances of his Majesty's Government with neglect, or have met them with decided opposition; and that even in those Colonies where attempts have been made to frame an ameliorated Slave Code, the new enactments manifest the same substantial disregard of the most sacred principles of justice which characterised the old; that the existing laws, in their practical administration, evidently afford no effectual protection to the Slaves, and have been made, on many recent occasions, an instrument of the most grievous judicial oppression; and that the general treatment of the Slaves continues to exhibit the same harsh and disgusting effects of the domestic despotism prevailing in the Colonies, which first excited the indignant feelings of the British Public, and which should now lead to a fixed determination, on the part of every individual who values British freedom, and the blessings of Christianity, to do his utmost to prevent their continuance.



That this Meeting are further anxious to record their conviction that this unjust and immoral system, as it exists in the British Colonies, derives great support from those commercial regulations, which, by conferring bounties and protecting duties on the produce of Slave Labour, not only materially enhance its price to the British consumer, but increase the miseries of the Slaves, and render their liberation more difficult.

That if called upon by Parliament to contribute to the same, or even to a larger extent, for the purpose of extinguishing Slavery, than they now pay for its support, this Meeting would cheerfully obey the call; but that to the existing regulations of the Colonial Trade, they entertain insuperable objections; because, while these regulations violate the recognised principles of sound commercial policy, and impose on the nation a heavy pecuniary burden for the maintenance of Slavery, they tend to counteract the hope of its reformation, they serve to aggravate and perpetuate its evils, and they involve the people of this country still more deeply in the guilt of upholding it.

That it appears to this Meeting to be their bounden duty, and that of every individual who acknowledges the claims of humanity and justice, to promote, with all their influence, the fulfilment of the pledge given by the Government and Parliament in 1823, on this subject; and for that purpose to lose no time in earnestly and respectfully petitioning both Houses of Parliament, that they will be pleased to take the great work of Colonial Reformation into their own hands; and, in accordance with their own Resolutions, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, to bring the state of Slavery itself to the earliest practicable termination in every part of his Majesty's dominions.

III. That the Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, grounded on the above Resolutions, which have now been read, be adopted as the Petitions of this Meeting; and that they be left at the Freemasons' Tavern, and at such other places as the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society may appoint, in order to receive the signatures of all who concur in their prayer.

IV. That his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, whose unavoidable absence on this occasion the Meeting lament, and whose invaluable services they are desirous of gratefully recording, be respectfully requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords; and Mr. Fowell Buxton that to the Commons.

V. That this Meeting eagerly embrace the present opportunity both of presenting their heartfelt acknowledgments to their revered Vice-President, William Wilberforce, Esq., for his gratifying attendance on this day, and for his conduct in the chair; and of testifying their deep sense of the services, which, during a long and arduous parliamentary life, he has rendered to his country, and to the world at large; and especially of that indefatigable, but tempered zeal, with which he has so unceasingly and successfully consecrated his powerful talents and fascinating eloquence to the vindication and relief of suffering humanity.

### THIRD REPORT.

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SINCE the publication of the Second Report of the Society, read in this place on the 30th April last, a large mass of most important information, on the subject of Colonial Slavery, has been laid before Parliament. A digest of the most material parts of this information has been published, under the title of "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves." As this pamphlet has been largely circulated, it will not be necessary to enter into a detail of the statements which it contains, or of the fresh horrors which it develops. It has admitted us to a near view of the interior of society in one of the slave colonies, Berbice, where the Fiscal had been so attentive to his duty as to preserve some record, though an imperfect one, of the causes of complaint, on the part of the slaves, which came before him. We are not to suppose that the slave system in this colony is marked by features of peculiar atrocity. The presumption, on the contrary, is rather in favour of its comparative lenity, because it is one of the few slave-colonies in which the population does not diminish. We have unfortunately no similar disclosures from any other of those colonies. But when we consider what a mass of suffering is laid open to our view in the account which has reached us from this single colony, containing only 23,000 slaves, being about a fortieth part of the whole slave population, how frightfully would that mass have been augmented had we received a similar report of the remaining 800,000! Over *their* sufferings the veil of oblivion has been drawn. Of *them* no record has been preserved. We may imagine, indeed, what they must have been, from the glimpse which has been afforded us in the returns from Berbice; but the full amount of their horrors can now be known only to Him whose eye makes inquisition for the blood of the innocent, and by whom not one sigh of the oppressed is disregarded.

Revoltng, in every point of view, as is the delineation, as contained in these papers, of the state of British colonial slavery, as it exists in law and in practice, there is at least this advantage attending the melancholy detail, that it serves amply to confirm the view of the nature and effects of that cruel system which has been sanctioned and circulated by this Society, making *their* statements to appear even cold and tame in the comparison\*.

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\* Compare, for example, with the recent returns from the colonies, the statements contained in Mr. Wilberforce's "Appeal;" in "Negro Slavery as it exists in the United States, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica;" in the *Appendix* to the "Debate" of 15th May 1823; in the "Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery;" in the *tracts* entitled "Negro Slavery," Nos. 1 to 15; and in the Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society; and it will be clearly seen how every assertion which this Society have sanctioned is far more than borne out by the official communications from the colonies themselves.

These parliamentary documents are particularly valuable, as exemplifying the unchanged spirit of colonial legislation on the subject of slavery. The local legislatures have refused, without a single exception, to comply even with the moderate requisitions of his Majesty's Ministers\*, as these are embodied in the Order in Council for Trinidad; and the colonists, generally, exult in the refusal, encouraging each other to persevere in the same contumacious course. Their tone of secure and triumphant irony is remarkable. "We beg you to observe," says the editor of one of their newspapers—and we give the passage only as an illustration of the prevailing spirit—"We beg you to observe, that not one of the unconquered colonies" (meaning the colonies having legislatures of their own) "have had the *civility* to comply with Earl Bathurst's wishes, notwithstanding he informed them, *in the most earnest and feeling manner, of the serious extent of the disappointment which his Majesty's Government would experience if they rejected his application. We sympathize most sincerely with his Lordship on the unexpected event.*"

Attempts, it is true, have been made, by several of the colonial legislatures, to ameliorate their slave codes; and they boast of their new laws as models of wise and beneficent legislation. But it has been shewn, by the digest of these laws already laid before the public, that, vaunted as they have been, they are nevertheless an outrage on every just principle of legislation; and afford, at the very moment they profess to protect the slave, a decisive proof of his utter want of effective protection, and of the depth of his legal degradation†. And

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\* They are justly called *moderate*; for they are only the *first step* in the progress of the *gradual* emancipation to which Parliament has pledged itself. The West Indians cannot say that that progress has not been sufficiently *slow*. Three years have nearly elapsed, and this very first graduation in the scale of reform has not yet been taken, except in one colony; and even there its adoption has been compulsory. The succeeding steps, it is to be hoped, will follow each other more rapidly.

† This point was happily illustrated by Mr. Brougham, in the speech he made on the occasion of this meeting. "Previous to 1824," he remarked, "there was no law in Barbadoes by which cruelty to a slave, or even the torture, or mutilation, or dismemberment of a slave, was punishable. In 1824, however, a clause was introduced into the new act to the following effect; and here let me beg the attention of the meeting, and they will at once perceive the nature and extent of the protection afforded to the wretched slave, even by this last and best edition of the Barbadoes slave code.—'Whereas it is highly expedient to restrain owners, and others having the government and the direction of slaves, from indiscriminately, wantonly, and cruelly exercising the power they possess over slaves; and as the cruelty of punishment by flogging necessarily depends much more on the manner of inflicting it than upon the number of stripes, it is therefore most conducive to the ends of humanity' [not to limit the number of lashes, but] 'to trust to the discretion and good feelings of the justices before whom complaints shall be made.' Here, then, are the wretched slaves not protected by law, but turned over to the 'humanity' first of the master and his delegates, and then of the justices (they themselves always slave-owners), before whom complaints shall be made! It is further enacted, and I beseech you to mark the extent of protection extended to the Negroes by this 'wise' and 'salutary' measure. It is enacted, that if any person commits, or



if such be the character of their recent enactments, deliberately framed in the strange hope of satisfying the expectations of the parliament and people of this country,—if the colonial legislatures can have so egregiously misapprehended the whole current of British principle and

causes to be committed, any wanton act of cruelty towards any slave, or shall wantonly, maliciously, and cruelly whip, beat, or bruise any slave, such person, on conviction before two justices, may be—what do you think? Subjected to some adequate punishment? Oh, no: he may be fined 25*l.* currency, or about 17*l.* sterling! So that you see any one may torture a slave; he may bruise and crush his body; he may inflict upon him every cruelty short of dismemberment or death, even cruelties from which death would be a relief, and yet does he pay not more than about 17*l.* sterling: and observe, that the 17*l.* mentioned here is the *maximum*, and may be reduced to 17*d.* according to the pleasure of the justices before whom the complaint is made. And yet this act received the sanction of the legislature of that island; nay, it was even described by the gentleman who proposed it as an act which would do honour to themselves, and endear their remembrance to posterity. Nor is this all. By the same act, any person may maim, mutilate, or dismember a slave, and be liable, on conviction, only to fine or imprisonment, (no *minimum* or *maximum* being fixed), as the Court shall think fit. It was in this island that, previous to 1805, the murder of a slave, when it could be proved, was punished by a fine of 11*l.* sterling. In 1805, that act was repealed, and, in its stead, it was enacted, that any person wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and *without provocation*, killing any slave, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. But the nature of the provocation was not defined; so that let a slave but hold up his finger—nay, let him but look cross or dissatisfied—let him even use an irritating or contemptuous expression, there is at once sufficient provocation, the poor wretch's life may be taken with impunity. The words 'without provocation' have since been erased from the law; but it still remains the law, that if any person shall unfortunately kill by accident the slave of another, he shall only be liable to an action at law for the value of the slave; or if any slave shall be killed while committing or attempting to commit any robbery, theft, burglary, or arson, or in the attempt to maim or injure any White person, the person killing any such slave shall not be punished for the same either capitally or otherwise." Such are some of the enactments which will endear the remembrance of the Barbadoes legislature to posterity!

"Let us now," continued Mr. Brougham, "look at the other side of the account, and contrast with the impunity of the White the punishments to be inflicted on slaves, as well as the sort of offences of which they may be guilty. I find it enacted, for example, 'that any slaves guilty of quarrelling or fighting with one another; or of insolent language or gestures' [mark that] 'to any White person; or of swearing, or uttering any obscene speeches; or of drunkenness, or making, selling, throwing, or firing squibs, serpents, or other fireworks; or of cock-fighting, or gaming; or of riding on a faster gait than a walk; or of driving on a faster gait than a gentle trot; or of cruelly whipping or beating any horse, mare, mule, ass, or other cattle; or of negligently driving any cart, &c., or of any disorderly conduct or behaviour, shall, on conviction before a magistrate, be—What do you think? sentenced to a week's imprisonment, or fined a few shillings?—No; shall be whipped at the discretion of such magistrate, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes! Again, it is wisely enacted, that 'any slave who shall hear any other slave speak any words *tending* to mutiny or rebellion, or shall know of his having gunpowder or arms in his possession for purposes of rebellion, and shall not immediately disclose the same, shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy, or such other punishment as the court may think fit.' Here is legislation with a vengeance! You see that the slave who hears another slave use words *tending* to rebellion (of which *tendency*, mind,

feeling,—would it not be the height of fatuity to continue to look for any useful reforms from that quarter? The work must be undertaken and executed by the British Parliament. They alone are competent to the task. In no other way can a reasonable hope be entertained, either of effectually mitigating the rigours of colonial bondage, or of finally abolishing that opprobrious state of society.

It cannot be supposed, that, in the hands of the men who framed, and who boast of having framed, such enactments, the administration of the slave laws should manifest any remarkable traits of lenity and forbearance, or indicate any peculiar respect for Negro life or Negro comfort. On the contrary, the Parliamentary Papers exhibit many atrocious cases of judicial oppression, which have taken place in the colonies, and which may possibly become the subject of early parliamentary investigation\*. If so, we trust they may lead to the institution of some adequate securities against the effects, on the lives and happiness of the Negro and Coloured races, of the blind and irrational alarms, and headstrong and ungovernable passions, of the dominant party, who exclusively act as judges and jurors.

But of all the harsh features of the colonial slave-laws, none is more revolting to every feeling of humanity and justice, than that which makes the very act of complaining a crime in the slave. In him, even the murmurs of suffering nature must be suppressed. We may see this lamentable perversion of all established principles of just legislation fully and strikingly illustrated in the recorded proceedings of the Fiscal of Berbice; of whom, at the same time, it is but right to say, that he appears to be a person of much natural mildness of disposition.—Four Negroes, belonging to the Hon. Mr. Katz, complained to the Fiscal of harsh usage by the manager. On the mere denial of the party accused, the Fiscal punished three of the complainants, with seventy-five lashes, and one with fifty.—Again: three Negroes belonging to General Murray, late Governor of Demerara, complained to the Fiscal of overwork, and want of food, and severity of treatment. Two of them were selected by the Fiscal to receive the torture of seventy-five lashes each†.

But it is needless to proceed. Similar instances might be multiplied without end. Nay, the laws of almost all the colonies provide

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he is, in the first instance, constituted the sole judge) must make up his mind not only that such is their tendency, but also that the White judge to whom he is to make the communication, will also make up his mind that such is their tendency; and if he does not do this—that is to say, if he does not make up his mind beforehand, to be of the same opinion with the White judge to whom he is to make a communication—then is he to be hanged without benefit of clergy, or be liable to such other punishment as the Court may think fit. It is needless to say much more upon this act, which is to entitle its framers to the grateful remembrance of posterity."

\* The trials of the alleged insurgents in Demerara and Jamaica are here more particularly alluded to.

† See Parliamentary Returns from the Fiscal of Berbice, pp. 19 and 50. See particularly his instructions to one of his officers, pp. 57 and 58, for a curious specimen of West-Indian justice.

that, in the case of a slave complaining of ill-treatment, the magistrate may, if he deems the complaint unfounded, punish the complainant with the cart-whip at his discretion\*. And yet, be it remembered that, as Negro evidence is not admitted in proof of the complaint, the complainant has no possible means, should the accused deny it, of establishing the most undoubted fact.

Since the publication of the abstract to which reference has hitherto been made, another official document, of considerable importance, has appeared; namely, "A Report on the Civil and Criminal Justice of the West Indies," by the only surviving commissioner, Mr. Fortunatus Dwaris, employed to inquire into that subject.

This gentleman, it appears, is the proprietor of a considerable sugar estate in Jamaica, cultivated by about 220 slaves†; and although we have no doubt that it was his purpose fairly to represent the case which he was employed to investigate, yet we must lament that it should have been found necessary to select a person in his peculiar circumstances for this delicate and difficult task. It surely never can be expedient to place any public functionary in a situation in which private interests, early prepossessions, and the most cherished associations and attachments, may be found unavoidably to clash with the uncompromising claims of public duty. If his Majesty's Ministers have felt it incumbent on them to determine, that henceforward no governor, or judge, or fiscal, or protector of slaves, shall be the owner of a plantation cultivated by slaves‡, it surely is still more indispensable that the persons who are expressly delegated to inquire into the abuses of a particular system should not be chosen from the very class whose interests, as well as whose strongest prejudices, are deeply involved in its defence. We have been almost involuntarily led to this reflection, by the manifest anxiety which Mr. Dwaris evinces to prevent his exposure of the many evils in the judicial administration of the West-Indies, from producing an impression adverse to West-Indian planters, or to that system of Negro slavery which, as planters, they are naturally solicitous to accredit.

The general view of the condition of the Negro slave, which Mr. Dwaris has in this case gone out of his way to give, is, without doubt, widely different from that which a consideration either of general principles, or of the facts of the case, would permit any disinterested and unprejudiced individual to form.—"The poor slave, if left to himself," the Reporter informs us, "is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached"—(we

\* See, for an example, a law much vaunted by Mr. Dwaris, the Consolidated Slave Law of Jamaica, of December 1816, section 28; where we find that two magistrates *may*, if they think proper, inquire into the complaint of a slave; but that, if it shall appear that such complaint was groundless, they "SHALL PUNISH the complainant, and the person giving information thereof, IN SUCH MANNER AS TO THEM MAY SEEM PROPER." This is what is called protecting slaves in the West Indies.

† Mr. Dwaris's estate is Golden Grove, in the parish of St. George's. In March 1823, there were upon it 221 slaves.

‡ See Preface to the Debate of 15th May 1823, pp. xxvii—xxxii.



shall presently see by what tenure he holds this spot)—“Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master” (a master, be it recollected, generally 4000 miles off, whom he never sees, and cannot therefore look to, but) “looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws.” This, be it remembered, refers more immediately to Barbadoes; the very colony where, a few years ago, hundreds of Negro lives were sacrificed with breathless dispatch, by the operation of laws which the Report represents as only *impotently* furious.—“A little more time, and a little less work, form,” adds the Reporter, “the narrow boundary of the wants and wishes of the Negro\*.” And what has reduced the Negro to this abject and brutish state of existence; a state which this gentleman considers as a subject even of satisfactory contemplation?—And, supposing such a picture as that of Mr. Dwarris to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident planters, yet in what respects does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of this gentleman, are, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind. Are we, then, to shut out of our view that the Negro is a human being, born with the power of looking afore and after; possessing the capacities of thought, intelligence, reflection;—that he is endowed with desires, affections, cares, passions, responsibilities, and—may we dare to add—RIGHTS,—in common with ourselves? Shall we forget that the poor slave was formed, like his master, in the image of God; has shared in the same moral ruin; has been redeemed by the same blood; and is an heir of the same immortality? If, then, the delineation of Mr. Dwarris were as generally true as it is notoriously the reverse; still, to level the Negro’s highest enjoyments with those of the brutes that perish; to make his whole existence, its comfort, and even its duration, to depend, like theirs, on the will, the caprice, the prudence, the health, or the life of another; to put it within the discretion of that other not only to be himself the sole arbiter of the destinies of his slave, the food he shall eat, the clothes he shall wear, the labour he shall undergo, the stripes he shall receive, the indignities, nay, the tortures, he shall suffer, but even to delegate these tremendous powers to third parties;—what is all this but a cruel spoliation of man’s inalienable rights; an impious usurpation, for which nothing can compensate; an insult to the Majesty of Heaven itself?

Some idea of the wretched insecurity of the tenure, by which slaves enjoy even the spot to which the Report tells us they are attached, together with all the dearest ties and charities of life, may be obtained from the case of a Mr. Padmore, who was driven to the

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\* See Mr. Dwarris’s Report, p. 15.

necessity (a necessity of common occurrence in the West Indies) of selling his estate to satisfy his creditors. "The slaves," it is stated, "he *could* have sold separately (detached from the estate), at a much higher rate; but they came to him in a body, with most distressing cries, and threw themselves on the ground before him; when a spokesman, appointed by the rest, fell down at his feet, and implored him, in all their names, not to separate them, both from himself and the estate. They were ready to follow him to the other end of the island; but if he could not retain them about himself, if his necessities compelled him to sell them, they besought him not to part friends and relations, husbands and wives, parents and children; not to tear them from their houses and gardens; but to let them go with the land. He could not resist such an appeal, and he lost at least forty pounds a-head by it." (p. 22.)—This occurrence says much, it is true, for the ruined individual who had the courage and the feeling to make this sacrifice;—but what does it say for the system; for that state of society, that state of law, which can for one moment tolerate and sanction such enormities? Even Mr. Dwaris admits, that, by the law of Barbadoes, there is no express direction that families should be sold together; nothing in any Act prohibiting the separation of husband and wife, parents and children. (p. 39.) He endeavours, however, to palliate the effect of this statement, by remarking, that *many* of our other islands had adopted, with the best effect, a humane provision to prevent the separation of families. In venturing to make this statement, in which, however, we believe him to be mistaken\*, he ought at least to have named the islands in which such a provision had been adopted; especially as, in the case of the only two other islands, Tobago and Grenada, whose laws he speaks of, he himself distinctly tells us, that "unattached slaves are ordered to be sold one by one, except mother and child under twelve years of age." (pp. 81 and 103.) We find him, indeed, becoming the apologist of that general principle of separating the slaves from the land, which destroys, root and branch, even the miserable semblance of property which a slave can be said to possess in his house and garden. "However desirable it may appear," he observes, "to prevent the slave from being torn from his home and garden, it would be found very difficult, *consistently with a due regard to the interest of creditors*," (the paramount consideration, of course, in the minds of colonial legislators,) "to provide any remedy for the evil." It would be unsuitable to a state of things in which the support of credit, and the security for borrowed capital, form the *first* object of attention, and even of legislative care

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\* There is a provision in the laws of Jamaica, that when slaves are sold *by the marshall*, members of the same family shall be sold together. But to make this regulation of any material use, the members of the same family should be seized, as well as sold, together. There is no restraint whatever in any of the colonies on the power of the *master* to sell his slaves separately. In Jamaica, the seizure and sale by public auction of single slaves (which slaves must have parents, or children, and other near relations,) for the king's taxes, is an event of weekly occurrence. See the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, *passim*.

and provision." (p. 39).—The first objects of attention, therefore, are not human life and human comfort—at least in cases where the skin happens to be darkly-tinged—but the security of credit and capital; and that even in the estimate of the author of this Report—a Report which, while it affords some curious illustrations of the regard paid to the Negro as an article of the *master's* property, one of *his* chattels, one of his *available securities*, exemplifies no less strikingly the utter disregard of all his *rights* and *feelings* as a man, as a rational and sentient being.

We shall say nothing of the scandalous abuse of those forfeitures to the Crown, by means of escheats, by which the name of the King is abused to purposes of oppression and wrong, in a manner altogether unconstitutional, as well as most disreputable\*: but let us take a view of the proceedings of what are called Slave Courts in Barbadoes.—“In cases of *capital* offences by slaves”—and these cases are very numerous—“the court is composed of two justices, and three freeholders of the neighbourhood of the place where the offence is committed. These five compose the court, and are all judges both of the law and the fact. They are not appointed to meet at any fixed time, but only as occasion requires.” “When the court is assembled, no indictment is preferred, or bill found by a grand jury. The magistrate before whom the complaint was made is taken to have decided that there is sufficient ground to put the slave on his trial, and this magistrate sits upon the trial.”—The evidence may consist of the evidence of slaves; but not upon oath, unless they have been baptized. “They are sometimes sworn on grave-dirt, according to a superstition. A Negro’s wife’s evidence is admitted” (against him) “because it is in general a nominal, and not a legal marriage. In the case of false evidence given by a slave, the justice, or the court, before which the false evidence is given, directs the offender to be” (we presume forthwith) “flogged.” “There is no regular record: the magistrates who try the case keep an account of the proceedings. These are not returned to any public office; and, after the lapse of a few years, it would be difficult to procure evidence to prove a former acquittal, if a slave were to be apprehended a second time for the same offence, while neither the slave nor the master has any remedy for the malicious pro-

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\* Slaves escheating to the Crown from intestacy, &c. are not considered as freed. “The escheator reports the verdict to the chancellor in court. If there are slaves, the chancellor directs them to be sold, with the real estate, if they are annexed to it; separately, if they are unattached. The nett proceeds, after deduction of heavy expenses, are brought into court, and placed at the disposal of the chancellor. The Attorney-general fears extreme hardship has arisen in some cases.” (p. 83. See also p. 43).—What a monstrous system of oppression has grown up in our slave colonies! And in this instance, as in many others, we have the Crown aiding, and profiting by, the wrong. The accident of intestacy throws a number of wretched beings into the hands of his majesty. His majesty, instead of protecting them as subjects, and giving them freedom, is made to sell them into interminable bondage, even separating, in some cases, the nearest and dearest connexions, and all for his own profit, or for that of his officers.



secution of the slave. If the five members of the court are agreed, a conviction takes place; otherwise the prisoner is acquitted. Upon conviction, *sentence of death must be passed in all capital cases.*" An appeal may be brought *by the owner* (but by him only) "before the governor and council. If there is no appeal, no copy of the trial is laid before the governor, or report made to him or any other superior authority, before the execution takes place. The warrant of execution is directed to the constable who attends the trial; and he executes it *without delay*. There is no fixed time or appointed place for the public execution of slave malefactors." "That the owner may not be discouraged to detect and discover the offences of his Negroes, a condemned slave is always appraised, and the value" (not exceeding a limited sum) "paid to the owner out of the public treasury, the party injured being first indemnified;" but if "the master had not duly provided for the support of the slave, and NECESSITY might have COMPELLED the Negro to commit the offence, the whole appraised value is to be paid to the party injured, and nothing to the master." And yet "the execution of the slave might proceed!" The trials of slaves in this island, the Report goes on to remark in duly measured terms, "are very unsatisfactory. We heard them pronounced disgraceful. The judges, it was said, are ignorant; the proceedings are slovenly; the charge, being unwritten, shifts with the case. A disposition to favour, where it exists," (and the Reporter might have added, a disposition to condemn where it exists,) "receives no check from the want of publicity. There being no assigned place or appointed time for the execution of slave malefactors, the wretched convict, *as soon as sentence is passed, is fastened to the nearest tree*; unless, which frequently happens, the owner of the soil is at hand to prevent it. In such case, *the miserable culprit is dragged from tree to tree, from estate to estate; and in one case, of then recent occurrence, the constable was at last forced to throw the exhausted sufferer off the town-bridge, securing the rope by a lamp-post.*" pp. 48—50.

Is it necessary to add a single word more to these revolting statements? Yet we cannot forbear referring to the authority of Mr. Dwarris on one or two other topics. After the eulogy pronounced by him on the general treatment of the slaves in Barbadoes, the Meeting will scarcely be prepared for the following representations of the same gentlemen in the very same Report. "Slaves in this island," he says, "are without legal protection or redress for personal injuries." ... "The slave has no remedy, in case of the greatest oppression by the master or his delegate, or the grossest injury by third persons; though the *master* (in case of his slave being assaulted and robbed) may have reparation in damages for *the loss of service, or the injury to his property, in the slave*. The murder of a slave, *wilfully, maliciously, wantonly, and without provocation\**, is now a capital crime. But there

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\* Mr. Dwarris does not seem to be aware that the words, "without provocation," which formed a part of the Act of 1805, were omitted in a subsequent Act, that of 1817.

is no other legislative provision, restraining the absolute power of the master over the slave, or inflicting punishment upon the owners or others, in cases of mayem, mutilation, dismemberment, or cruel treatment \*. No other Act of Assembly has been framed for the protection of slaves; no tribunal is specially appointed for inquiry into their wrongs. A slave who is, or thinks himself, aggrieved, looks in vain, in this island, for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint. *It can no where be received.* " *Murder is the only case in which the law interferes.*" " *For the punishment of general oppression and maltreatment of a slave, there is no provision by any law of Barbadoes.* If inflicted by the master, it would be *dispunishable*. If perpetrated by a third person, the owner would have *his* remedy by civil action; but the slave would still be without redress†. There is not, in Barbadoes, any law regulating the quantum and kind of punishment, the hours of labour and rest, the provision of food, and (except nominally) of clothing. These are dependent on the performance of moral duties, of which good men feel the obligation, but of which the breach is not cognizable before any earthly tribunal. A wicked and cruel master or delegate (so that he do not kill or maim ‡ a slave) may inflict on him ANY degree of severity of punishment. *No man, or set of men, has legal power to call him to account for working his slave as long as he likes; for whipping him as much as he pleases; for chaining, for starving him.*" " *A master has uncontrolled, undefined, and absolute power.*" Where then, asks Mr. Dwaris, very justly, however inconsistently, "where then is the protection of the slave; and where, in case of accident, the justification of the master?" In a case even of a very grievous bodily injury, inflicted upon a slave by a manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free persons on the premises should have been *designedly* sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. *Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered,*" (I am putting, says Mr. D., the most aggravated case), "his wounds must be the only tongue permitted to relate his wrongs." (pp. 62—66.)—These, however, will speak for him in this country, if they do not speak for him in the colonies §.

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\* This, we suppose, was written before the Act of 1824 had passed. The amount of the protection afforded by that Act against the evils enumerated above, may be seen in the extract from Mr. Brougham's speech, in a preceding note, p. 8.

† The truth of these statements is hardly affected by the opprobrious and inefficient provisions of the Act of 1824. If these provisions were far less exceptionable in their terms, they would still remain a dead letter, where Negro evidence is shut out.

‡ The exception of *maiming* is inconsistent with the other statements of Mr. Dwaris, and with the law of Barbadoes prior to 1824.

§ The observations of Sir James Mackintosh, on the inconsistent statements of Mr. Dwaris, were peculiarly just and forcible. "One passage," he observed, "to which I shall call your attention, shews the grievous disqualifications under which the Negroes labour in procuring redress for injury. Mr. Dwaris, in the Report of the Judicial Establishments of Barbadoes, states:—'In a case of even very grievous bodily injury, inflicted upon a slave by a

But to proceed; "It is generally held," says the Report, "as a principle in slave colonies, that slaves cannot acquire property except for the benefit of their owners. By law they cannot, but only by in-

manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free persons on the premises should have been designedly sent out of the way. In such a case, a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. *Maimed, mutilated, disfigured, dismembered*, his wounds must be the only tongues permitted to relate his wrongs!' Such is the condition, the degraded and defenceless condition, of the unfortunate and devoted inhabitants of our colonies. What then must be our surprise to meet in the statements of this very same reporter, an eulogy on the happy state in which the slaves live under this degraded condition? 'But left to himself,' the Reporter informs us, 'the poor slave is generally contented and happy. Possessing a spot to which he is commonly attached, looking to his master for support in health, care in sickness, and advice and help in distress and difficulty, the improvident Negro, far from pining in misery, dances and sleeps, trifles and dreams away life, thoughtless, careless, and happily ignorant of his own unprotected condition, and of the impotent fury of the laws.'—What! is it then possible that a human being, who may be 'maimed, mutilated, disfigured, and dismembered' with impunity, can frisk and dance, and dream away life in thoughtless ignorance of his unprotected condition? Are these the persons, who, we are to suppose, lead, as they are described to do, a life of luxurious enjoyment? Should we not rather say, that there could not be a more humiliating picture of human degradation than that presented to us by persons who could be contented under such a condition of existence? As has been very properly suggested in the Report just read, 'supposing such a picture as this to be realized on the estates of a few of the few resident planters, yet in what respects does it differ from that which might be given, by many an English gentleman, of his stud of horses, or of his kennel of hounds? The comforts and enjoyments of the Negro, on the shewing of Mr. Dwarris, are, like those of the horse and the dog, exclusively of the animal kind.' The illustration is most appropriate; the comparison is just. It would appear to me that this ingenious writer, Mr. Dwarris, had studied poetry more than truth. He appears to have had in his view a well-known passage of one of our most celebrated poets (Pope), in which he points out the wise dispensations of our Creator in assigning ignorance to the brute creation as a mitigation of their condition:—

"The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,  
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?  
Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food,  
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood."

This was the passage which doubtless Mr. Dwarris had in his eye, when he spoke of the gaiety with which West-Indian slaves could dance and amuse themselves, whilst the same cruelty could be extended to them as is shewn, and often, I must say, with wantonness and depravity, shewn to the brute creation. This is a passage which the poet introduces to 'justify the ways of God to man:' it shews how, by ignorance of their sufferings, he mitigates the condition of the brute creation. And it suggests to our ingenious writer, the parallel case of a million of our fellow-creatures reduced to a similar degradation. If this, then, is to be regarded as a state of happiness, it is a state of happiness that can only exist by extinguishing within human beings, the capacities of thought, intelligence, and reflection,—by depriving them of the desires, affections, and passions of ordinary men—by brutalizing them—nay, by worse than brutalizing them: for to reduce a human being to the level of a brute, it is necessary to deprive him of reason and reflection; and the degradation thereby inflicted upon him is greater than even that of the brute. So it was that this gentleman thought proper to represent these degraded Negroes: like the lamb,

"Pleased to the last, he crops his flowery food,  
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood."



dulgence." p. 111.) Again, "the slave has not any means of acquiring his freedom without the consent of the master. There is no redemption of the slave in this island by force of law;" (nor in Tobago and Grenada, nor, indeed, in any of the islands;) and, "every Negro is presumed to be a slave, unless he can legally prove the contrary." p. 67.

To much the same effect is the view given of the legal rights of slaves in Tobago and Grenada. In the former island, the chief justice, Mr. Pigott, testifies as follows:—"A manager sent all free persons out of the way, and then gave a Negro 150 lashes. The Negro was brought, in a state in which he might have died, to us, the sitting magistrates. We had no means of proving it. I proposed a bill to admit slave evidence, or to make the accused purge himself on oath. The bill was not approved." (p. 89.) The testimony of the attorney-general of Tobago is to the same effect: "*I know*," he says, "*as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty that have passed unpunished for want of slave evidence.*" "*It is very common, when they wish to be cruel, to send free persons out of the way. I have known many such cases* \*." I think it a very common cause of discontent among the

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\* And yet we are told by the Quarterly Review, in its last Article on this subject (No. LXIV.), and in the face of all the official documents laid before Parliament in the last session, (*to not one of which, no, not even to the Berbice Fiscal's Report, has it once referred,*) that the amelioration of slaves in the West Indies is proceeding at a rapid rate. This is, however, but one of the numerous mistatements which abound in every page of that article, evidently the work of a West-Indian proprietor, who knows enough of the public feeling in this country, not violently to outrage it; and who knows enough of the West-Indian system to be studious to draw a veil over it. From the internal evidence, it may be safely affirmed, that it is the work of a writer who is labouring, by means of the general belief of the official character of the work, and by the assumption of a certain air of official moderation, to make the friends of Government believe that Government itself is receding from its solemn pledges on the subject of Colonial Slavery. In this point of view, the wrong it does to the character of the Colonial Office is far greater than any injury it can do to the Anti-Slavery cause. A man who could write on colonial subjects, as he has done, with the late parliamentary returns before his eyes, and not once allude to them, must have deep interests or strong prejudices of his own to contend with: we leave him to the discredit which so disingenuous a proceeding cannot fail to secure for his statements, with a single remark.

The reviewer is extremely anxious to fix the charge of inflammation on the Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society. In order to this, he cites two passages in speeches made at its General Meetings, in which few besides himself will see any thing but truth forcibly stated; and a passage from one of the Reports, the censure of which sufficiently betrays the prejudices of the colonial planter. This passage, and we are glad to repeat it, is as follows:—"The civil degradation which they" (the free People of Colour) "themselves are doomed to sustain are many and galling; and the Committee believe that they are sufficiently enlightened to have at length a just and settled conviction, that the slavery of their colour is the real root of the evils they experience; and that, while that slavery is perpetuated; while the slave continues a *British*" (the original word was *brutish*) "outcast from the pale of society, deprived of his natural rights, a mere beast of burden, a mere instrument of profit;—they who partake of his colour must partake also of his debasement." To this quotation the reviewer adds, that such language is calculated to produce, and ac-

slaves, that, when they have been ill-treated, and bring their fellow-slaves as evidence, such witnesses cannot be received. They go away with a feeling of injustice." (p. 89.) The same gentleman has since expressed an opinion that by the *new* Tobago Act, "the power of the master has been limited in almost every point essential to the well-being and comfort of the slave." This opinion only shews how easily some men may be satisfied with the shew of reform. Lord Bathurst wisely disallowed the very act which the Attorney-general thus commends.

The Report from Grenada, though varying in a few points, is not more favourable than that from Tobago. Some of the Grenada laws are extremely harsh, and even manifest what may be properly called a wantonness of severity. (pp. 95, 96.) And as for the appointment of guardians of slaves, of which we have heard so loud a boast, it is admitted by the present Report to be inefficacious. No independent men, we are expressly told, can be found to fill the situation; but it is filled by overseers or managers, who cannot be expected to denounce their employers (p. 98); and "in all cases between Black or Coloured persons and Whites," observes the Attorney-general, "the prejudice of juries is very strong in favour of Whites." (p. 99.)

Neither in Tobago, nor in Grenada, "are there any public institutions, by which infant or adult slaves are instructed in religious principles or useful knowledge\*. There are no Sunday-schools." The Wesleyan Methodists alone have given any instruction to the slaves of these islands. (pp. 89 and 112.) In Barbadoes, only one school is said to exist for Black or Coloured children (p. 18), though the Black and Coloured population amounts to about 90,000.

Such are some of the material *facts* brought to light, in the most

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tually has produced, mischief in the West Indies. (p. 526.) The colonists, however, must have thought differently from their advocate; for they republish in the colonial newspapers such passages as these without the slightest reserve. Besides, does he mean to deny, (he has not been bold enough to deny,) the correctness of every sentiment which the passage contains? And would he have the Society (as he and his friends have been doing so long, and on no occasion more than in the framing of this review), to conceal from parliament and the public, for whom they write, the real state of the case? If the disease be not known how is a suitable remedy to be applied? And the reviewer is challenged to point out a single particular in the above sentence, in which the diagnostics of the disease in question have been overstated, Mr. Dwaris himself being constituted the judge.

The real character of this article is very happily described in the succeeding Number of the Quarterly Review (No. LXV. p. 6.) where, speaking of Mr. Lingard's historical work, the reviewer observes,—“After all, the work is by no means so effective as might be expected. The overstrained pretension to candour excites distrust. The tone *appears* dispassionate, not because the mind of the author is temperate, or resolved to be impartial, but because it is full of suppressed rather than subdued passion. The very speciousness and elaborate plausibility have in them something suspicious. And while the author strains every nerve to convince us of his indifference to all but truth, it is impossible not to feel, as we read, that we are occupied only with the artful statements of a very zealous partizan.”

\* In the latter island it is said, "there are some schools on estates." p. 112.

authentic form, by this recent Report ; in which, however, we must admit that many *opinions* are expressed which it is exceedingly difficult to reconcile with those facts, or, indeed, with the notorious realities of the case. Take an example :—Mr. Dwarris states it to be the *only just ground of complaint against the present inhabitants of Barbadoes*, that they had not repealed a certain act, which inflicts the punishment of slitting the nose, and burning the face with a hot iron on a *Negro* who strikes a *Christian* a second time. But when Mr. Dwarris thus sweepingly cleared the Barbadians from every other charge, had he not heard of the atrocities of 1804, reported by Lord Seaforth ?—of the wholesale massacres of their slaves in 1816 ?—of the destruction of the Methodist chapel, and the expulsion of the Missionary Shrewsbury in 1823 ? or of their new slave-law of 1824 ? And is it not this very gentleman, whose Report of the Barbadoes slave-courts, and of the summary and brutal executions of their convicts, and of the unprotected state of the whole slave population, we have just been reading ? How are we to explain such strange incongruities as these ?

But it would require far too detailed a statement were we to go through all the inconsistencies and incorrectnesses which might be pointed out in this, in some respects, invaluable Report\*. On the whole, however, we are extremely thankful for its appearance ; and we cannot doubt that it will do much to open the eyes of the public to the multiplied abominations of this unchristian and merciless system.

Never, however, let the people of England forget, that of this unchristian and merciless system they will continue to be the criminal upholders, if they now refrain from lifting up their voice against it ; or if they silently acquiesce in contributing, as they now do, largely and directly to its support. On this part of the subject, however, we mean not now to enlarge. In the Second Report of the Society, the question of bounties and protecting duties has been amply discussed ; and not only their impolicy, but their malign and wasting influence on the happiness and increase of the slave population, as well as their pernicious effects even on the interests of the masters, have been fully and, as we believe, most incontrovertibly established†. We will therefore now content ourselves with remarking, that it is absolutely vain for us to be hoping to succeed in abolishing slavery ; or to expect that by the vehemence of our speeches, or by the strength of our resolutions, or even by the severity of our enactments, we shall be able very materially to abate this evil, if we continue, as we now do, to extend to the slave-holder those solid marks of our favour which are conveyed to him in bounties and protecting duties ; thus supplying to him the very means of maintaining his iniquitous system, against the united wishes of the parliament and the people of England.

And now, after the statement which has just been given, combined

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\* For a few examples, we refer the reader to the Appendix.

† See Second Report, pp. 16—43.



with all our previous information, are we not entitled to call upon the people of England to come forward to strengthen the hands of the Government, in the righteous work of carrying into effect the hitherto abortive resolutions of Parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery? \* We call upon them therefore to assemble in every county, and city, and town, and even village of the United Kingdom, in order to testify their abhorrence of this impious system, and to implore of the Legislature, respectfully indeed, but most earnestly, to relieve them from its guilt and its burden? Let no man in this free and happy country, where the voice of the very meanest has its appropriate weight in Parliament, imagine that he can discharge himself from the performance of this solemn duty; or—should his application to Parliament fail of its effect—from adopting every other expedient in his power, such as abstinence from slave-grown sugar, the promotion of cultivation by free labour, &c. for wiping away this foul stain from the national character. And we would address this call to men of all political parties, in the state. Those of every party who have sympathized with the victims of despotism in Spain, in Italy, and in Greece, have now an opportunity of combining, to deliver 830,000 of their own fellow-subjects from a still more grievous despotism. The friends of the Government are bound to see its orders respected, and to repress that insubordinate and contumelious spirit in the colonists which would set those orders at naught. The members of the Opposition are bound by all their professed principles, and by all the recollections which are associated with the venerated name of Fox, to unite heart and hand in undoing the fetters of our own fellow-subjects. Above all (to avail ourselves of the language of one of the ablest advocates of this cause)—above all, we would call on CHRISTIANS of every name to come forward to lend their aid as one man to deliver their country from this great national iniquity—"to reform this cruel and impious system, which shuts out the light of the Gospel; which violates, in the grossest manner, all its precepts; which keeps, in a cruel thralldom, the minds as well as bodies of its unfortunate victims; and which adds to its other enormities the fierceness of anti-christian persecution. There would surely be an inconsistency in the charitable efforts now making to convert our fellow-creatures

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\* The colonists, in almost all the colonies, seem to think that what they require is to have their case fully and fairly exhibited before the British public. It is strange they should not yet have discovered that every attempted vindication of their system has only ended in rendering its maintenance more hopeless. Under the influence of this infatuation, however, they have subscribed large sums of money to enable Mr. Macqueen of Glasgow to repair to London, and there establish a daily paper expressly for their defence. We have no doubt that Mr. Macqueen will labour diligently to earn his wages; but his employers will be sadly disappointed if they expect that, by his best efforts, he will achieve any thing beyond the echo of their own sentiments, the gratification of their own peculiar tastes and resentments, and the applause of their own little circles. Some estimate may be formed of the reliance which may be placed on this gentleman's fairness as a controversialist, by consulting a pamphlet which has just appeared from the pen of Mr. Stephen, entitled, "England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies." pp. 45—49.

in the most distant regions of the globe, while we suffer our fellow-subjects to be kept in pagan darkness, and the vilest moral degradation, not by choice but by compulsion, through a domestic tyranny, which our own power, within our own territories, alone upholds." To all, then, we would say, in conclusion, in the words of the same eloquent writer, "Come forward with your petitions. Instruct your representatives. Give or withhold your suffrages for the next Parliament, and use your personal influence throughout the country; all in such a manner as may best promote the success of this great and sacred cause. If you succeed, you will give a new triumph to the British Constitution. You will exalt the glory of your country, in that best point, her moral elevation, and recommend her to the favour of Heaven." "If you fail, you will at least have the inestimable consolation that you have done what you could 'to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free;' and that the sins and calamities of your country, however pernicious in their consequences to yourselves or your children, were evils which you could not avert\*."

One word more: we rejoice to be able to report, that the number of Associations, and especially of Ladies' Associations, for the abolition of slavery, has been increasing of late. We trust that they will be largely multiplied both in the metropolis and in the country at large.

The present meeting, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, has, we are happy to say been anticipated in several places, by the impulse of that popular feeling which furnishes the best pledge of our ultimate success. In this important line of service Norfolk has taken the lead, and has been followed by the cities of Norwich and York, and by Birmingham, Hull, Beverley, Derby, and Ipswich; as it had been preceded, though not for the purpose of petitioning, by Edinburgh. In all these places our cause has been advocated with remarkable power and effect, and has happily united the general suffrage. The Corporation of the City of London has signalized itself by its zeal in the same cause; and we are anxious to record the high sense we entertain of the advantage which must accrue from the nearly unanimous and energetic declaration of the chief authorities of the first commercial city in the world, against the principle of colonial monopoly, and in favour of the claims of injured and outraged humanity. The influence of their high example will, we trust, induce the mercantile and manufacturing classes, throughout the kingdom, to come forward to vindicate the commercial character of this country from the discredit, and its commercial interests from the injury, caused by the prolongation of the existing colonial evils.

It would be ingratitude in this connexion to withhold our warm acknowledgments of the great services which have been rendered to our common cause, since we last met, by the able, zealous, indefatigable, and successful efforts of Mr. Cropper of Liverpool.

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\* See Mr. Stephen's pamphlet, "England enslaved by her own Slave Colonies."

These various indications of the general sympathy in our labours are strong incentives to perseverance. And we must all feel it as not among the least cheering and encouraging circumstances, which we are called to acknowledge with gratitude to the Giver of all good, that we should once more behold among us, and in the chair of this assembly, that loved and revered individual, dear to all to whom the interests of humanity are dear; who, having consecrated the strength and flower of his days to the vindication of the wronged and degraded African, and having at length signally triumphed in the protracted and painful conflict; now, though bending under the weight of added years, still marshals our way, as we trust, to victory, in a no less arduous struggle—in the endeavour to break the yoke of the oppressor, and to achieve the rescue of the oppressed, in every corner of the British dominions. May it please God to spare him to witness the final consummation of this labour of love and mercy!

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## APPENDIX.

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### EXAMPLES OF THE INCORRECTNESS AND INCONSISTENCY OF THE STATEMENTS OF MR. DWARRIS.

#### FIRST, of his INCORRECTNESS.—

I. (p. 10.) Mr. Dwaris speaks of the “vast improvements which have already taken place” in the statute law of Barbadoes. It is a great pity that he did not specify them. We certainly can see no “vast improvement,” even in the law of 1824, as compared with those of 1688, &c. which he chooses to represent as obsolete. As for the single point of admitting free Persons of Colour to give evidence in all cases, it is only doing what almost every other island had done long before. Even now, none are so admitted who have eluded the tax of fifty pounds on manumission.

II. (p. 12.) “It is an incontestable fact that slaves are less frequently and less severely punished for crimes, than are freemen, either in the Colonies or in England.”—Here we have assertion without a title of proof. We believe the fact to be altogether untrue. The slave, be it remembered too, is amenable to a domestic tribunal, as well as to a public one.

III. (p. 13.) The singular fact, observes Mr. Dwaris, “of the sloth, and apathy, and profligate courses of the Negroes, &c.” (meaning by the “&c.” the free People of Colour and Indians) “is established beyond contradiction, by concurrent testimony, as existing in every age.”—Now Mr. Dwaris seems bound to produce some adequate authority for this fact of his, other than West-Indian authority. It is a most groundless assertion, which Mr. Dwaris himself must have seen disproved, in the island of Grenada, during his stay there. In that island, a memorial was presented to him, and to Mr. Madock, from the free Negro and Coloured inhabitants, in which they appeal to the testimony of the whole community for their uniform loyalty and good conduct; “contributing, at the same time,” they say, “by our resources, to the revenues of the state, and constituting in ourselves a considerable defence and security to the colony.” We comprise, they add, “by far the greatest part of the free population,” (the Whites being about 900, the Blacks and People of Colour about 2700,) “and possess no small portion of the property in this colony, particularly in the capital, where at



least two thirds are owned by persons of this class." Then follows a most masterly exposition of the grievances under which they labour. But these assertions of the free Negroes and People of Colour, it may be said, are as gratuitous as those of Mr. Dwaris himself. We reply, No. Their truth was examined by the colonial assembly, the very body by whose laws they were oppressed and degraded; and what was their decision? They resolved unanimously, "that the free Coloured inhabitants of these islands are a respectable, well behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony:

"That a bill be immediately brought into the house of assembly, for the purpose of repealing certain clauses" of acts which are specified, "in so far as the rights and privileges of the free Coloured inhabitants are affected thereby:

"That the elective franchise ought to be extended to the People of Colour, possessing the qualifications required," &c.

Now, it does seem extraordinary, that Mr. Dwaris should have entirely omitted, in his Report, the most remote allusion to this recent transaction (June 1823), and should have gone to the uncited records of "every age" for his sweeping charge against a whole race of men. The pledge of the Grenada Assembly, we are sorry to say, has, we believe, been only very partially redeemed.

IV. (p. 13.) Mr. Dwaris apologizes for the severity of the Barbadoes laws, respecting slaves, by remarking, that there, *proportionably more than in other colonies*, the slaves compose a numerous and powerful body. The very reverse of this statement is the fact. The proportion of Whites to slaves, in Barbadoes, is more than double what it is in any of the other colonies, and three, four, or five times as great as in some. The returns on the table of the House of Commons will prove this fact.

V. (p. 17.) "In some of the islands," says Mr. Dwaris, "it was felt to be desirable to restrain the delegated power of the manager or overseer. Accordingly an act was passed" (*in some of the islands!* Could not Mr. Dwaris have named them, and specified the acts?) "restricting the number of blows such person should have the power of inflicting to ten lashes. The *manager* accordingly always stopped at the prescribed number, TEN; but instances of abuse soon occurred, in which, after a short respite, the punishment was repeated.—A new act was framed, providing that a *manager* should only give ten stripes, and no more, for any one and the *same offence*. It was easy however to allege a new offence, and punish, as original, the second constructive delinquency. It was then enacted, that only one punishment, of a limited number of blows, should be inflicted on one and the *same day*, as well as for one and the *same offence*. It was presently discovered, that the severity of the punishment depended much less on the quantum of the blows, than the degree of force with which they were administered. The last, and perhaps the best, of these ineffectual provisions directed that no punishment should be inflicted on any slave, whatever his demerits, until he had recovered from the effects of his former punishment." What doctrine, on the subject of Negro Slavery, Mr. Dwaris wished to establish by this statement, we know not, except it be the incurable viciousness of the system, and the necessity of destroying it root and branch. We suspect, however, that its real object was, to shew the anxiety of the legislatures in *some of the islands*, to protect the Negro from ill treatment; and certainly it would be calculated in some measure to do this, if it were a correct statement. But the fact is, and we challenge Mr. Dwaris to shew the contrary, that *in no island is there any law restraining the MANAGER of an estate to TEN lashes*. The whole of this beautiful fabric of legislative care and solicitude, for the protection of the Negro, has therefore no foundation whatever. Mr. Dwaris has doubtless been imposed upon by some wily informant, who was desirous of obtaining, by any means, the testimony of the Commissioner to "the genuine excellency of the Creole character." (p. 16.) It is impossible for Mr. Dwaris to cite a single written authority in support of the above statement.

These instances of incorrectness in Mr. Dwaris may suffice to shew the caution with which his dicta, unsupported by proof, are to be received. They are, in fact, of no value, but as marking either his credulity or the strength of his prepossessions.—But we have charged him also with INCONSISTENCY; and we are therefore bound to support the charge. We proceed to do so; but here, as in the former case, we can only select a few particulars from the mass.

I. (p. 14.) “Of cruel masters, we indeed sometimes heard: I believe *three* instances were mentioned to us in twelve islands.”—Where Mr. Dwaris sought his information, he does not state: doubtless it was from the masters themselves, and not from the slaves. Had he made the same inquiry in Berbice, he would probably have received the same answer; and yet we should hardly have considered his testimony as weighing a feather against the hundreds of instances revealed to us by the records of the Fiscal of that colony. But how Mr. Dwaris could have made the assertion in the face of the evidence he himself adduces in another part of his Report, we are at a loss to imagine. It so happens, that almost all his laudatory passages are in the first eighteen pages of a Report containing 310 closely printed folio pages, while the contradictions can only be had by wading through the whole. This is a labour to which few will submit. Mr. Dwaris has therefore very judiciously put nearly the whole of his attractive and poetical passages in the first eighteen pages, when he bars the reader’s way to any farther research, by a long and dry detail on the Court of Chancery. The bulky volume, therefore, is apt to be put down with a full conviction of the badness indeed of certain obsolete statutes, the work of the Buccaneers of the seventeenth century, but of the mildness, probity, and genuine excellence of the present race of White islanders, and of the comfort and happiness, and “*plumpness*” of the Black. Not one-blow did Mr. Dwaris see a Negro receive from the driver; and he only heard of three instances of cruelty in twelve islands!! Mr. Dwaris never seems to have suspected, that, during the little month he was in each of these islands, care might be taken that *he* should not be a witness of any instance of field discipline. But when he says he heard of only *three* instances of cruelty in twelve islands, we must confess our utter amazement at the statement; and the ground of our amazement is furnished by Mr. Dwaris himself.

First, as respects *Barbadoes*: he tells us, in addition to passages already quoted in the text, “Slaves, in this island, are without LEGAL PROTECTION, or REDRESS FOR PERSONAL INJURIES.” (p. 62.) “The slave is without *any* security from injury, and hopeless of redress, because NO LEGAL PROTECTION is afforded him; and *most of all*, BECAUSE HE CANNOT COMPLAIN.” (p. 66.) But when we advance nearly 200 pages farther into this capacious volume, we find the senior justice of the peace for Barbadoes, speaking more explicitly. “I know,” he says, “as a magistrate, cases of extreme cruelty”—he does not say how many—“that have passed unpunished for want of Negro evidence.”—“There *may* be cases in which there would be a risk to a slave in returning to his master, after having preferred a charge of cruelty against him.” Shall we then wonder that Mr. Dwaris heard no such complaints? But the worthy magistrate proceeds: “It is *very common*, when they wish to be cruel, to send all the free people out of the way; I have KNOWN MANY SUCH CASES.”—Now, be it noted, that Mr. Dwaris’s eulogy on the humanity of the planters stands at p. 14: this answer of the senior magistrate of Barbadoes stands at p. 231!!—In the Report respecting Tobago, we have similar testimony adduced. (p. 89.)

II. In his apology for Barbadoes (p. 16), Mr. Dwaris gives us a proof of the improving spirit of its inhabitants. “I allude particularly,” he says, “to the establishment of schools for ALL.”—Any one reading this passage, and reading no farther, would naturally conclude, that the liberality of the Barbadians had founded schools for the instruction, not only of the 16,000 Whites, and 10,000 free People of Colour, who inhabit the island; but for its 80,000 slaves; for it is of the slaves he is treating. But, if we read on, what shall we find to be the

fact? We shall find that there are two schools; *one* for poor *white* children, the other to which children of ALL COLOURS are indiscriminately admitted."

III. Again, Mr. Dwarris tells us (at p. 15) of "the paucity of crimes" in Barbadoes, as a proof of the comfort of the slave. But, at p. 233, we have from the senior justice of the peace this fact, that "since last October twelvemonth," he himself had before him "2500 complaints," breaches of the peace and misdemeanors; "most of these complaints, by free Coloured persons against slaves, and against each other." If Mr. Dwarris meant crimes of slaves against their masters, the paucity of these may surely be referred, rather to the power of the master to punish his slaves to any extent, short of death or dismemberment, without the trouble of applying to a magistrate, than to peculiar tenderness for the slave. If he meant crimes of masters against their slaves, be it remembered that he himself has told us that slaves "CANNOT COMPLAIN;" their complaints "CAN NO WHERE BE RECEIVED."

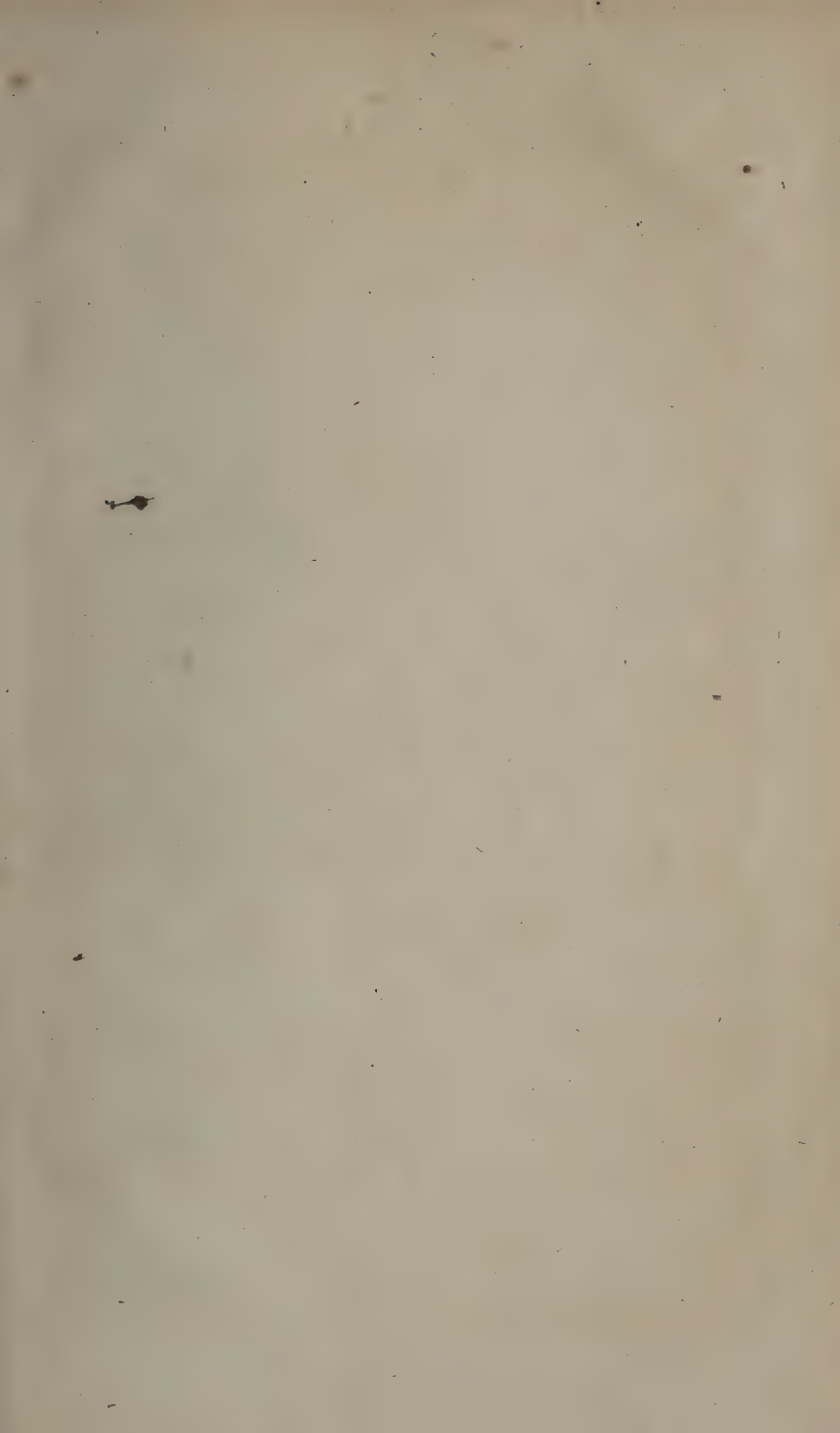
IV. Mr. Dwarris, at p. 16, speaks of the *Guardian Act* of Grenada, as establishing the *high reputation for humanity* which that island has uniformly maintained. Compare with this statement the following extracts from Mr. Dwarris's own Report of the laws of that island. "Receivers of stolen goods, and harbourers of felons, are to suffer death." (p. 95.) "Slaves contemptuously treating any White or Free person," "shall be punishable at the discretion of one justice of the peace, not to extend to life or limb." (p. 96.) The Attorney-general states of the *Guardian Act*; "It is not a dead letter: but the misfortune is, that proper persons cannot be found to carry it into effect: they are those who may be liable to it themselves, who are the guardians. Perhaps a man may be a guardian one year, and his neighbour the next, which would prevent his acting strictly according to the act." The governor of the colony testifies, that "there are no persons to be found to fill the situation of Guardian, such as must have been contemplated by the act, who are, as they ought to be, independent: they are chiefly overseers or managers. Can they be expected to say, that the clothing or food furnished by their employers is insufficient? or if they do, may they not be afraid of the charge being retaliated?" (p. 98.) But, surely, enough has been cited to justify our charge of incorrectness and inconsistency against Mr. Dwarris, and to induce those who read his Report to exercise a salutary distrust of every statement he makes, and of every opinion he enounces, which is not supported by clear testimony, instead of resting on the vagueness of general assertion.

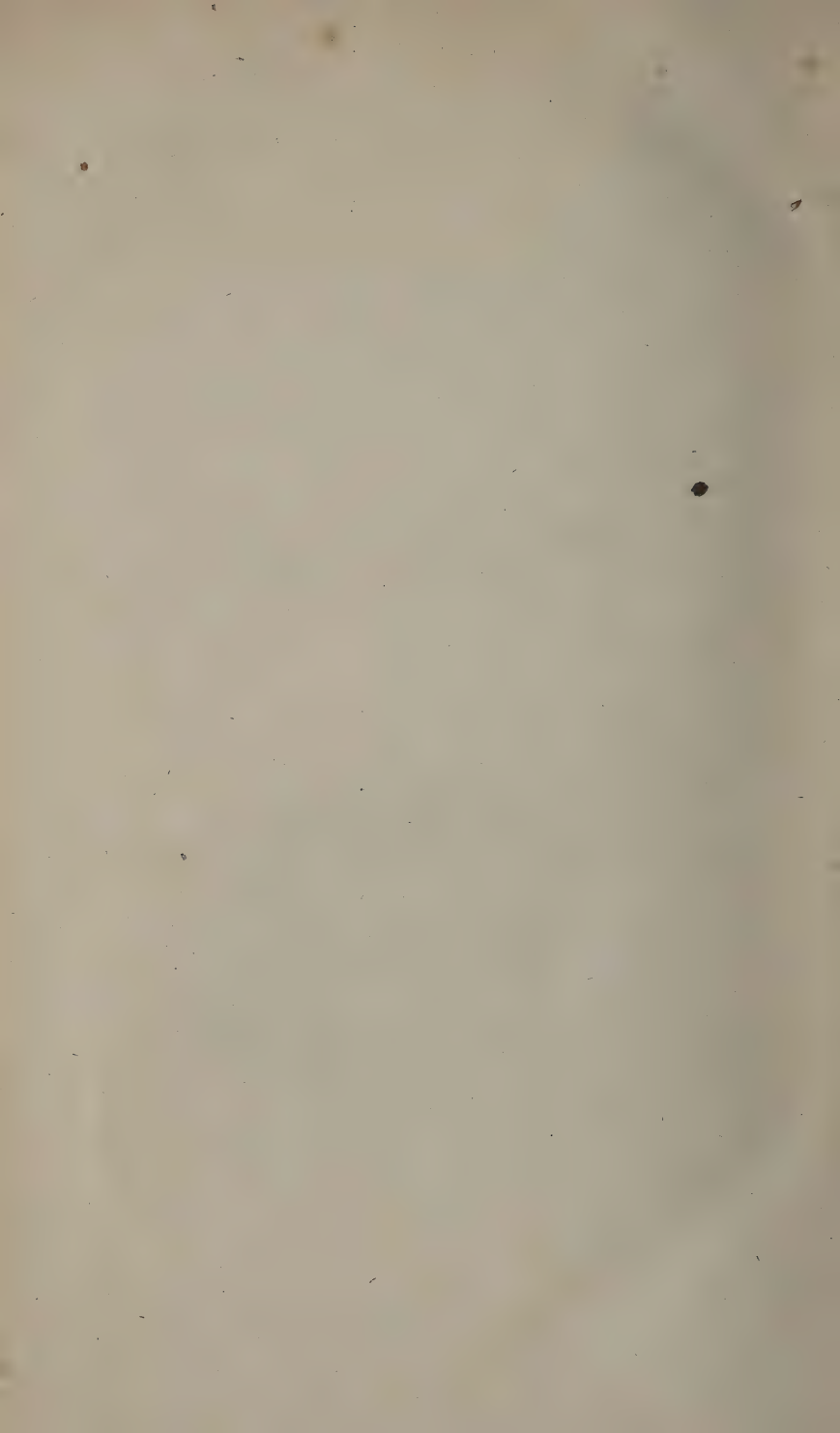
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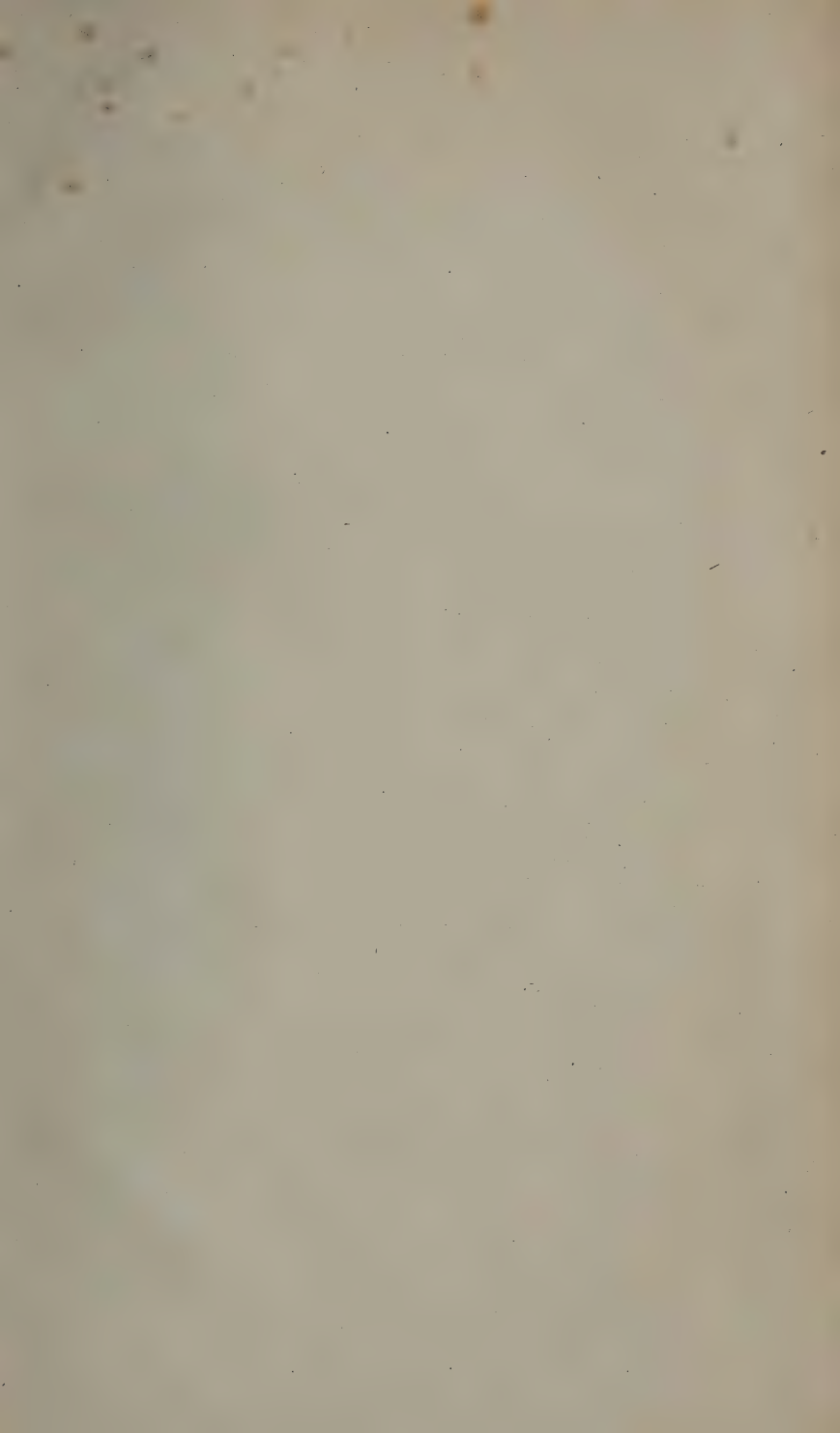
## POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed, we have seen the Ordinance published by the Governor and Court of Policy of Demerara, in reluctant imitation of the Order in Council for Trinidad; in which, however, some of the most important clauses in that Order are wholly omitted, and others modified so as to deprive them of their value.—His Majesty's Government will, of course, not be satisfied with this partial and inadequate compliance with their instructions.





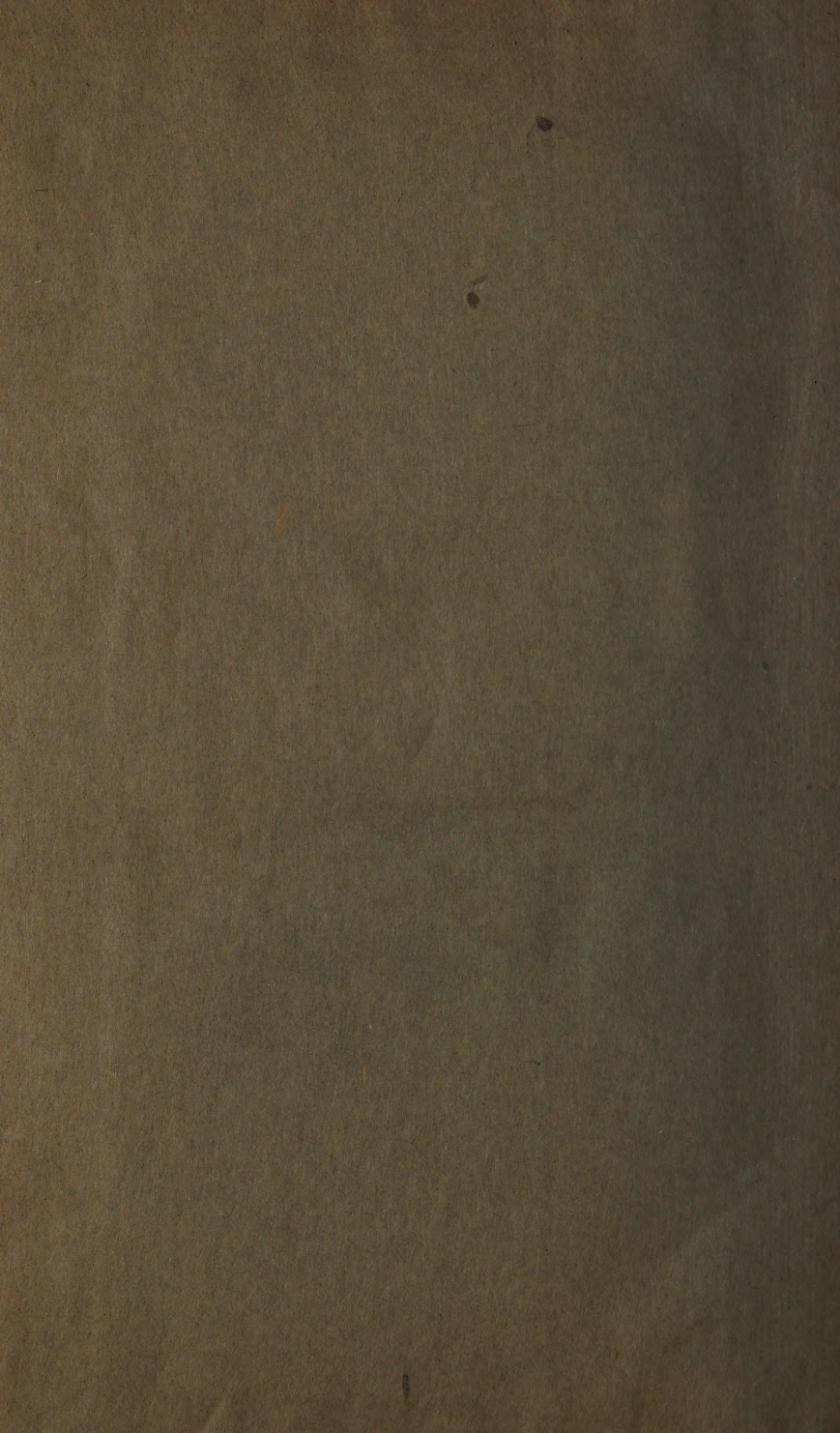














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